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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

BY

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VOLUME I

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PREFACE

The work herewith presented to the public is the first of a series on West China. It deals with a circumscribed area in northwest Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang, Tibet and southwest Ssu-ch'uan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe known to the Chinese as Mo-so 麼些. While the region has been explored geographically in the strictest sense of the word, yet it includes areas, such as that of the Wu-so 五所 in southwestern Ssu-ch'uan, very little known, and visited at best by one two or three Europeans including the author.

Most explorers are content with a hurried reconnaissance of a given area, their aim being to cover as much territory as possible in the time at their disposal. Not so the author. I have spent twelve years exploring thoroughly the Na-khi inhabited part of Yün-nan, Hsi-k'ang 西康 and adjacent areas; first as agricultural explorer of the United States Department of Agriculture of Washington, D.C., then for the National Geographic Society of the same city and finally on my own, when I could devote my time exclusively to the study of the Na-khi tribe, their literature and the land they occupy.

Before undertaking to write this work, I spent the major part of my savings collecting, first of all, the Chinese literature on West China and eastern Tibet, and second, all publications in European languages pertaining to this area. I secured the various editions of the topographies or T'ung-chih 通志 not only of the western provinces, but of all the eighteen provinces of China and its dependencies; I bought all the local gazetteers, Hsien-chih 縣, Chou-chih 州, and T'ing-chih 廳 of Yün-nan, Ssu-ch'uan, Kan-su, and Tibet, published by the Chinese authorities from the Ming days to the present. These western China gazetteers have become exceedingly rare due to the devastations of the Mohammedan rebellion, which lasted for nearly 25 years, when all the printing blocks were destroyed and editions, stored in the official Yamens of the various districts, were burnt. Such records as were no longer obtainable in the provinces, I had copied from unica found only in the Palace Library and the National Library of Peiping. The Catholic Mission Library of Zikawei near Shanghai, rich in gazetteers, had also consented to have its rare and precious books copied. My own library contains many rare works not to be found in other libraries in Asia, Europe or America.

While living in Li-chiang, the capital of the former Na-khi Kingdom, I had all important inscriptions on stelae copied, and personally photographed genealogical records of tribal chiefs, precious manuscripts, heirlooms dating back to the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition, I collected over 4,000 ancient Na-khi pictographic manuscripts. A number of these are of historic interest, while the remainder deal with the religious literature of the Na-khi which is akin to the Bön, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

My predilection for Chinese characters made me begin the study of the Chinese written language at the age of 15. It created a desire in me to explore the vast hinterland of China and to learn to know its history and geography at first hand. It caused me to study the ancient Na-khi language, now no more in use, but preserved in the pictographic literature, which has at last given up its secrets. Thus equipped, I undertook the task of delving into the history of this fascinating and wonderful country, which I covered

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on foot and horseback from Siam to southwestern Mongolia. In the pages of this work, I describe the Na-khi region as it passed in review before my eyes: a wealth of scenic beauty, marvellous forest, flowers and friendly tribes. Those years of travel and the fellowship of the tribal people who accompanied me on my many journeys will remain forever among the happiest memories of my life.

I owe a debt of gratitude not only to the institutions and societies that made these explorations possible, but also to the faithful members of the Na-khi tribe, fearless, honest and dependable at all times. To them, the success of my various expeditions is mainly due.

The historical part of this book is based on original Chinese works which it would be impossible to enumerate. In the copious notes, references are given to the works from which they were translated, perhaps not as fully as would be desirable; but those familiar with Chinese geographical and historical literature will have no difficulty in finding them. Many of the local gazetteers consulted may, however, be found only in my own library.

The photographs were taken by myself, mainly under the auspices of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., to the authorities of which I wish here to express my sincerest thanks for the permission to reproduce them. Others again were taken while I worked in the region on my own.

I beg the reader's indulgence and also that of the sinologues and of my many Chinese friends who will have occasion to consult this work. Their constructive criticism will not be resented, but is earnestly solicited. This book found shape under the most trying circumstances. I began the actual writing in 1934, not dreaming that serious interruptions would delay its completion for over a decade.

We were twice evacuated from Yün-nan when it was invaded by the Chinese Red Army and I was forced to send my entire library to the Indo-Chinese border. We packed again when Japanese bombers visited K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and left death and destruction in their wake. To prevent possible destruction of my library, I moved to Dalat, Indo-China, where, after a year and a half of residence, it again became necessary to pack up and transfer my library to Honolulu. These many interruptions and the hectic weeks and months of delay form the most unpleasant part of my experiences.

I wish to express my thanks to the Trustees of the Harvard-Yenching Institute and to its director, Professor Serge Elisséeff, who approved the publication of this book and to the U. S. Army Map Service for the printing of the maps included with the accompanying Gazetteer.

As consultant to the U. S. Army Map Service in 1944–1945 I was privileged to correct the aeronautical charts of western China and eastern Tibet and to examine original Chinese maps of the border region. The latter leave much to be desired; the Chinese characters used on these maps often vary considerably from those actually employed in the region itself, nor is the topography to be relied on. This is of course mainly due to the difficulty of travel in the borderlands, to the lack of communication, and partly to hostile inhabitants.

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The maps were made by myself in the field, using as a basis the excellent map of Yün-nan by Major Davies, and the sketch map of the region of the upper Salwin, the Trun River, Mekong and Yangtze, published by the late Dr. Handel-Mazzetti.

The altitudes of towns, villages, rivers, passes, etc., are based on aneroid and hypsometer readings, while those of inaccessible peaks are approximate only. In certain instances, heights of mountains as determined by others, such as those of the snow peaks of the Yü-lung Shan, have been adopted.

I have endeavored to give the Na-khi name for every place, mountain, valley, meadow or crag in the area occupied by the Na-khi tribe. In regions where they live together with Chinese, Tibetans or other tribespeople, names of places, etc., are given as far as ascertainable, in those languages also.

Now, a few words as to the orthography of Chinese as well as Na-khi and Tibetan names employed in this work:

I have followed the Wade-Giles system of romanization throughout the work, with the exception of certain words which are pronounced differently in Yün-nan, as *ngai* (cliff) for *yen*; *kai* (market, street) instead of *chieh* and a few others which are indicated in their respective places. I have not followed the spelling of geographic names adopted by the Chinese Government Postal Service, but in some instances I have added them in parenthesis, while for words like Yangtze, the spelling generally in use has been adhered to. Tibetan names have been given in Tibetan script wherever possible; the transcription and romanization employed is that of Sir Basil John Gould, with certain modifications. In a few instances, it was not possible to ascertain the Tibetan orthography of names of places, etc., situated in remote and sparsely inhabited regions where the natives were illiterate. Even most lamas are ignorant of the proper spelling of Tibetan names. In nearly every instance, Chinese characters follow proper names, as well as geographic names, and in parenthesis follows the spelling of place names used on the maps of Major Davies and Handel-Mazzetti to facilitate their identification. For the pronunciation of Na-khi words the notes on pages xix–xx, below, are to be consulted.

Mr. B. Armstrong Claytor of the Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, has prepared the index.

J. F. Rock

Cambridge, Massachusetts, Summer, 1945

Note: Handel-Mazzetti published in the *Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften* in Vienna (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Bd. 97), a map and description of Li-chiang, and parts of the Mekong, Salwin, and Irrawadi. It includes the Yangtze loop, Chung-tien and its dependencies. As guides and collectors he had with him Na-khi from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö. All Na-khi, as well as most Yünnanese, are unable to pronounce final consonants, as *n* or *ng*. The spelling, therefore, of place names, etc., on his map is very bad. In addition he adopted the German romanization for the Chinese names mispronounced by the Na-khi, and the result is far from happy. The names of the Li-chiang snow peak may here serve as an example. Handel-Mazzetti gives it as Satseto; this is not a Na-khi name, but the purely Chinese term *Shan-tzu* 山子 (a fan) and *tou* 陡 (steep, vertical). He gives the name Satseto as if it were a Na-khi one. Along with the Na-khi and Chinese names which I shall quote, will be put in parenthesis those given by Handel-Mazzetti (abbreviated to H-M).

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251. Yung-ning Lake and Nyo-ro-p'u Island as Seen from the T'u-bbu Peninsula
252. Landing on the West Shore of the Island of Nyo-ro-p'u
253. Wife of the Late Tsung-kuan with Her Children
254. Lu-so the Last-born Son of the Late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan
255. View from the Island of A-na-wa
256. Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Peasants of Dshi-zhi in Mu-li

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NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF NA-KHI WORDS

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Orthography	Description	As in
a	low back vowel	father
ä	same as above, short	Germ. *hat*
'a	low back vowel, with laryngeal constriction like Arabic *'ain*	
ä	mid front vowel	Fr. *seine*
aw	half-low back vowel, rounded	awe
b	voiced bilabial stop, lenis	be
bb	voiced bilabial stop, fortis, long (the vowel after bb, dd, ff, gg, ll, and nn is always short, as compared with that after an initial denoted by single b, d, etc.)	
bp	unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
ch	unaspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
ch'	aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate	
d	voiced dental stop, lenis	day
dd	voiced dental stop, fortis, long	
dz'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, lenis	
dt	voiceless dental stop, fortis	
dz	voiced dental affricate	adze
e	half-high front vowel (slightly higher than ä)	egg
ər	retroflexed mid central vowel, with a slight pharyngeal constriction	
erh	(orthography for Chinese loan words, with same phonetic value as ər)	
ff	voiceless labio-dental fricative, fortis, long	
g	voiced velar stop, lenis	go
gg	voiced velar stop, fortis, long	
gh	voiced uvular (or pharyngeal) fricative, like Fr. r *grasseyé* or the Arabic *ghain*	
gk	voiceless velar stop, fortis	
h	voiceless glottal fricative	hat
i	high front vowel	police
ï	high front vowel, slightly centralized	
k'	aspirated voiceless velar stop, fortis	
kh	voiceless velar fricative	Germ. *ach.*
kh	voiceless palatal fricative	Germ. *ich.*
l	voiced lateral continuant	low
ll	voiced lateral continuant, fortis, long	
lv	initial l plus syllabic v	
m	bilabial nasal, independent initial or combined with b to form the cluster mb	mother

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Orthography	Description	As in
n	dental nasal, independent initial or combined with d and dz to form the clusters nd and ndz	no
ŋ	(letter to indicate nasalization of the preceding vowel)	
ng	velar nasal, independent initial or combined with g to form the cluster ngg (simplified into ng in the text)	long
nn	dental nasal, fortis, long	
nv	nasalized syllabic v	
ô	half-high back vowel, rounded	Germ. *Sohn*
ö	half-high front vowel, rounded	Germ. *Söhne*
ou	back rounded diphthong	no
p'	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop, fortis	
r	(see ẽr)	
s	voiceless dental fricative, fortis	sister
ss	voiceless dental fricative, extra fortis, long	
sh	voiceless alveolar fricative	show
ss	voiced dental fricative, fortis long (syllable or followed by ẽr)	
t'	aspirated voiceless dental stop, fortis	
ts	unaspirated voiceless dental affricate	
ts'	aspirated voiceless dental affricate, fortis	
u	high back vowel, rounded	rude
ù	same as u, but less rounded and short	
ü	high front vowel, rounded (but back unrounded after gh)	Fr. *tu*
uᵉ	(after labials only) diphthong consisting of high back vowel, unrounded, followed by mid back vowel	
v	voiced labio-dental fricative, used in syllabic position after g, gh, k', d, dt, t' and l	
w	voiced bilabial continuant	way
wù	special syllable, with prominence on "u" and value of "a" centralized	
wuà	same, with prominence on "a"	
y	voiced palatal continuant	yes
zh	voiced alveolar fricative	Fr. *je*

Tones

Superscript	Description
a¹	low-falling
a²	middle-level
a³	high-short
a⁴	high-rising

The fourth tone occurs only in words borrowed from the Chinese or Tibetan languages.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

SHAN-TZU-TOU, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山與白水河

Photographed from an elevation of 10,500 feet, from a ridge overlooking the upper Pai-shui or White water, the Gyi-p'ĕr of the Na-khi. The main glacier on the eastern slopes is the source of the Gyi-p'ĕr. The trees in foreground are pines and spruces, the pale foliaged trees poplars in autumn garb. On the higher slopes are firs and spruces, the lighter-colored trees, larches.

[Frontispiece]

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THE ANCIENT NA-KHI KINGDOM OF SOUTHWEST CHINA

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

The Province of Yün-nan

101 Yün-nan 雲南 (South of the clouds) is the second largest province of China,
161 and is situated in the extreme south-west of that vast country. Its area is approximately 146,700 square miles, and in 1933 it had a population of 11,795,486,
[202] or about 80.4 persons to the square mile. Of this population 6,095,549 were male, and 5,699,937 were female, and 88.88 per cent of the entire population was illiterate.

131 In the north it borders on Ssu-ch'uan 四川 and Hsi-k'ang 西康, in the west on Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet) and Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). In the south it adjoins the south-eastern Shan States of Burma and also Indo-China, while in the east it borders on the Chinese provinces of Kuei-chou 貴州 and Kuang-hsi 廣西.

133 Yün-nan is a high table-land, intersected by some of the largest rivers of Asia, such as the Yangtze, Mekong, and Salween, and by the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (the Ch'iu Chiang 緑江 of the Chinese) in the extreme west. These rivers flow parallel to each other for a considerable distance in terrific gorges. The intervening mountain ranges, which in the extreme north-west reach heights of 22,000 feet, are crowned by eternal snow. Of these the Mekong-Salween divide forms, in part, the Tibet – Yün-nan border. The altitude increases in the north-west, and we find towns at 11,500 feet elevation.

[361] In the south, the province is partly covered with tropical jungle where tigers roam and malaria is prevalent, and where the Tai or Shan hold undisputed
[243] sway, as no Yünnanese will live below an altitude of 4,000 feet. Here the water-buffalo is at home, and rice is the main crop.

23 In the north the yak grazes on the high alpine meadows, and barley is grown at 12,000 feet. The yak furnishes the inhabitants with meat, milk, butter and cheese; its dung (argols) is used as fuel and its hair for the weaving of cloth for tents; it also serves as a transport animal. Here barley takes the place of rice and is the staple food of the Tibetans.

101 The capital of the province is Yün-nan fu, situated at an altitude of 6,400 feet, on a large plain surrounded by mountains. Near it is the famous lake known as Tien Ch'ih 滇池 or K'un-yang 昆陽. To-day Yün-nan fu is called K'un-ming 昆明, which, during the reign of Han Wu Ti, was the land of I-chou Chün 往州郡. While the name K'un-ming is an ancient one it seems not to have been applied to the land which bears that name to-day prior to the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. The *K'un-ming hsien chih* speaks of three K'un-mings. In the oldest geographical record of Yün-nan we read, however, that the name K'un-ming had first been given to the lake at Yün-nan fu by General Chuang Ch'iao of the State of Ch'u in about 280 B.C. (*see* Note 3, page 6).

As this is not a history and geography of the whole of Yün-nan, but only of a specified area in its north-west, namely the region now occupied by the Mo-so

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tribe, who call themselves Na-khi, the province is not described at length. To do so it would be necessary to publish, instead of two volumes, at least ten, when one considers that the present *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan) as published by the Yün-nan provincial authorities, consists of 220 *pen* 本 (books).

The area dealt with in this work does not lie strictly within the confines of Yün-nan, but extends to beyond its borders. It roughly comprises the land between East Longitude 98° and 103° and North Latitude 26° and 30°. This territory was never exclusively inhabited by the Mo-so or Na-khi tribe, nor was it ever a political unit under the rule of a Na-khi King or chief. To-day the area is partly in Tibet and Hsi-k'ang and partly in Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, the greater part, however, being in the province of Yün-nan. It is represented in this work by four maps: Map no. 1, called Te-ch'in or A-tun-tzu; no. 2, Wei-hsi; no. 3, Li-chiang and no. 4, Yen-yüan.

In the area covered by map no. 1[1], the Na-khi live in scattered villages alternating with Tibetan ones, with certain sections (on the west) occupied by other tribes, as the Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu, the Trun or Ch'iu-tzu, and Li-su on the south. The area represented by maps 2 and 3, is almost exclusively inhabited by Mo-so or Na-khi, save for a sprinkling of other tribes, such as the Miao, Chung-chia, Min-chia and Lo-lo or No-su, with Tibetans and Hsi-fan to the north. These tribes are more or less recent immigrants as are the Chinese. Map 4, comprises an area inhabited mainly by ancient Mo-so who may or may not be identical with the Na-khi of Li-chiang. Scattered among them live also Hsi-fan, Chinese, Tai or Shan as well as Lo-lo and a few Li-su. Chinese are everywhere in the minority.

Various hypotheses have been put forward as to the origin of the Na-khi. Suffice it to say that they are immigrants, descendants of the Ch'iang of north-eastern Tibet, and many references substantiating this statement will be found throughout the book. Whether the Mo-so are identical with the Na-khi will ever remain a moot question. That the P'u were the original inhabitants of the present home of the Mo-so or Na-khi we learn from Chinese History. The Mo-so, first mentioned in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, were probably less numerous and disputed the land with the P'u. Then came the descendants of the Yüeh-hsi Ch'iang who with the Mo-so dispersed the P'u and settled in their land. The name Na-khi occurs nowhere in Chinese literature and as I suggested elsewhere, was probably given the Ch'iang by the Mo-so on account of their darker complexion. The name Na-khi (*na* = black, *khi* = man) became the designation for the tribe of the territory formerly occupied by the P'u; whether the Mo-so absorbed the Ch'iang or the Ch'iang the Mo-so remains a disputed question. The name Mo-so is of Chinese origin and is disliked by the Na-khi, it is looked upon as derogatory. I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future work on the religion and religious literature of the Na-khi.

In order gradually to introduce the reader or investigator to the history and geography of the former Na-khi Kingdom, it was deemed wise to give a description of the route from K'un-ming to Li-chiang 麗江, the ancient capital

[1] [see end map 1, cat 116, -- Analyst]

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of the Na-khi Kingdom, as well as accounts of K'un-ming and the various prefectural towns encountered *en route*, and of their history in particular. Thus the reader will gain a historic bird's-eye view of Yün-nan proper, or, at least, of a large part of the province. Before giving these detailed descriptions of the capital and the various towns encountered on the way to Li-chiang, I shall begin with a brief résumé of the history of the province as a whole.

The territory of the P'u 濮 *tribe.* — During the reign of the Emperor Yü 禹, known as Ta Yü 大禹 (The Great Yü), who was the first emperor of the Hsia dynasty 夏朝 (2205–2198 B.C.), the land known now as Yün-nan lay outside his domain, which comprised nine *chou* 州 (divisions), the south-westernmost of which was Liang Chou 梁州. Yün-nan lay to the south-west of Liang Chou and was then known as the territory of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians).[1]

Prior to the Ch'in 秦 dynasty (255–209 B.C.) the Hsi-nan-i were all called P'u, and the name of Tien 滇 was not then known. P'u was also the name of a stream; in the *Han Shu Ti-li-chih* 漢書地理志 (Geographical Records of the Han dynasty) it is written 僕, which is the present-day Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong). All the I 夷 (savages) were called P'u-jen 濮人. The Hsi-nan-man were also known as Pu-jen 卜人 and they dwelt where *tan-sha* 丹砂 (cinnabar) originated, with which they paid tribute. These Pu-jen are identical with the P'u-jen. They had no rulers and lived where they pleased, scattered over the country. Hence they were called the Pai-p'u 百濮 (Hundred P'u).[2]

The Kingdom of Tien 滇. — General Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻, who was a native of the State of Ch'u and a descendant of King Chuang 莊 (Chuang Wang) of Ch'u (613–591 B.C.), had been sent to conquer territory to the west of Shu 蜀 and Pa 巴 (Ssu-ch'uan) and to explore the Chiang 江 (Yangtze). He arrived on the shores of the Yün-nan Lake (Plate 1) and called it Tien. As his road back to Ch'u was blocked on account of the State of Ch'in 秦 attacking Ch'u,

[1] The Hsi-nan-i (later the Tien-jen 滇人), were also called Man 蠻; this appellation occurs very often in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San-kuo chih* 三國志). The character *man* is interpreted as "ungovernable vermin," and was used because they were not classed as human beings but as 虫 vermin, reptiles, insects. The Min 閩 tribe of Fukien and the Shu 蜀 tribe of Ssu-ch'uan were also considered vermin. These two tribal names are the classical names of the latter provinces. The Huns (Hsien-yün 獫狁), as well as the Hsün-yü 獯鬻, Ch'iang 羌 and Ti 狄, were classed by the Chinese with dogs and sheep, and never with human beings. Hence they used the dog 犭 and sheep 羊 radicals in the characters for their tribal names. — From the *Tien-i* 滇彝, or "Tien explained," by Yüan Chia-ku 袁嘉穀, ch. 1, fol. 24, published 1923.

[2] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fols. 22–52, states that the P'u 僕 savages had a tail several inches long, and that they lived in nests in the mountains and forests. Their land adjoined the Ai-lao 哀牢, or the present Pao-shan 保山 of Yün-nan. P'u was also the name of the land south-west of the State of Ch'u 楚. These P'u are also the P'u-man 濮蠻 of Shun-ning 順寧, and the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong) is the ancient P'u Shui 僕水. The land of the Pai-p'u extended from Shen-chou fu 澧州府, in Hu-nan 湖南, west to Yung-ch'ang 永昌, the present Pao-shan. During the period of the San Tai 三代 (i.e., the Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 dynasties, 2205–256 B.C.) they were known as P'u 僕, but afterwards as the people of Tien 滇, Yeh-lang 夜郎, K'un-ming 昆明, etc. Still later they are spoken of as the Two Ts'uan (Liang Ts'uan 兩爨) and the Liu-chao 六詔 (inhabitants of the Six kingdoms of Nan-chao 南詔). Their name was constantly changed subsequently.

1[p.28A--Analyst]

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he remained in Yün-nan, made himself king, and called the land the kingdom of Tien, or Tien Kuo.[3]

The origin of Tien is explained as follows: the word *tien* 顛 is pronounced the same as *tien* 巔, and means the top or apex; heaven is said to be *tien* (high); Yün-nan on account of its altitude is said to be in the sky or *t'ien-shang* 天上.

When Chuang Ch'iao came from Ch'u and arrived on the high plateau of Yün-nan and on the shores of the lake, he called it the Tien Ch'ih, having reference to the high altitude of the lake. The kingdom he later established he called Tien-ch'ih Kuo 滇池國 and Tien Kuo, and himself Tien Wang (King of Tien). There is, however, another explanation of the origin of Tien. *Tien* 顛 also means "the beginning of" and "to upset," or "upside down." It is supposed to have reference to the stream called the Tien-ch'ih Ho 滇池河, which is the outlet of the K'un-yang Lake. The stream flows north instead of south, and parallel, or almost so, to the lake, and finally debouches in the Yangtze. It is said to flow *tien-tao* 顛倒 (reversed), and hence received the name Tien.

[3] The *Yün-nan T'u-ching chih*, one of the earliest geographical works on Yün-nan, states, in ch. 1, fol. 1a, that Chuang Ch'iao was the younger brother of Ch'ing Hsiang 頃襄王, King of Ch'u (298–263 B.C.), and that it was he (Chuang Ch'iao) who also called the Yün-nan Lake K'un-ming. This would seem the earliest record of the name K'un-ming. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 180, fol. 5b, says that King Wei 威 (Wei Wang), of the State of Ch'u, sent General Chuang Ch'iao to Yün-nan. If this is correct, the Kingdom of Tien was established between 339 and 329 B.C. It is further stated on the same page, that at the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang (298 B.C.) the latter sent Chuang Hao 莊豪 from Yüan Shui 沅水 (the present Yüan Chiang 沅江 (Yüan River) which rises in the ancient district of Ch'ieh-lan 且蘭, and flows into the Tung-t'ing Hu 洞庭湖 [Tung-t'ing Lake]) to attack Yeh-lang 夜郎 [which is the present district of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 to the north-east of Yün-nan fu]. His army arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, moored boats on the river bank, and then marched to battle.

The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 409, fol. 1b, states that in the period of the Fighting States, Kuei-chou which belonged to the State of Ch'u was the land of Ch'ien-chung 黔中, and that Yeh-lang and Ch'ieh-lan belonged also to that State. The T'un Shui 豚水, on the east, passed by the district of Ch'ieh-lan (Ch'ieh-lan hsien 縣). The T'un Shui is also called the Tsang-ko Shui 牂牁水, and its waters are several li broad. This seems an extraordinary statement, but the *Shui ching chu* 水經注 or Water Classic Commentary, ch. 36, fol. 12b, states that in the river are two mountains called Tsang-ko 牂牁 (here the ox 牛 radical is used instead of the 月 or 木 radical). It is also stated that when Chuang Ch'iao attacked Yeh-lang and his army had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they tied their boats to the bank of the river. Therefore the river on the banks of which they placed stakes (*tsang-ko*) to tie their boats to, must have been the Tsang-ko Shui. According to the *Yün-nan Shui-tao k'ao* 雲南水道考 (Enquiry into the waterways of Yün-nan) the ancient Wen Shui 溫水 is here meant. It states that the Wen Shui has its source in the districts of Tsang-ko and Yeh-lang and that it was also the ancient T'un Shui. To-day this stream is called the Nan-p'an Chiang 南盤江 (Southern P'an River), which has its source 90 li west of Chan-i hsien 霑益縣 in a cave in the Hua Shan 花山洞 in eastern Yün-nan. The Nan-p'an Chiang is called the Chiao Ho 交河 in its upper reaches. The poet Wang Ts'an 王粲 wrote a poem on the scenic beauties of this river. The poem is called the *Chiao-ho yeh-yüeh* 交河夜月, i.e. The evening moon of the Chiao River. According to the *Ch'ao-ching ch'ao-wen chi* 朝經鈔文集, ch. 2, fol. 1–2, the name Tsang-ko existed long before the time of Chuang Ch'iao.

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 271, gives the date of the founding of Tien Kuo, or the date of Chuang Ch'iao, at about 220 B.C. This could not have been the date, for the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states, "At the beginning of the reign of Ch'ing Hsiang, Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan" — which probably means about 298 or 297. He must have been at least 30 years old, or between 30 and 30, when he was sent to Yün-nan. Therefore, if 220 is taken

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The Miao-hsiang and Pai-tzu Kingdoms. — Long before Chuang Ch'iao established the Kingdom of Tien, Indian princes were said to have ruled in the western part of the province. Apparently the oldest name for that region was Miao-hsiang Kuo 妙香國 (Kingdom of excellent perfume). This was the present-day Ta-li fu or Ta-li hsien 大理縣, and belonged at that time to India. We read in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) that King A-yü (A-yü Wang 阿育王, also called P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低 — the Indian Asoka, King of Magadha, or Mo-chieh Kuo 摩竭國, the modern Behār) took for his spouse Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙夔, who gave birth to a son by name Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. To the latter were born nine sons. The first-born, Meng Chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, became the ancestor of 16 kingdoms. His eighth son was Meng Chü-sung 蒙苴頌, who was the ancestor of Jen-kuo 仁果 of the Pai-tzu (Kuo) Kingdom 白子國. This kingdom existed in the west of the province with the capital south-east of Ta-li fu, at Pai-ngai 白崖. Nothing is, however, known as to the succession of these princes. Their descendant,

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as the date of his establishing the kingdom of Tien, he would then have been about 100 years old, which, of course, is impossible.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 1, ch. 3, p. 3b, says that when Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 of Ch'in 秦 attacked Ch'u 楚 and Ch'ien-chung 黔中, the road to Ch'u became closed and prevented the return of Chuang Ch'iao, who then settled in Yün-nan and called it the Tien Kuo, of which he became king. The history of the Kingdom of Ch'in relates that in the 27th year of Chao Hsiang Wang 昭襄王, which corresponds to 280 B.C., General Ssu-ma Ts'o of Ch'in, passing by way of Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) invaded the Kingdom of Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung. This territory comprised parts of Hu-nan, Kuei-chou, Hu-pei 湖北 and Ssu-ch'uan. We thus learn that the Kingdom of Tien was founded in the year 280 and not 220. The *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, ch. 4, fol. 16b, states that the word *ch'ien* 黔 was or is pronounced *ch'in* 秦. It further states that Ssu-ma Ts'o attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-(Ch'in-)chung by way of Shu 蜀 in the 35th year of Chou Nan Wang 周赧王 or 280 B.C., so the founding of Tien must fall in that year.

I, personally, believe that Chuang Hao and Chuang Ch'iao are one and the same person, for the *Hua-yang kuo chih* 華陽國志, ch. 4, fols. 1a and 1b, states that "King Wei of Ch'u sent General Chuang Ch'iao from Yüan Shui to come out at Ch'ieh-lan and attack Yeh-lang, and to plant or place *tsung-ko* 作牁 (stakes) on the banks of the Ch'ieh-lan to tie boats to. Thereupon Ch'ieh-lan was subdued and Yeh-lang was also reduced to submission." Two different persons could hardly be sent to the same place. This would be too much of a coincidence. The only discrepancy is, therefore, in the name of the king, and hence also in the time.

It is possible that the word *hao* 豪 stands for "leader" and *Chuang* for Chuang Ch'iao who was the leader of the expedition. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 189, fol. 6b, in fact states that Hao is identical with Chuang Ch'iao. On page 9a, however, it says that it is feared that this may not be so. As regards the name Tsang-ko 牂牁, the *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, ch. 116, fol. 12a, states that "when they had arrived in Ch'ieh-lan, they moored boats on the bank"; also that "at Ch'ieh-lan there was a place for the mooring of boats to *tsang-ko* [stakes]." The name of the place had afterwards been changed and was known as Tsang-ko. A footnote says that *tsung-ko* was a post to tie boats to. The correct character is, however, 牁 and not 柯, though both are used.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that the Ch'ieh-lan region is the present-day P'ing-yüeh 平越, Kuei-yang 貴陽, etc., now in Kuei-chou province. The province of Tsang-ko (Tsang-ko Chün 牂牁郡) was established after the pacification of the Southern barbarians (Nan-i 南夷) in the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of Wu Ti 武帝 (111 B.C.). Later Tsang-ko was divided into two districts, namely P'ing-i 平夷 and Yeh-lang; the former is still called P'ing-i 平彝 (彝 and 夷 are interchangeable) and is near the Kuei-chou border, while the latter is the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and Chan-i hsien 霑益縣, both in eastern Yün-nan.

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175 101 Prince Jen-kuo, became later King of Tien, after the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao family had come to an end.

These early Indian princes were succeeded by a family called K'un-mi 昆彌, and the State over which they ruled was known as K'un-mi Kuo 昆彌國. Again nothing is known as to the succession, nor are there any records of the names of the princes of the K'un-mi family. Their kingdom is said to have also been called Pai Kuo 拜國. This was before the time of the Fighting States 戰國 (480–403 B.C.) and prior to the arrival of General Chuang Ch'iao in Yün-nan.

The Chün of I-chou. — We now come to the decline of the Tien Kingdom with King Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌 as the last of its kings. He ruled at the same time as Prince Jen-kuo: The former in the east of the province and the latter in the west. In the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of the Han Emperor Wu Ti 武帝 (122–117 B.C.), King Ch'ang Ch'iang incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who favored Jen-kuo, who at that time ruled over the Pai-ngai Kuo 白崖國 in the west of Yün-nan (the present-day Hung-ngai 紅崖). In the second year of the period Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien having been pacified, that is, conquered, his land was taken from him, and the province of I chou or I-chou Chün 益州郡 was created. Tsang-ko, Yüeh-sui 越巂 and several other districts were merged with it. After a few years all the land of K'un-ming was annexed and made subject to that province. The *chün* consisted at that time of 24 *hsien* (districts).

Han Wu Ti invested Jen-kuo with the title of King of Tien, and gave his State the name of Pai-tzu Kuo. He was also authorized to change his capital from Pai-ngai, in the west of the province, to Ch'eng-chiang 滇江, south-east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). The town still exists, and is 120 li from the capital. Thus the kingdom of Tien was annexed to the principality of Pai-ngai.

The State of Chien-ning. — We now come to the period of the Shu Han 蜀漢 (Minor Han dynasty), to the third year of the period Chien-hsing 建興 of the Emperor Hou Ti 後帝, who had sent the famous Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 to Yün-nan to conquer it for the State of Shu. It was in the third moon (March 27th–April 25th, A.D. 225) that Chu-ko Liang attacked the South and entered Yün-nan. He stopped at Pai-ngai where he found Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, a descendant of Jen-kuo of the 15th generation. He changed Lung's family name to Chang 張 and appointed him chief of the kingdom which he called Chien-ning Kuo 建寧國. The capital of that kingdom was Chien-ning ch'eng, the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, on the way to Ta-li fu 大理府. Later on Chang Lung-yu-na transferred his capital to Ch'eng-chiang[4] where his ancestor Jen-kuo had ruled during the Han dynasty.

[4] It is, perhaps, of interest to record that in the T'ang dynasty the Na-khi lived in the region described as follows:

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edition of the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), in ch. 4, fol. 30a, states that at the end of the period T'ien-pao of T'ang 唐天寶 (755) the Mo-so-man 蠻蘇 absorbed the territory of Ch'eng-chiang. Later the district was called Lo-ch'ieh tien 羅伽甸. The P'o (Po)-man 婆蠻 afterwards conquered it. They were followed by the Meng family 蒙氏, of the Nan-chao Kingdom, who called it Ho-yang Chün 河陽郡. The Tuan family 段氏, who ruled Nan-chao under the name of Ta-li Kuo 大理國, divided the Mo-so into three tribes, namely the Ch'iang-tsung 羌宗部, Hsiu-chih 休利部 and Pu-hsiung 步雄部.

The *Ch'eng-chiang fu chih* 澂江府志 (ed. 1719), ch. 3, fols. 4b–5a, says that because T'u-mo-

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The Nan-chao or Southern Kingdom. — A gap of nearly 400 years intervenes now during which nothing is known as to successions, or chronology, until we come to the descendant of Chang Lung-yu-na, of the 17th generation. His name was Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求. He was invested by the T'ang Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 in the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) with the title of Shou-ling Ta-chiang-chün 首領大將軍 (Grand Marshal Commander-in-Chief). In the same year, however, he asked permission of the Emperor to abdicate in favor of the Meng family 蒙氏. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain Meng Hsi-nu-lo 蒙細奴邏 who was a descendant of Meng Chü-tu 蒙苴篤 of the 36th generation. The latter was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴, a son of King A-yü 阿育 (Asoka, King of Magadha). Meng Hsi-nu-lo became the founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom and called his dynasty Ta Meng and his domain the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). He was 32 years of age when he came to the throne in 649. His capital was Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城, the present Meng-hua hsien 蒙化縣, a town situated two stages south of Ta-li. He ruled until 674, while his dynasty lasted until 902.[5]

The history of the Nan-chao Kingdom forms the subject of a treatise written by the famous Han-lin scholar Yang Shen, 楊慎, of the latter part of the Ming dynasty, who in 1524 incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Hou Tsung 厚熜 (Chia-ching). He was first thrown into prison, and later banished to south-western Yün-nan (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), where he died in 1559. His ancestral shrine is in the temple compound of P'u-hsien Ssu 普賢寺, at Kao-ch'iao 高橋 across the lake from K'un-ming. This treatise (the already mentioned *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史) has been translated into French by Camille Sainson, a former French vice-consul at Ho-k'ou 河口 on the Yün-nan and Indo-China border. See appendix to Chapter VII, pp. 177–184.

Much of the history of the Nan-chao Kingdom can be found in the history of Li-chiang and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the kingdom existed for over 600 years, from 649 to 1253, during which time Yün-nan was independent of the Chinese Empire. It was Kublai Khan, later the famous Mongol Emperor, who invaded Yün-nan in 1253 and annexed it to the empire, reducing the last King of Nan-chao, Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, to a mere hereditary governor of Ta-li.

Tuan Hsing-chih had 12 successors, the last governor of Ta-li being Tuan Shih 段世 who took office in the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382).

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chih 佳英武 of the Mo-so had acquired merit, his sons were organized into three tribes, and the territory of Ho-yang was divided among them as Ch'iang-tsung, Hsiu-chih and Pu-hsiung pu. The first became the Yang-tsung hsien 陽宗縣 of the Yüan and Ming dynasties (now obsolete); the second is the present Hsin-hsing hsien 新興縣, the third is the Chiang-ch'uan 江川 district of to-day. The Pu-hsiung afterwards lived at Ch'ieh-tien and were therefore called the Lo-ch'ieh pu 羅伽部. On p. 3b of the same work, it states further that T'u-mo-chih dwelt west of the Ts'uan-man 爨蠻 (Lo-lo) who submitted with them to T'ai Tsung 太宗 of the T'ang dynasty in the 23rd year of the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (649). T'u-mo-chih's territory was then at Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and belonged to two chou, P'ang 傍 and Wang 望.

[5] P. M. Tchang, S.J., in his "Tableau des Souverains de Nantchao" (*B.E.F.E.O.* Vol. 1: 313, 1901) gives the dynastic title of Hsi-nu-lo as (Fong-ming) Feng-min 封民.

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175 101 *The province of Yün-nan.* — The Ming Emperor Yüan Chang 元璋 (Hung-wu) sent Generals Fu Yu-te 傅友德 and Mu Ying 沐英 to subjugate Yün-nan; their troops seized various towns in the south-east of the province, such as Lin-an 臨安, Ch'eng-chiang 澂江, Yüan-chiang 元江 and even Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming. Gradually they advanced on Ta-li, which fell on the 23rd of the second moon, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (March 8th, 1382). Various revolts on the part of the aborigines followed in different parts of the province, but these were ruthlessly suppressed, for we read that in the eastern part of the province 30,000 heads were cut off, and of 200,000 insurgents who had attacked Yün-nan fu, 60,000 were decapitated.

In the same year 1382 the province was for the first time called Yün-nan 雲南, and this name has been retained throughout, up to the present day. The name Yün-nan appears for the first time, however, in the year 122 B.C. during the reign of Han Wu Ti, in the first year of the period Yüan-shou. It was then not the name of the province, but of a small town to the east of Ta-li, namely Yün-nan hsien. The *Yün-nan hsien chih* 雲南縣志 (Records of the district of Yün-nan) state that in that year (122 B.C.) brilliant (varicolored) clouds were seen in Pai-ngai, whereupon the hsien of Yün-nan was established.

The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* states that there is another explanation for the origin of the name Yün-nan. It is said that in the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 of the T'ang dynasty (713–755), the Minister of the State of Meng-she 蒙舍, by name Sheng Lo-p'i 盛邏皮, went in audience at the Court. When the Emperor asked him where he resided, he replied: "In the south, at the foot of the clouds"; thereupon the Emperor named his land Yün-nan (South of the clouds).

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CHAPTER I

Territory between K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) and Li-chiang

It would seem superfluous to give here the stages and a description of the road to Ta-li, which has been described by travellers too numerous to mention. But practically none give the names with the Chinese characters. And as the romanization adopted by them depended on their nationality — English, French or German — the resulting spelling has not always been a happy one. It is for this reason that I shall describe briefly the route from K'un-ming, via Ta-li 大理, to Li-chiang 麗江, and also give historical accounts of the various towns encountered *en route*, beginning with K'un-ming, our starting point. 487

Although no one will ever again use the old caravan road to Ta-li except muleteers — and these only for a few years more — as a motor-road has been built to Ta-li and its extension to Li-chiang is almost completed, I have thought it wise to give this description of the old caravan road as a matter of historic interest.

1. — History of Yün-nan fu

Yün-nan fu was the land south of the Liang Chou 梁州 of Yü Kung 禹貢. In the time of the Yin 殷 (also called Shang 商) and Chou 周 dynasties, it was outside their borders and was inhabited by the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (Southwestern barbarians). There dwelled the P'o 焚, Chiu 鳩, Liao 獠, Li 傈 (Piao 僄), Lo 裸 (Naked), Tu 毒, Lu 獹, and Ngo or O 峩, and all the tribes of the Wu-man 烏蠻. In the Fighting States period, Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 of Ch'u 楚 seized the land, assumed the kingship of their territory and called it Tien Kuo 滇國. 173

Tien Kuo. — There seems to be some discrepancy as regards the actual establishing of the Tien Kuo. Chavannes, in his introduction to the *Mémoires historiques*, pp. LXXIX and LXXXIV, states that King Wei 威王 of Ch'u, who reigned from 339–329 B.C., sent General Chuang Ch'iao to conquer the region which is the present K'un-ming. Owing to his inability to return to Ch'u the latter installed himself on the borders of lake Tien and named his kingdom after the lake, Tien Kuo (Kingdom of Tien) (Plate 2).

The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 1, pp. 6b–7b, quoting from the *Shih Chi* 史記, says that, in the time of King Wei of Ch'u, General Chuang Ch'iao was sent with his soldiers to follow the Chiang 江 (Yangtze), and seize the territory to the west of Pa 巴, Shu 蜀 and Ch'ien-chung. General Chuang was the descendant of King Chuang (Wang) of Ch'u 莊王 (613–591 B.C.). (The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* has quite a discussion about this statement that Chuang Ch'iao was the descendant of Chuang Wang). Chuang arrived at lake Tien; near it was level ground, 300 li square, consisting of fertile soil. Several thousand li were occupied by the soldiers, who overawed the country, which thus became subject to Ch'u.

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173 When the General intended returning to report (to his king) he found that Ch'in had attacked Ch'u, Pa and Ch'ien-chung. The road was thus closed. He sent one of his generals, Hsiao Pu 小卜, to tranquilize the savages to the west of Tien. Unable to return to Ch'u, he began building the walled city of Chü-lan 莋蘭 and resided there. Chü-lan ch'eng was in the prefecture of Ku-ch'ang 谷昌 and was seven li north of K'un-ming hsien — other books say over 10 li from Yün-nan fu.

The *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) states that in the time of Ch'ing Hsiang Wang 頃襄王, Chuang Hao 莊豪 was King of Tien.

According to the *Shih Chi* and *Han Shu* 漢書, the time when Chuang Ch'iao was sent to Yün-nan was during the reign of King Wei of Ch'u (339–329 B.C.), and not during the reign of King Ch'ing Hsiang of Ch'u (289–262 B.C.).

Although the Li-chiang Records state explicitly that it was after Ssu-ma Ts'o had attacked Ch'u and Ch'ien-chung (which was in 280 B.C.), the exact date of the establishing of Tien Kuo is, therefore, left undetermined.[1]

K'un-ming (*Yün-nan fu*). — In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.) the King of Tien submitted, and at first there was established the I-chou Chün 益州郡.[2] (A *chün* 郡 was a territorial division of the Han empire beginning 221 B.C.) In the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Shu Han (A.D. 225). I-chou Chün was changed to Chien-ning 建寧 which controlled also Wei hsien 味縣 (this was 15 li west of the city of Nan-ning, or Nanning ch'eng 南寧城, the present-day Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, to the east of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu), distant seven stages).

[1] The dates given by EMILE ROCHER in his "Histoire des princes du Yün-nan" in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. X (1809), p. 1, as regards the early history of Yün-nan, are completely untrustworthy, for he says, "About the beginning of our era the prince of the Kingdom of Ch'u sent an ambassador by the name of Chuang Ch'iao, etc., to Yün-nan to which he gave the name of Tien." Now the State of Ch'u came to an end in 223 B.C., which is hardly "about the beginning of our era."

The next king of whom any record exists, although it is very little, is Ch'ang Ch'iang 尝羌, of whom the Li-chiang Records relate that "at first Han Wu Ti sent envoys to Tien [Yün-nan] to interview King Ch'ang Ch'iang." Wu Ti ruled from 140 to 87 B.C., so Ch'ang Ch'iang's reign in Yün-nan must fall into that period and not A.D. 20 as Rocher states.

In the *Hsi-nan-i Lieh-chuan* of the *Shih Chi* it is stated that Ch'ang Ch'iang, the King of Tien, led all his people to allegiance in the second year of the period Yüan-feng (109 B.C.). Thereupon he was given an official seal, authorizing him to continue to govern his people as their king.

Among the south-western savages there were about one hundred chieftains among whom only those of Yeh-lang and Tien received official seals authorizing them to be kings. The State of Ch'in exterminated the kings of all the other States except the King of Tien who was a descendant of Ch'u. When the Han dynasty launched an expedition against the south-western savages, all the barbarian States were exterminated except Tien, the king of which remained a favou..e of the emperor. We learn that Ch'ang Ch'iang, King of Tien, appeared first in Chinese history in the first year of the period Yüan-shou (122 B.C.). — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 117, fol. 2a and b.

[2] In I-chou Chün during the reign of Wu Ti, in the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 there were founded 24 hsien, of which the first was Tien-ch'ih 滇池. This Tien-ch'ih is the present-day Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣. The second was Shuang-pai 雙柏, the present I-men hsien 易門縣; the third was T'ung-lao 同勞, the Yüeh chou 越州, of the present Nan-ning, later abandoned, etc. Under the Later Han, I-chou Chün had 17 walled cities, the first again being Tien-ch'ih. All these belonged to Yün-nan. — (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 4b). *See* p. 8.

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In the second year of the period Yung-an 永安 (305) in the reign of Chin Hui Ti 惠帝, Chien-ning was enlarged and Ning-chou Chün 寧州郡 was established. In the second year of the period Yung-chia 永嘉 of Chin Huai Ti 懷帝 (308), Ning chou was changed to Chin-ning Chün 晉寧郡. Both the Sung 宋 (420–478) and Ch'i 齊 (479–501) called it by the same name. During the Liang 梁 (502–56) and Ch'en 陳 (557–589) dynasties the name Chin-ning Chün was abolished. In the beginning of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581) there was established K'un chou 昆州, which was subsequently abolished. — *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

However, in the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618) it was re-established as K'un chou, but subject to the Yao chou Tsung-kuan-fu 姚州總管府 (Fu-Governor of Yao chou, north of Chen-nan chou). In the fourth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (630) it was changed and made subject to the Tu-tu-fu 都督府 (Governor-General) of Jung chou 戎州.[3]

Towards the end of T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was abolished by the Nan-chao Kingdom. In the fifth year of Kuang-te 廣德 (767),[4] Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, a prince of the Meng family 蒙氏, added a wall and called the town T'o-tung ch'eng 拓東城, as in the east of Nan-chao (Ta-li) the Meng princes had established the *chieh-tu* of T'o-tung. It was intended to open up the land of T'o-tung which was one of six *chieh-tu* 節度,[5] namely, T'o-tung, Lung-tung 弄棟 (present-day Yüan-mou 元謀), Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (now called Pao-shan 保山), Yin-sheng 銀生 (present-day Ching-tung 景東), Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and Lu-shui 麗水. T'o-tung ch'eng is the K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) of to-day.

Ch'üan-feng-t'o 豎豐拓, a grandchild of the sixth generation of Feng-ch'ieh-i, changed the name T'o-tung ch'eng to Shan-shan fu 鄯闡府. Hsün-ho-ch'üan 尋閣勸 (in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* he is called Hsün-ko-ch'üan 尋閣勸), the seventh Nan-chao King (808–809), renamed T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城, and made it the Hsi-ching 西京 or Western capital, calling Shan-shan the Eastern capital. Lung-shun 隆舜, 12th Nan-chao King (877–897), changed the Hsi-ching 西京 (Western capital) to the Chung-tu 中都 (Central capital); and the Tung-ching 東京 (Eastern capital) he called the Shang-tu 上都 (Upper capital). In the time of the Tuan family, Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇[6] governed Shan-shan and his descendants lived there.

In the beginning of the Yüan 元 (Mongol) dynasty (1253) was established the Shan-shan wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Shan-shan city of 10,000 families). The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 32, fol. 3b, however, states that in the fifth year of

[3] Jung chou is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (formerly called Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 and Sui-fu) of Ssu-ch'uan. It was first known as Jung chou in the 10th year of Ta-t'ung 大同 of the Liang dynasty (544).

[4] This should probably read the second year of Ta-li 大歷, as there were only two years of the period Kuang-te, though the emperor was the same. The date may, however, be wrong, as the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* gives the second year of Kuang-te, which is 764.

[5] *Chieh-tu* was the office of an Imperial Commissioner.

[6] Kao Chih-sheng was marquis of Yo (hou) 岳侯. He was promoted in 1063 to T'ai-pao 太保 (Grand Protector of the Hereditary Prince), and invested with the title of marquis of Te (hou) 德侯. Later he was promoted marquis of Shan-shan 鄯闡侯, the title to be inherited by his descendants.

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173 Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1255) Shan-shan was divided into four Wan-hu fu or four cities of 10,000 families each. In the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1276) it was changed to Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路 (Circuit of Chung-ch'ing).

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the name was changed to Yün-nan fu 雲南府, which then ruled over four chou and nine hsien.

Ed. Chavannes, in the *T'oung-pao*, Vol. 6 (1905), p. 4, raises the question as to the identity of Shan-shan 善闡 and concludes that it is not to be identified with Yün-nan fu. He is inclined to accept the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* where it states that T'o tung is the present-day P'ing-ting hsiang 平定鄉, north of K'un-yang chou 昆陽州 in Yün-nan fu. K'un-yang chou is on the south-western point of K'un-yang Lake. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chi kao*, Vol. 8, ch. 3, fol. 9a, states explicitly that T'o-tung ch'eng is the Yün-nan fu of to-day, and that it was also called Shan-shan fu.

Another reference, however, is in Vol. 14, ch. 14, fol. 5b, of the same Chinese work, where it says that the ancient Ya-ch'ih ch'eng 押赤城, which Chavannes accepts as the present-day Yün-nan fu, was 20 li south-east of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣. Lo-tz'u hsien is north-west of Fu-min 富民, so this would mean that Ya-ch'ih ch'eng was between Lo-tz'u hsien and Fu-min.[7]

172 173 *The city wall.* — The wall of K'un-ming (the ancient T'o-tung ch'eng), was first built by Feng-ch'ieh-i [8] in the second year of Kuang-te 廣德 (764) (*see* p. 13, note 4), though according to tradition it is the ancient wall built by Chuang Ch'iao, first king of Tien Kuo.

In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382) the wall was replaced by a brick wall nine and three-tenths li in circumference, 29 feet and 2 inches high, and having six gates, each with a tower.

[7] If this were true the town could not have been surrounded by water on three sides. From many of the Chinese records it seems apparent that Ya-ch'ih and Shan-shan were two different cities. Ya-ch'ih was the capital of the Wu man. We read in the *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史 (New Mongol History), ch. 122, fol. 6b, that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai attacked the Wu man (Black savages), then the territory of the Lo pu 羅部 (Lo tribe who dwelt at Lo-tz'u hsien), and defeated Kao-hua 高華, the chief of the Man. He then advanced on the city of Ya-ch'ih (it actually says Ch'ih-ya which is a misprint). Three sides of the city are on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih (K'un-ming Lake). He employed *pao* 礮 (machines for throwing heavy stones), attacked its north gate and set fire to it. He was however unable to take it. In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fol. 22a, it states that Wu-liang-ho-t'ai divided his army and took the adjacent capital Shan-shan. He then turned around and attacked the Shui ch'eng 水城 of the Wu man Ho-la-chang 合剌章, etc. Further on it relates that he advanced on Ya-ch'ih, a city on the shores of the Tien Ch'ih and surrounded on three sides by water.

Shan-shan has survived in the K'un-ming of to-day while Ya-ch'ih has completely disappeared. The Na-khi however call K'un-ming, to this day, Yi-chi or rather Yi-ch'i, which seems to be the Ya-ch'ih of the Mongols, but they may be referring to the capital of the Wu-man with which they were classed by the Chinese.

The temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu 筇竹寺 (Temple of the Ch'iung bamboo [a variety of bamboo with great many knots]) situated 20 li west of K'un-ming on the Yü-an Shan 玉案山 (Jade-table Mountain) was built by Kao Kuang 高光 of Shan-shan about 638, so the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* relates. A stele in the same temple which bears the date of May 15, 1316, and which has only recently come to light, bears two inscriptions, a Chinese and a Mongol. The former states that the priest Hsüan Chien 玄堅 holds forth in the temple of Ch'iung-chu Ssu of Yün-nan Ya-ch'ih.

[8] He was the son of Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳 who ruled over the Nan-chao Kingdom from 748 to 788.

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In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660) the wall was in bad condition and the salt revenue was used to rebuild it. It was again rebuilt in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). Afterwards it was frequently repaired, the last time by Magistrate Chou Hsiung 周熊 in 1797. 173 712

To the north-east of the city lay the walled towns of Ching-i ch'eng 井邑城 and Huang ch'eng 隍城; to the west lay Han ch'eng 漢城. Something over 10 li to the east of the wall is the village of Ku-ch'ang-ts'un 穀昌村, which under the Han dynasty was part of the ancient territory of the Ku-ch'ang Wang (King of Ku-ch'ang).[9]

In the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) the Nan-chao Kingdom attacked the Hsi-jung 西戎 (Western Jung) tribes, and transported the Shih 蝨, Shun 順 and Mo-so 麼些 tribes, many thousands strong, to this locality.

2. — THE ROAD FROM K'UN-MING TO TA-LI

First stage. — From K'un-ming the trail leads west across the plain for 30 li until it reaches the foot-hills and the famous Pi-chi Kuan 碧雞關 (Jade-fowl Pass), where there is a hamlet and a temple on a hill overlooking the pass. This temple was built in the 22nd year of K'ang-hsi, the seventh month and 12th day (September 2nd, 1683). The elevation of the village is 6,550 feet. The motor-road follows the foot of the pass, zigzags up the hill, and then bears to the west. 133 487

From Pi-chi Kuan to An-ning chou 安寧州 (now An-ning hsien) is 50 li. An-ning is a walled city lying in a valley at an altitude of 6,000 feet. In ancient days it was the T'ang-lang-ch'uan 螳螂川 (Mantis stream) of the Tien Kingdom. A small trail here branches off to the town of Wu-ting 武定, three stages to the north of K'un-ming and a distance of 210 li from An-ning. (A motor-road has now been built.)

The road to An-ning winds between wheat-fields which are terraced and situated between low hills with limestone outcroppings. Coolies, mostly Min-chia 民家 (for description see pp. 41–43), men and women, are met with, carrying blocks of salt on a framework, the load being 100 catties, or about 133 lb. Others bear loads of firewood, charcoal and rice for the market of K'un-ming. The salt comes from Pai-yen ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well) near the town of Yen-feng 鹽豐. A trail connects the salt-wells with Ch'u-hsiung. [482 438]

An-ning hsien. — In the Han dynasty, An-ning was the Lien-jan hsien 連然縣 of I chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty (about 265–266) it belonged or was subject to Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties its name remained unaltered. In the beginning of the Sui dynasty (about 581–582) the city was subject to K'un chou. 173

During the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (about 618–619) its name was changed and An-ning hsien magistracy (still under K'un chou) was established. At the beginning of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 742–743) An-ning hsien fell into the hands of the Man (savages) who had rebelled owing to extortionate taxes and forced labor.

[9] The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 1a, states that there is no Ku-ch'ang Wang listed in the *Han Shu* and that the character *wang* was by mistake used for *hsien* 縣.

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173 Afterwards the city was captured by the Meng family (Meng shih 蒙氏), the founders of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The T'ang dynasty sent soldiers to suppress the Man. P'i-li-ko, the fourth Nan-chao King, with his soldiers joined the T'ang soldiers and pacified the savages. Nine years afterwards when the Nan-chao Kingdom had become stronger, the Ts'uan 爨 savages were weakened. The robbers (Ts'uan) however captured Yao chou 姚州, and although they again attacked An-ning, it remained in the possession of the Nan-chao kings.

The Tuan family, which in 937 succeeded to the throne of Nan-chao, made no changes and, during the reign of Tuan Ssu-lien 段思廉 (1044–1075), Kao Chih-sheng 高智升, marquis of Shan-shan, was commissioned to guard and protect their territory.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) it was dependent on the Yang-ch'eng-p'u 陽城傅[10] Wan-hu fu. In the beginning of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264 or 1265) there was established the Ch'ien-hu so 千戶所 (Sub-military station of 1,000 families) of An-ning. Afterwards the name was changed to An-ning chou. At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it remained unaltered.

The native prefect, a member of the Tung family 董氏, governed hereditarily the registered families of 10 li (10 communes) and one hsien.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 141, p. 31a . . . 32a, has the following to say about the Tung family: "In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府 was established. In the 17th year (1384) Tung Tz'u 董賜 was made native fu-prefect of Ho-ch'ing (on account of his great merit). He was originally native chou-prefect of An-ning of which city he was a native. His son, Tung Chieh 董節, also on account of merit, was made hereditary native chou-prefect of An-ning in the same year his father was transferred to Ho-ch'ing. (See also *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 20, fol. 20a.) He established schools and built the city yamen, gave lessons in agriculture and sericulture, and instructed the people in the cultivation of trees, etc."

133 487 137 *Second stage.* — From An-ning hsien to Lao-ya-kuan 老鴉關 (Crow pass) is a distance of 70 li. The trail leads up the hills to a hamlet called Ts'ao-p'u 草舖 (Grass shop), which is 10 li from Ch'ing-lung-shao 青龍哨 (Green dragon guard-station), the lunch-stop of the day. It continues on over wild, arid country — an undulating plateau of gravel, red soil, yellow sand and clay. The slopes are covered with pine scrub (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Sixty li from An-ning hsien the village of Lu-piao 祿(鹿)標 is reached. After passing through a circular terraced basin, the trail climbs to Lao-ya pass on which is a temple now occupied by the militia. The altitude of Lao-ya Kuan is 6,300 feet. Lao-ya-kuan village, which is not touched by the motor-road, extends from the top of the pass down into a little plain, and belongs to the magistracy of Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣.

Third stage. — From Lao-ya-kuan to Lu-feng hsien 祿豐縣 is 80 li. The trail leads up through a rocky ravine to a pass which is called Yang-lao-shao 楊老哨, then past the hamlet of Pei-hou-ssu 背後寺, descending from 6,000

[10] This is the Chin-ning hsien 晉寧縣 on the south-east bank of the lake at K'un-ming. There was an outer and an inner walled city in the chou; the inner was called Yang-ch'eng-p'u and was built by the Meng family.

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feet into a deep valley in which is situated the long village of Yao-chan 腰站, the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The motor-road avoids Yao-chan and keeps to the hill-side, descending in great zigzags to the west of the place. The steep valley slopes are eroded, the strata being perfectly horizontal and in various colors, such as grey and yellow clay, gravel and red soil; the land has sunk and lies tilted considerably, especially in the north-eastern part, exposing the above-mentioned varicolored strata and giving the whole landscape a peculiar appearance.

Lu-feng [11] is situated in a fertile plain at an elevation of 5,350 feet. It is a town now much dilapidated and surrounded by a low wall. The original earthen wall was built in the 12th year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1352). In the 35th year of Ming Wan-li (1607) the town was burnt by the native bandit, A-k'o 阿克 (tribal chief of Wu-ting), and the magistrate pulled down the earthen wall and built a brick one, 3 li in circumference and 16 Chinese feet high. This wall was destroyed by an earthquake in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670) and rebuilt. It was repaired frequently afterwards up to the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

To the west of Lu-feng, almost adjoining the wall, flows the Hsing-lo Ho 星羅河. The bridge spanning it is called Hsing-hsü ch'iao 星宿橋 (Bridge of the zodiacal constellation), another name for it being Yung-feng ch'iao 永豐橋. It was commenced in 1612 and finished in 1614 by Hsiang Chao-lin 向兆麟, magistrate of Lu-feng.

Fourth stage. — From Lu-feng to She-tzu 舍資 (also written 捨資) is a distance of 90 li. From Lu-feng the road leads through the west gate, known as the Ch'ing men 清門, over the Hsing-hsü bridge. The Hsing-hsü Chiang 星宿江 or Ho 河, another name for the Hsing-lo River, is called the Lu-shih Chiang 綠汁江 on the Yün-nan military map. It flows west of the walled town and becomes an affluent of the Red River (the Chinese Yüan Chiang 元江) which debouches into the sea in Indo-China.

The trail crosses the plain to the foot of the hills which it ascends. This particular stretch of trail is the worst on the entire journey to Li-chiang. All the villages have been burned by bandits, only the charred mud walls are standing and the fields lie waste. The mountains of this region had been for years the stronghold of the large robber bands which harassed the province.

Half-way up the mountain-side, nestled in the forest is an old temple, 10 li from Lu-feng. From a pass, 6,300 feet high, which is the top of the ridge encircling the western side of the Lu-feng plain, one has a wonderful view over a vast sea of mountains, here and there being a tiny level area with a few hamlets and fields. The trail continues below the top of the ridge along grassy and wooded slopes. Ahead are conical mountains thickly wooded with pines;

[11] In ancient days it was the Pai-ts'un 白村 (White village) of the Lu-peng tien 祿鵬甸 (tien of Lu-peng). The district was inhabited by the Wu-p'o-man 烏婆蠻 (Black P'o savages). Their land was malarial and hot, and they thus had no definite dwelling. They were ruled in the period of Ta-li 大理 (937–1094) by I-sheng 義寧, the son of Kao Chih-sheng 高智昇. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty the town was dependent on the Ch'ien-hu so of An-ning. In the reign of Chih-yüan 至元 (1341–1367) it was established as a hsien, subject to the chou of An-ning. The peasants of three li registered there. To-day it is a full-fledged hsien city.

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487 137 133 at the foot of the nearest, the trail, now a deep trench, enters a ravine descending to a stone bridge and then to what was once a hamlet called Hsiang-shui-kuan 响水關 (Rippling water pass). It is a wonderful spot in the midst of densely forested mountains and lovely clear streams. This was the head-
[579] quarters of the robber bands. Thanks to the energetic rule of the then governor, Lung Yün 龍雲, many of the bandits were killed, the remainder dispersed, and a fort erected where soldiers are always on guard.

The trail winds in and out between high, forested spurs, finally ascending to a pass of 6,500 feet elevation. It descends into a small valley, across low ridges and thence to the small, forlorn hamlet of She-tzu at 6,100 feet. After having been plundered several times by the bandits who once occupied it for many months in 1927–28, a mud wall has been built around it, and watch-towers on the tops of the surrounding spurs. She-tzu, which formerly belonged to Kuang-t'ung hsien, is now a sub-divisional magistracy, in the district of Hei-ching 黑井 (Black salt-well — in contradistinction to the Pai-
[317] ching 白井, White salt-well). In Hei-ching are two wells called A-lou ching 阿陋井 and Yüan-yung ching 元永井. Large caravans loaded with salt make their way from here to the capital.

Fifth stage. — From She-tzu to Kuang-t'ung hsien 廣通縣 is a distance of 60 li. The trail now passes across the She-tzu plain and enters a small ravine leading to a pass, at 6,550 feet and 15 li from She-tzu, where is a shrine — a large old temple dedicated to the famous hero Kuan Yü 關羽 of the San Kuo 三國 (Three Kingdoms), later canonized as Kuan Ti 關帝 and made a god in 1594 by Ming Wan-li. The pass is called Le-ma Kuan 勒馬關 (Rein-in the horse Pass). From this pass, once a dangerous spot held by bandits, the trail descends to the edge of a small, cultivated plain on which stands the village of Hei-chü 黑苴, elevation 6,125 feet, consisting of about 25 houses; wheat, barley, and broad beans are cultivated. A number of peasants were
[483] encountered here, carrying large pine logs by means of straps over their foreheads and wooden yokes around the backs of their necks, the yoke resting on the shoulders (PLATES 7, 8).

The trail ascends steeply — the hill-side being covered with magnolias, Michelias, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, *Ketteleria Davidiana*, pines, Pyrus or wild pears, oaks, etc. — to a pass at 6,500 feet and descends to the village of Meng-ch'i-p'u 蒙七舖, elevation 6,425 feet. This is the regular lunch-stop. The path leads on across a spur into a depression which it encircles, and then climbs to a higher spur, elevation 7,110 feet. It continues on top of the spur for some time, leaving a deep valley to the right, and descends steeply over a mere rock pile of a trail to the plain of Kuang-t'ung and the dilapidated, ruined town of that name. Kuang-t'ung must once have seen better days, judging by its large now ruined temples. Its elevation is 6,300 feet.[12]

[12] The aboriginal name of Kuang-t'ung was Lu t'an 路賧. [The character *t'an* 賧 stands for the Tai word *kieng* or *shieng*, as in Kieng-mai, a town in northern Siam. The word is often written 睒 *shan*, and 瞼 *chien*, the latter probably in imitation of the Tai sound. The meaning of the Tai word is a State, a province or a town.] In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (1253) the Lu-t'an ch'ien-hu 路賧千戶 (Lu State of 1,000 families) was established. In the 12th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1352) [the *Kuang-t'ung hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 5b, states the 11th year (1351)], it became Kuang-t'ung hsien dependent on Nan-an chou 南安州,

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Sixth stage. — From Kuang-t'ung to Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 is a distance of 70 li. The trail follows the foot-hills which encircle the plain, then ascends a spur covered with a semi-xerophytic type of vegetation, consisting mostly of *Castanopsis Delavayi*, pines, Ketteleria, Euonymus, Lyonia, *Rhododendron decorum*, *Rhododendron Scottianum*, Quercus, Sophora, Pyrus, *Rubus luteus*, *Rosa Banksia*, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, etc.

The trail continues to ascend the gravelly spurs to the summit of a ridge on which are situated a few houses which compose the hamlet of Hui-teng-kuan 回蹬關, elevation 7,050 feet. This place is of historic interest. In the 23rd year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1363) a general, by name Ming Yü-chen 明玉珍, led 30,000 soldiers to this pass, coming from Ta-li to attack Shan-shan, the present K'un-ming. From Ta-li fu he was pursued by Tuan Kung 段功, who ruled from 1345–1366 as hereditary Governor of Ta-li fu. Ming Yü-chen and his accomplice, Li Chih-ma 李芝麻, as well as his younger brother, Ming Erh 明二, and others, were the leaders of the Red Turban brigands; they and their soldiers were defeated here by Tuan Kung. Hence the name of the pass, Hui-teng (To return and to struggle), having reference to his army turning about and fighting Tuan Kung. It can also be translated "to turn the stirrup." [13]

From the pass the trail continues at 6,900 feet elevation (watch-towers are on the pass as well as on the hills beyond), the grade being easy and the path sandy; it descends 600 feet into a ravine which has been banked by a dam, creating a deep, blue pond. From here the trail ascends to the village of Shih-chien-p'u 石澗舖, situated on the edge of a plain at an elevation of 6,230 feet and 30 li from Kuang-t'ung. Thence it follows along scrub-covered hills for several li at the edge of the plain, then directly across the plain, which is barred by a low red spur. On this plateau is situated the hamlet of Ling-hsü 凌墟, elevation 6,200 feet. Here a valley opens, with a stream called the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 (Dragon River) which has its source at the Ying-wu Kuan 英武關 and flows south of Chen-nan hsien past Ch'u-hsiung, thence north into the Yangtze at Lung-kai 龍街 north of Ma-kai 馬街.[14]

The trail follows up-stream on level ground partly paved, partly sandy, — the hills to the left being covered with pines and large deciduous trees (oaks, etc.) and the fields cultivated with rice — crosses the red spur just mentioned and descends into the plain of Ch'u-hsiung at an elevation of 6,300 feet.

The town of Ch'u-hsiung is walled, rather long, and possesses about 15,000

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south of Ch'u-hsiung. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was again changed (that is, it no longer belonged to Nan-an chou) and henceforth came under the jurisdiction of Ch'u-hsiung and had subject to it the peasants of four li. In ancient days Kuang-t'ung had no wall; the first brick wall built was in the 45th year of Ming Wan-li (1617). It was 3 li in circumference and 18 Chinese feet high. It had four gates, each with a loft, or tower-like superstructure, and was surrounded by a moat 5 feet broad and deep.

[13] The *Ch'u-hsiung fu chih*, ch. 1, fol. 25b, states that Ko-lo-feng intended to attack the Yün-nan T'o-tung ch'eng and arrived at this pass with his troops. He encountered a heavy thunderstorm when his captain advised him to return with his troops, hence the name.

[14] East of Chü-li-p'u 宜力舖 the stream is called Pai-lung Ho 白龍河. Another name for it is Hung Chiang 紅江 (Rainbow River). It receives many small affluents on its way past Chen-nan, especially from the north, such as the Shuang-lung Ho 雙龍河, Yang-ch'i Ho 陽起河, and Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河.

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361 487 inhabitants. In the Han dynasty Ch'u-hsiung belonged to the territory of I Chou. Afterwards it became the dwelling-place of miscellaneous Man (savages) carrying on agriculture and pasturage. They were called the O-lu 鍔祿. In course of time, Wei-ch'u 威楚, headman of the Ts'uan, built a tamped earth wall, and Ch'u-hsiung became the *t'an* (town) of the O-lu. Because of that it was called the Wei-ch'u ch'eng 威楚城. [The town is known even nowadays as Wei-ch'u. The wall was rebuilt by Kao Ming-liang 高明量 in the time of the Tuan family, during the Sung dynasty, actually in the reign of the Nan-chao King, Tuan Cheng-shun 段正淳 (1096–1108), who laid the foundation of the new Ch'u-hsiung wall two li north-west of the present town of Ch'u-hsiung]. At the end of the reign of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) all the other Man (savages) became subjects of Wei-ch'u. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) the viceroy petitioned the Emperor and, presenting a map, suggested that a wall be built on the present site of Ch'u-hsiung. The petition was granted and a brick wall erected seven li in circumference and 25 Chinese feet high. It collapsed frequently and was rebuilt, the last time in 1865.

487 133 137 *Seventh stage.* — From Ch'u-hsiung to Lü-ho-kai 呂合街 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 6,500 feet.

Passing through the west gate and the long suburb of Ch'u-hsiung, the trail skirts the western end of the plain, crosses a camel-back bridge near the hamlet of San-chia-t'ang 三家塘 (Three-family post-station), and enters a valley with several branches, taking the right-hand branch. The hills are composed of red sandstone and red clay. Passing over low hills covered with small pine trees, we descend to another small plain which the trail skirts; several hamlets are situated at the foot-hills, the elevation being 6,350 feet. The regular lunch-stop for the caravans is the hamlet of Ta-shih-p'u 大石舖 (Great rock shop). Magnificent groves of oaks (*Quercus serrata*) grow along the road.

From this hamlet the trail meanders over rolling country and thence up a ravine past the village of Ch'ing-yüan-shao 清源哨 (Clear spring fort), 15 li from Lü-ho-kai and Ch'ien-liang-ch'iao 錢粮橋 (Tollbridge). Here in the olden days used to be a *shao* 哨 (outpost), where two soldiers stood guard. [317] The odor of sulphur permeates the air, probably from hot sulphur springs in the neighborhood. Elevation 6,450 feet. Some distance beyond, a large stone bridge crosses the Tzu-tien Ho 紫甸河, which river has its source in Ting-yüan hsien 定遠縣 and flows into the Pai-lung Ho 白龍河.

[361] The trail ascends the spur dividing the valley of the Lung Ch'uan 龍川 from the Lü-ho-kai plain, and crossing its highest point at 6,625 feet descends steeply past an old temple to the long hamlet of Lü-ho-kai, consisting of two rows of dilapidated houses. At the western end of the hamlet is a temple with a tall wooden tower overlooking the one street; the temple is called Lü-tsu Ko 呂祖閣 (Ancestral court [pavilion] of the Lü family). Lü-ho-kai belongs to the magistracy of Ch'u-hsiung. The ancient name of Lü-ho was Ho-kuan-t'an 合關灘. Later it became the Lü-ho-i 呂合驛 (Lü-ho courier station), also known as Lü-ho 呂閤. During the time of the Nan-chao Kingdom a certain Lü Shun-yang 呂純陽 lived at this place, whence its name.

Eighth stage. — From Lü-ho-kai to Sha-ch'iao 沙橋 (Sand bridge) is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

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Immediately outside the village the road leads over a bridge which spans a small tributary, the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream), and then across the small plain over spurs wooded with pines and oaks, only to descend again to another small plain of about 20 acres. Thence it follows along a beautifully wooded ridge, the main trees being pines, oaks, and Ketteleria, to a small terraced basin and ascends a gravelly spur, on the top of which, and to east of the road, is an old fort and watch-tower called Kao-feng shao 高峯哨 (High hill fort), midway between Lü-ho-kai and Chen-nan hsien 鎮南縣 (Guarding the south prefecture) 15 li either way. From the pass the trail descends into terraced, rolling country with scattered farmhouses, the path consisting of remnants of pavement-blocks, which form a ridge in the center of quagmires.

The country becomes more open and to our left is a long plain surrounded by bare hills. On this plain is situated the walled town of Chen-nan, consisting of about 600 houses. Elevation 6,600 feet.[15]

In ancient times the place was inhabited by Man-i (savages). It was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻 (P'u and Lo tribes). At the beginning of the Yüan dynasty when the Tuan family ruled Nan-chao (1253–1382), a thousand P'u-lo-man families inhabited Ch'ien-she 欠舍 (the present district of Chen-nan). In the seventh year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1257) there were established the Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu 欠舍千戶 and the Shih-ku pai-hu 石鼓百戶. In the 21st year of Chih-yüan (1284) Ch'ien-she ch'ien-hu was changed to Chen-nan chou, subject to Wei-ch'u Lu 威楚路 (Circuit of Wei-ch'u, *i.e.* Ch'u-hsiung). In the 22nd year (1285) Shih-ku pai-hu was changed to Shih-ku hsien, subject to Chen-nan. This district city was 30 li east of Chen-nan. Prior to the T'ang dynasty there was a village in that place called Shih-ku-ts'un 石鼓村, which was made a district by King P'i-lo-ko who in 730 had united the six kingdoms (Liu chao) of Nan-chao. In the 24th year of Chih-yüan (1287) the district was abolished and became a *hsiang* 鄉, or suburban district. The *Man-shu* 蠻書 says that this is the Lü-ho (kai) of Ch'u-hsiung (*see* p. 20). The same work states further that Shih-ku-i 石鼓驛 (Courier station of Shih-ku) was once called Hua-ch'uan 化川 and was three stages from Yün-nan ch'eng (the present-day Hsiang-yün hsien or Yün-nan hsien which is not to be confused with Yün-nan fu). In the reign of T'ang Shang-yüan 上元 (760–761) the district was called Su-fu chün 裕富郡.

Passing through the west gate, which faces south of the long town we come to a *p'ai-fang* (stone arch), and out into the narrow, terraced valley between partly wooded hills. Outside this town I found a great number of coffins above ground awaiting burial, emitting dreadful odors, and, worse still, naked corpses of children tied to poles and wrapped in mats, their hands and feet protruding and set upright against trees, with millions of flies swarming about.

The trail leads up and down over spurs and tree-covered hills and into valleys

[15] In ancient days Chen-nan had no wall. During the reign of Ming Hung-chih 宏治 (1488–1505) the native sub-prefect Tuan Tzu-t'ung 段梓橦 built the first tamped earth wall. In the 43rd year of the period Wan-li (1615) the chou-prefect Yin Wei-hsien 尹爲憲 rebuilt a brick wall. It is three li in circumference, twenty Chinese feet high and seven thick. It has four gates with towers. There is however no moat. When the Mohammedans captured the town during the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) they built a moat around it twenty feet wide and deep. This has now disappeared.

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487 133 137 until we reach the village of Pan ch'iao 板橋 (Wood bridge), 30 li from Chen-nan, at the foot of a wooded hill. Leaving the village to the right it crosses a stone bridge called Ling-kuang ch'iao 靈廣橋, near the temple of Ling-kuang (Miao). Thence it leads up the valley between hills to the village of Sha-ch'iao, situated on a slope. The neighboring country is inhabited by a number of tribes, who come to the markets to dispose of their products.

Ninth stage. — From Sha-ch'iao to P'u-p'ung 普濛 (Pervading noise of the water) is a distance of 95 li. Elevation 7,450 feet.

Leaving Sha-ch'iao the trail winds about the hill-sides between wooded slopes in narrow cultivated valleys at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Here are situated farm-houses and small hamlets in groves of willows along a clear stream. The path leads up a narrow, densely wooded valley to the hamlet Ta-fo-ssu 大佛寺 (Great Buddha temple) after a temple situated in the center of the village, but nothing is left of the temple except a few posts. The hamlet consists of about five houses and is in a wretched state; elevation 7,000 feet.

[579] Climbing between steep, wooded hills, formerly the hunting-ground of the bandit chief Ch'ang Liang and his bands, who burned nearly all the villages in this region (fortunately he has been caught and executed, and the villages are gradually being rebuilt), the ravine becomes narrower and filled with a wonderful forest of Alnus, Pyrus, Quercus, *Rhododendron Delavayi*, *Rhod. Simsii*, *Rhod. scabrifolium*, *Rhod. microphyton*, *Rhod. coriaceum*, magnolias, Cornus, etc., until we emerge into a narrow pass at 7,900 feet and the little hamlet of Chü-li-p'u 其力舖, 70 li west of Chen-nan. Every house in this once prosperous village was in ashes (1928–1930) — the act of bandits. Women and children sat among the debris in despair.

487 133 485 The trail continues up the narrowing ravine to the pass at 8,200 feet where lies the hamlet called Ying-wu-kuan 英武關, or 鸚鵡關,[16] a distance of 50 li from Sha-ch'iao. This is the regular lunch-stop for the caravans. The houses are mainly food-stalls and tea-shops which cater to the traveler. A tiny temple is back of the village in a forest of oaks.

487 133 137 From this pass the trail descends, only to ascend again to a slightly higher pass at 8,300 feet, whence it leads down into a red valley, bare, arid, and exposed to the terrific winds which sweep it from the west. At 8,000 feet we pass the wretched village of T'ien-shen-t'ang-t'ang 天神堂塘, continuing downstream for a short distance. Instead of following the valley we now turn to the right, and climb the steep spur over a terribly rocky trail between pine forests, to an elevation of 8,350 feet. Here the path emerges on to a flat plateau (the neighborhood is inhabited by Lo-lo tribesmen) and descends the broad mountain-side over which the wind sweeps furiously in winter and spring. Much of the land is bare and covered with fine, loose gravel and sand. Only barberry bushes (Berberis) manage to exist, with *Osteomeles Schwerinæ*, a gnarled shrub with white flowers. The hills are purplish-red and yellow with here and there calcareous outcroppings.

The trail, after having kept to an elevation of from 8,000 to 7,600 feet, de-

[16] Not to be mistaken for the Ying-wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain), which is only a half li north-west of Chen-nan. The name is derived from the many parrots which are said to nest there.

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scends into a valley enclosed by arid hills. The valley floor is planted with wheat at an elevation of 7,400 feet. Continuing in this valley we come to the hamlet of P'u-ch'ang-ho 普昌河 (Universal Prosperity), so named after the stream which divides it in two and is spanned by a bridge. This region and the neighborhood of P'u-p'ung was the happy hunting-ground of the bandit chief Lao Ying-hsiung 老英雄, who held sway at the time of my visit in 1928. Since then he has met the fate of most of the men who follow that dangerous profession.

From P'u-ch'ang-ho the trail once more ascends the pine-covered spurs to 7,725 feet elevation. The whole country is one vast sea of mountains. Leaving a deep valley to the left, we climb to 7,900 feet over a broad, gravelly, sandy spur, and then descend into a large valley to the hamlet of P'u-p'ung 普湖.

Tenth stage. — From P'u-p'ung to Yün-nan-i 雲南驛 is a distance of 65 li. Elevation 7,000 feet. (An *i* 驛 was a courier or dispatch station.)

From P'u-p'ung the trail climbs steeply to a flat spur at an elevation of 7,700 feet, where a lonely temple is situated dedicated to Kuan Ti (Kuan Ti Miao). The whole plateau is of sandstone and deeply eroded. Beyond the temple are a few farm-houses. The trail leads on over rolling country on the top of broad spurs of yellow sand and clay, covered with a scrub vegetation of pine, wild pears, Cornus, and a mass of Gnaphaliums. To the north are deep depressions, while the track skirts the mountain-sides near the top. The entire region is wild in the extreme, poor and unproductive. Hamlets are few, and when encountered they consist of only a few houses; cultivation being carried up the steep hill-side. Near a grove of large oaks is the hamlet of Shui-p'ang-p'u 水滂舖 (Roar of the waters), elevation 7,700 feet, on the inner slopes of the mountains, facing a depression south-west.

We continue now over a steep road to the top of another spur, elevation 7,800 feet, between scrub-oaks and Ketteleria trees. Beyond this pass is the hamlet of An-nan-kuan 安南關 (Pass of the peaceful south), a distance of 25 li from P'u-p'ung. In ancient days there used to be stationed here a *hsün-chien* 巡檢 (sub-district deputy-magistrate) who examined the travelers. This is the regular lunch-stop for caravans. From here the trail ascends to 8,000 feet along the edge of deep ravines where poplars and *Rhododendron Delavayi* grow; a splendid view is obtained of the large plain of Yün-nan-i to the west. Continuing for some li on the top of the spur, with waves upon waves of mountains to the south, we finally descend over a steep and much eroded trail, the mountains being sandstone, to this plain.

Yün-nan-i plain is about 25 li broad and over 60 li long, yet does not contain a single stream, or flowing water of any kind, being dependent throughout on wells and ponds. At times these become dry and water must be carried from great distances. Near the hamlet of Mu-p'ang-p'u 沐滂舖, at the foot of the spur at an elevation of 6,900 feet and the first hamlet encountered on the Yün-nan-i plain, are square ponds of bluish-grey water, the only supply of the village. Wheat is grown but no rice. A trek of about 20 li over the level plain brings one to the lonely and dreary hamlet of Yün-nan-i (Yün-nan post station).[1] The inns are poor and terrible, and the two temples of the village are

[1] Yün-nan-i is east of Yün-nan hsien. Near to it is the ancient village of Ku-ch'eng-ts'un 古城村; it was on that account considered the Ku Yün-nan chün-ch'eng 古雲南郡城

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137 occupied by schools and the militia. I found the houses here with gates walled-
133 up for fear of bandits, which fortunately are now no more. It is related that
489 the capital of Yün-nan was once at this place, but owing to the lack of water it
was transferred to the present site near the K'un-yang Lake (Tien Ch'ih 滇池).
[508] An aviation ground has been laid out east of Yün-nan-i. Neither wood nor
[374] charcoal are obtainable here, only anthracite which is burnt in open braziers,
the poisonous gases penetrating the street from the houses. The anthracite is
[316] mined near the village of Ma-kai 馬街, 15 li south of Yün-nan-i.

Eleventh stage. — From Yün-nan-i to Hung-ngai 紅崖 is a distance of 85 li. Elevation 6,120 feet.

From Yün-nan-i the trail leads along the plain, past a quaint pond near a temple with the houses of the long village of Kao-kuan-p'o 高關坡, opposite, then along the foot-hills for 15 li, which bring us to another small plain which the trail crosses. From about the center of this plain, called Hsiang-yün-pa 祥雲壩 (Auspicious cloud plain; in Yün-nan a *pa-tzu* 壩子 is a plain), another
[241] trail leads south-west to Meng-hua 蒙化, two stages (120 li) distant. Wheat and broad beans were cultivated on this plain. To the right, or north, is a lake of considerable size called Ch'ing-hai-yün 青海雲.[18] A rocky spur closes the plain, where is situated the small hamlet of Shai-chin-p'o 晒金坡.

The track now leads across the rocky spur to the shores of the lake. We find ourselves on another plain which we cross, thence over some foot-hills into a larger plain to the north. Passing through the forlorn hamlet of Kou-ts'un-p'u
[137] 溝村舖, elevation 6,900 feet, with its hedges of *Opuntia monacantha* cactus, we come out into grassy country, the hills being absolutely bare and lonely in the extreme, reminding one of the grasslands of north-east Tibet. To the north there is, however, a cultivated plain, while to the south are the denuded hills. Ahead red cliffs are visible, at the foot of which is a fairly imposing Buddhist temple, and next to it the hamlet of Ch'ing-hua-tung 青華硐 (Azure flowery cave), named after a large limestone cave a short way from the temple.[19] The distance from Yün-nan-i is 40 li and it is a regular lunch-stop, although a poorer place it is difficult to imagine; it consists of about four dilapidated houses or, rather, ruins. The cave, about 120 feet wide, extends some distance into the mountain, the ceiling is very high and there are several side branches.
[764] I followed the main cave for some distance but as the air became foul, and we stumbled on old coffins and human skeletons, we returned, glad to see daylight again. Two li north of Ch'ing-hua-tung is the magistracy of Yün-nan hsien, also called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣.

From Ch'ing-hua-tung the trail leads directly up the mountain and thence into a ravine surrounded by bare hills, wheat being planted in its narrow floor. Within the ravine, some distance up, the trail leads through the village of I-chiang-p'u 倚江舖, elevation 7,100 feet; the whole village is occupied with

(Ancient Yün-nan prefectural city). Nine li south of Yün-nan hsien is the village of Li-ssu-ying 力士營. Tradition relates that it was the camp (*ying*) of the army of Chu-ko Wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Marquis Chu-ko Liang) (181–234).

[18] Also called Yeh-ching Hu 葉淨湖. In the center of the lake is a rock resembling a mirror (*ching*), — hence the name.

[19] Ch'ing-hua Shan is the name of the mountain in which the cave is situated.

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making straw sandals for coolies and travelers. The motor-road also passes by this village. From there the trail continues up to a pass at 7,300 feet and thence over hill-sides covered with *Heteropogon contortus*, a brownish grass, and — sparingly — with pines. In the distance looms up a blue mountain range called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山, extending in a north and south direction and separating the Hung-ngai plain from Hsia-kuan and Ta-li.

The trail ascends once more to 6,900 feet, and then leads down to the village of Chia-mai-p'u 加買舖, only to climb up again over bare hills and then descends to the plain of Hung-ngai 紅崖 (Red cliff), formerly called Pai-ngai 白崖. The name Pai-ngai was changed to Hung-ngai in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).[20]

Hung-ngai is a long, forlorn-looking, straggling affair, with a temple at either end. The inns were and are execrable. This is due to the enormous hordes of soldiers which passed through this, as well as all the other hamlets. For years the road was next to closed on account of the bandits who harassed the region.

The earthquake which wrecked Ta-li in the spring of 1925 also played havoc with Hung-ngai. In the large temple at the eastern entrance to the village

[20] Pai-ngai was the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng 彩雲城 and was also called Wen-an-tung ch'eng 文案洞城. Afterwards it was called Pai-ngai ch'eng. In the T'ang dynasty, during the reign of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649–902), it was called Pai-ngai chien 劍 and was one of the ten *chien* (States), the words *chien* and *chao* 詔 being synonymous (*see* p. 18, note 12).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1736), ch. 26, fol. 16a, states that the ancient Pai-ngai ch'eng was 60 li east of Chao chou 趙州 and that its ancient name was Pai-ngai tien 甸. But this statement cannot be correct, for Hung-ngai, the ancient Pai-ngai, is 60 li south-south-east of Chao chou. It is correct when it says that the ancient Ts'ai-yün ch'eng was west of Pai-ngai at the foot of the K'un-mi Shan. A pass (Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺) leads over to Chao chou. The distance from Hung-ngai to the foot of K'un-mi Shan is less than ten li, so Ts'ai-yün ch'eng and Pai-ngai must have been close together and later have become one town.

The name Pai-ngai was derived from a cliff, white as snow, in the western hills. When, in the third year of Chien-hsing 建興 of the Minor Han 蜀漢 (225), Chu k'o Liang attacked Yün-nan, his soldiers camped at Pai-ngai. During the reign of Ming Chia-ching (1522–1566), a Tu-pu T'ung-p'an 督捕通判, (Police superintendent and sub-prefect), from Ta-li, dwelt there and built an earth wall which ceased to exist at the end of Wan-li (1619). The foundation of the wall was still visible in 1736.

The king of Pai Kuo 白國, Lung-yu-na 龍郁那, built Ts'ai-yün ch'eng. He had seen brilliant, variegated clouds, hence he gave the city its name.

History relates that in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋 fought the T'u-fan (Tibetans), at the Iron Bridge (*see* p. 57); he also attacked the Shih-man 施蠻 and Shun-man 順蠻. (The word *man* at that time was substituted for the word *chao* 詔. Shih-man was the former Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, and Shun-man was the former Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 of the five *chao* which later were absorbed into the Nan-chao Kingdom.) The Shih-man were also a tribe and originally belonged to the Wu-man (Black savages). They dwelt north-west of the Iron Bridge. The Shun-man also belonged to the Wu-man and dwelt in the same region as the Shih-man. I-mou-hsün captured Hsün-lo 尋羅, king of the Shih-man, and placed him and his kindred in Meng-she ch'eng 蒙舍城. He also captured the king of the Shun-man, whose name was P'ang-mi-ch'ien 傍彌遷, and placed him with his kindred in Yün-nan Pai-ngai 雲南白崖. The *Erh-yüan hsien chih* (*Lang-k'ung hsien chih lüeh*), ch. 3, fol. 2a, says that during the period of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804) Nan-chao attacked Chien-lang 劍浪 (Chien-ch'uan), took Lang-k'ung, Shih-lang and Teng-t'an (Teng-ch'uan), united the three *lang* and created Lang-k'ung chou.

Seven li south-east of Pai-ngai, there was established the secondary (military) transport station of 1,000 families 白崖千戶所, in the 12th year of Sung Shun-yu 宋淳祐 (1252).

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the great mud idols were all knocked off their feet, and were leaning against the wall, their legs from above the ankles resting on the floor. The village is at the western end of the plain, which is 30 li in length. A stream called Ch'ih-shui Ho 赤水河, (Red water Stream) crosses the center of the Hung-ngai plain from north to south; 30 li down the valley to the south is the town of Mi-tu 彌渡 where there is an aviation ground. Although the plain is very fertile, next to nothing could be bought in the way of vegetables.

Twelfth stage. — From Hung-ngai to Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺 via Chao chou 趙州 (Chao chou is now called Feng-i hsien 鳳儀縣). The distance to Fei-lai Ssu is 65 li. Elevation 6,900 feet.

From the Hung-ngai plain the trail ascends a deep ravine which seemed to have cleft the mighty range hemming in the plain on the west. The climb is a steep one over a bad road, between bare hills and slopes, to an elevation of 7,200 feet, or 1,100 feet in 15 li. To describe the rocky stairway which leads to the pass at the top of the ravine is an impossibility.

The pass, a little below which is situated a temple called Yün-t'ao Ssu 雲濤寺, is over the summit called Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺, which name is engraved in large characters on a memorial stone in front of the steep temple-steps. The stone bears the date 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381). The entrance to the temple is a tea-shop. It is an excellent lunch-stop when coming from the west, but not when coming from Hung-ngai. From the pass a trail leads to the left to Meng hua 受化, south of Hsia-kuan 下關 and Ta-li. This used to be a famous brigand haunt, but to-day they have disappeared, and now the motor-road is opened and they are a memory only. The name Ting-hsi ling was given to the pass and peak by Mu Ying 沐英,[21] marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. Its ancient name was K'un-mi ling 昆彌嶺. From this pass the trail descends, as gradually and gently as it ascended steeply on the other side, into another deep ravine with the left or western slopes densely wooded, but with only pines covering the eastern slopes.[22]

We pass various hamlets, such as Hsiao-shao 小哨 and Ta-shao 大哨, partly destroyed by the earthquake of 1925. Elevation 7,100 feet. From here on the valley broadens, and the hills are bare. The trail descends to the edge of the valley along rice-fields, and emerges on the plain on which Chao chou (Feng-i hsien) lies at an elevation of 6,900 feet. Chao chou is a walled city

[21] Mu Ying was a native of An-hui. He was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384. His sons also held this office in succession. He died in 1392. In 1388 he gained a great victory over the Burmese, so that in 1389 Burma acknowledged the suzerainty of China (GILES). When he attacked Yün-nan it was as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Assistant Brigadier-General), with Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, who held the same rank. Both served under General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 who was in command of the southern expedition. This was in the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381).

[22] Another peaceful lunch-stop away from mules and shouting muleteers is the Buddhist temple of T'ai-kuo Ssu 泰國寺 (Exalted nation Temple), built at the foot of a mountain wall called Ling-an Shan 靈安山 (Mountain of spiritual peace). It was built in the third year of Hung-wu (1370) according to the priest who had resided for 33 years in the temple. The *Chao chou chih* 趙州志, ch. 3, fol. 52, states that it was built during the reign of Ming Ts'ung-cheng 明崇禎 (1628–1643).

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of about 600 houses, but quite forlorn and empty.[23] The plain is wide but is hemmed in on the north by a broad, conical hill, partly wooded. Five li beyond Feng-i (Chao chou) we come to the hamlet of Shih-pi-t'ou 石壁頭 and the peaceful temple at the foot of the cliff, called Fei-lai Ssu,[24] which is the regular caravan halting-place, as there are no inns with stables in Chao chou.

Thirteenth stage. — From Fei-lai Ssu to Hsia-kuan 下關 (Lower pass) and Ta-li 大理 is a distance of 25 and 50 li respectively (55 li from Chao chou).

Near the end of the plain, at the foot of a wooded conical hill, the trail makes a complete right angle to the west, and one is fronted by the magnificent Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (Starred azure Mountain), commonly called Ts'ang Shan,[25] snow-streaked half-way down its slopes; its height is 14,000 feet. We

[23] In ancient days Chao chou had no wall. The first earth wall was built in the second year of Ming Hung-chih (1489). It was 3 li in circumference, 13 feet high, and 5 feet thick. Several times at various periods the wall collapsed and was last rebuilt in 1805. Prior to the Han dynasty, Chao chou was in the State of K'un-mi 昆彌. During the Han dynasty (B.C. 206–24 A.D.), it belonged to Yün-nan hsien. K'un-mi was the name of a family who ruled over that State — hence K'un-mi Kuo — but nothing is known regarding their succession. Afterwards the Lo-lo man 猓猓蠻 dwelt there. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of K'un chou 昆州. Subsequently it was called Chao chou chien 趙州縣. Later it was called Chao chün 趙郡 and Chao chou. In the time of the Tuan family it was called T'ien-shui chun 天水郡. In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it was the Chao chien ch'ien-hu 趙縣千戶. During Yüan Chih-yüan (1264–1294) it was called Chao chou subject to the circuit of Ta-li. In the Ming dynasty the name remained unchanged. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, Chao chou was first captured; and when the Ming troops attacked the region they first took Chao chou and then the two strategic forts, the Hsia and Shang Kuan. The district derived its name from a certain Chao K'ang 趙康 who was sent to reside there by the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

[24] The temple received its name from a legend which relates that an image of a Buddha came flying through the air. It is situated at the foot of Yü-lung Shan 浴龍山 (Mountain of the bathing dragon), also known as Su-lung Shan 宿龍山 (Resting-dragon Mountain), and is five li north of Chao chou. Another temple called T'u-chu Miao 土主廟 (Temple of the local lord) is in the same village. It was rebuilt during the period Cheng-t'ung 正統 (1436–1449).

[25] The Ts'ang Shan is also called Ling-chiu Shan 靈鷲山, named so after a peak in India called Gṛdhrakūṭa on which vultures had their nests: literally, "Vulture Peak." The Indian mountain, which is now called Giddore, is near Rājagṛha, famous for its vultures and caverns inhabited by ascetics, where Piśuna, or Māra, in the shape of a vulture, hindered the meditation of Ananda (EITEL). It has 19 peaks, and 18 streams descend from it. In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 (784), of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗, I-mou-hsün of the Meng family, who was ruler of Ta-li, conferred upon it the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central sacred Mountain). During the reign of Hung-wu, Lan Yü 藍玉, second commander of the left wing of the army and marquis of Yung-ch'ang, attacked Ta-li. He sent his soldiers west of the Ts'ang Shan and ordered them to climb it from the west and implant his flag on the highest peak. When the people of Ta-li saw the flag they fled. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 5, fol. 1b, states that it is 3 li west of the city and that it extends for over 100 li from north to south, like a wall. The *Han Shu* calls it the Hsieh-lung Yün-nan Shan 邪龍雲南山 and compares it to the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 of Fu-feng 扶風, Shen-si. Clouds often encircle the mountain like a jade girdle, hence people speak of it as the Jade girdle (mountain). Each of its nineteen peaks has a special name, for all are different. Enumerated from south to north beginning with the one above Hsia-kuan and adjoining the T'ien-sheng ch'iao, they are: K'o-yang 蒼陽, Ma-erh 馬耳 Horse ear, Fo-t'ou 佛頭 or Buddha head, Sheng-ying 聖應, Ma-lung 馬龍 or Horse dragon, Yü-chü 玉局, the Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 or Dragon spring, and the Central Peak or Chung-ho feng 中和峯. Then follow the Kuan-yin 觀音, or Goddess of

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pass through miserable hamlets nearly destroyed by the earthquake, and over a sandy trail which skirts the hill-sides, leaving to our right the southern end of the Erh Hai 洱海 (Erh Lake), that is, the Ta-li Lake (PLATE 4). On Davies' *Map of Yün-nan* the distance to Hsia-kuan does not appear to be more than 15 li, in comparison to the stretch from Hsia-kuan to Ta-li; the scale is quite out of proportion. The actual distance from Chao chou to Hsia-kuan is 30 li, and from there to Ta-li 25 li.

Hsia-kuan is situated on a hill-side and is visible from afar; elevation 6,900 feet. It is the business town of western central Yün-nan, while Ta-li is the residential town and the seat of the officials. The Hsia Kuan has another name — the Lung-wei Kuan 龍尾關 (Dragon-tail Pass). This, as well as the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper pass, also called Lung-shou Kuan 龍首關, Dragon-head Pass) were constructed by P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣 in the 29th year of K'ai-yüan 開元 (741). He was the first ruler or King of Nan-chao and the fourth of the Ta Meng or the Great Meng dynasty. The first kingdom of the Ta Meng was called the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔.

Passing through the walled town with its narrow streets, we cross the Hei-lung ch'iao 黑龍橋 (Black dragon bridge), over the Hsia-kuan Ho (Hsia-kuan River),[26] the outlet of the Erh Lake,[27] and ascend the steep grade over the slippery pavement of the suburbs of Hsia-kuan.

Mercy Peak, the Ying-lo 應樂, the Hsüeh-jen 雪人 or Snow-man Peak, the Lan-feng 蘭峯 or Orchid Peak, the San-yang 三陽, the Ho-yün 鶴雲, the Pai-yün 白雲, or White cloud, the Lien-hua 蓮花 or Lotus Peak, the Wu-t'ai 五台 or Five Terraces, the Ts'ang-lang 滄浪 and last the Yün-lung 雲弄, directly above the Shang-kuan.

[26] The Hsia-kuan Ho, where it enters the defile in the Tien-ts'ang Range, is called the Ch'ing-shui Ho 清水河 (Clear water Stream); beyond it is called the Ho-chiang Ho 合江河, after a village by that name in the gorge. It flows as the Ho-chiang Ho into the Yang-pi River 漾濞江.

[27] The Ta-li Lake, which is 90 li long and from 9 to 21 li wide, is a beautiful sheet of water. To the east it is bordered by reddish, bare, rather low hills, the region being called Tung-hai 東海 (East lake). The lake is also called the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (West Erh Stream), and is east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣, the present Ta-li hsien or Ta-li district. It is also known as the Yeh-yü Shui 葉榆水 (Waters of Yeh-yü) — Yeh-yü being the ancient name of Ta-li. [The Yeh-yü of the Han epoch is 10 li south-east of the present-day Ta-li and is identical with the village of Yang-ho-p'u 楊和鋪, where its foundations, or remnants, are still visible. The region now belongs to the district of T'ai ho hsien. During the Han dynasty it was subject to Yün-nan hsien 雲南縣, now called Hsiang-yün hsien 祥雲縣, pronounced in Yün-nan, Ch'ien-yün hsien.] The origin of the name Yeh-yü is traced to a large forest of elms, called *yü-shu* 榆樹 in Chinese. [*Ulmus pumila var. pilosa* Rehd. is quite common on the eastern slopes of the Tien-ts'ang Shan.] The elm forest existed in ancient days at the outlet of the Ta-li Lake at Hsia-kuan, by the T'ien-sheng ch'iao 天生橋 (Natural bridge), a natural stone bridge which spans the outlet of the lake. It was so dense that it was always dark and no one could pass there. To the south of the bridge is a stele which records that it was there that Chu-ko Liang captured Meng-huo 孟獲. The stele is dated Kuang-hsü *ping-wu* 丙午 (1906).

Still other names for the Ta-li Lake are Hsi-erh Hai 西洱海 and Erh Shui 洱水.

The source of the lake is in the Pa-ku Shan 巴谷山 in the north of Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣. Flowing south it passes east of Lang-k'ung hsien and Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州 and thence enters the borders of T'ai-ho hsien, where it is called Hsi-erh Ho. From the Tien-ts'ang Shan, which lies to the west, 18 affluents descend into the stream, which thus enlarged forms the Erh Hai. Its outlet is at Hsia-kuan as has already been described.

The shape of the lake is that of a human ear, *erh* 耳, hence the name Erh Hai. Its cir-

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PLATE 1.—THE NORTHERN END OF TIEN CH'IH, THE YÜN-NAN LAKE

滇池北境

This part of the lake is commonly known as Ts'ao Hai 草海 or Grass Lake. It also goes by the name of K'un-ming Ch'ih 昆明池 or K'un-ming Lake. Bordering the lake to the west is the famous Lo-han Shan 羅漢山 popularly called Hsi Shan 西山.

[p. 28 A]

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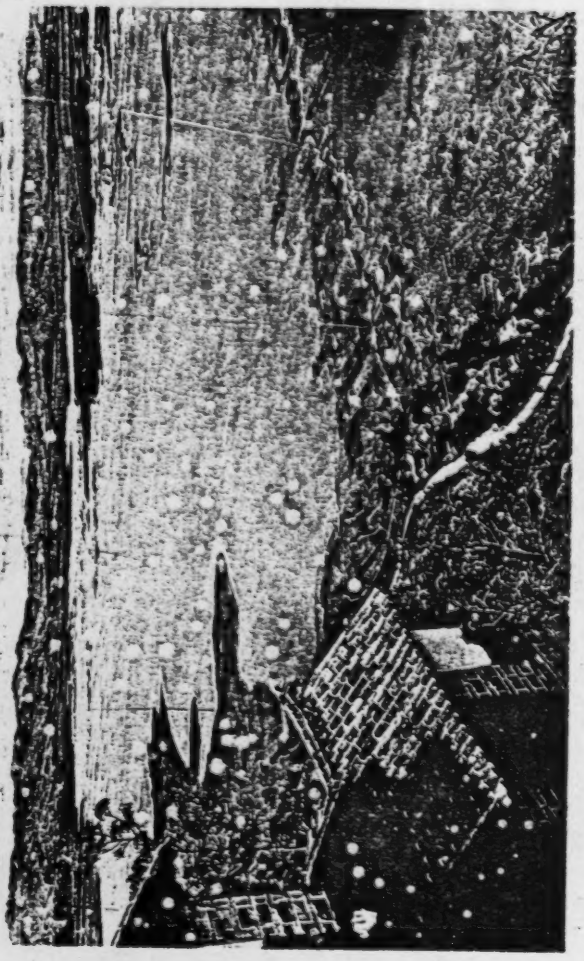

PLATE 2.—TIEN CH'IH SEEN FROM HSI SHAN

Looking east from Lo-han Ssu 羅漢寺 the main temple on Hsi Shan 西山 across the northern end of the Tien Ch'ih; K'un-ming is in the extreme upper right. The division of the actual Tien or K'un-ming Ch'ih and the Ta'ao Hai or Grass Lake can be seen in the lower right. The lake is at an elevation of 6,400 feet.

[p.28 B]

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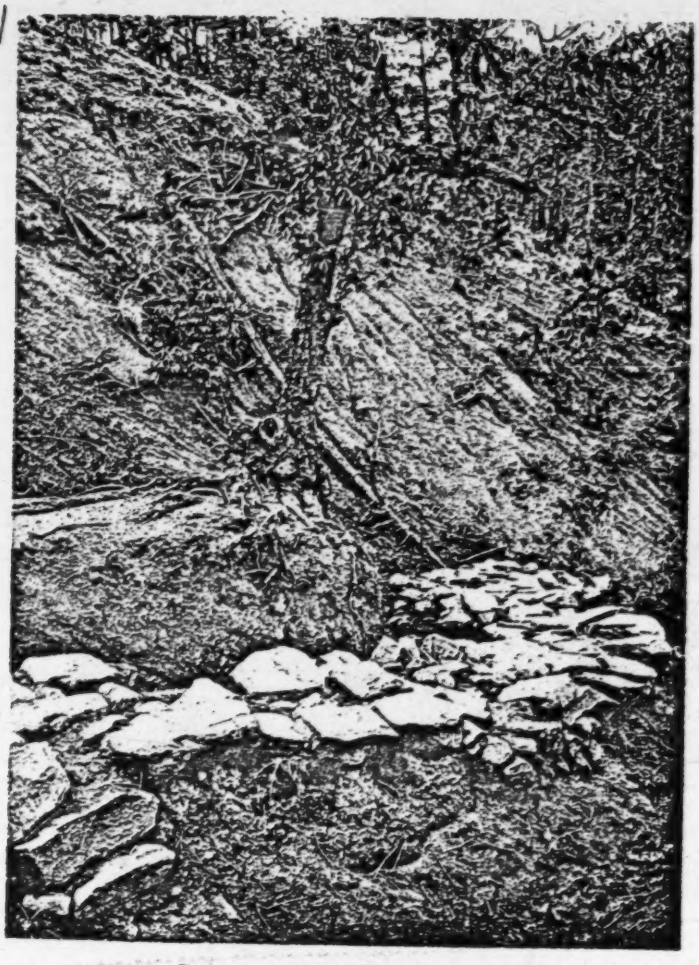

PLATE 3. — A TYPICAL YÜN-NAN HIGHWAY

雲南典型公路

This road is as old as the hills and leads from Li-chiang 麗江 to La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴, a salt-well station east of the Mekong.

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PLATE 4.—WEST SHORE OF THE TA-LI ERH HAI

大理洱海西岸

Fishing boats with cormorants in the foreground. The trees are willows. The lake is thirty miles long and from three to seven miles wide; its elevation is 6,800 feet above sea level.

[p.28 D]

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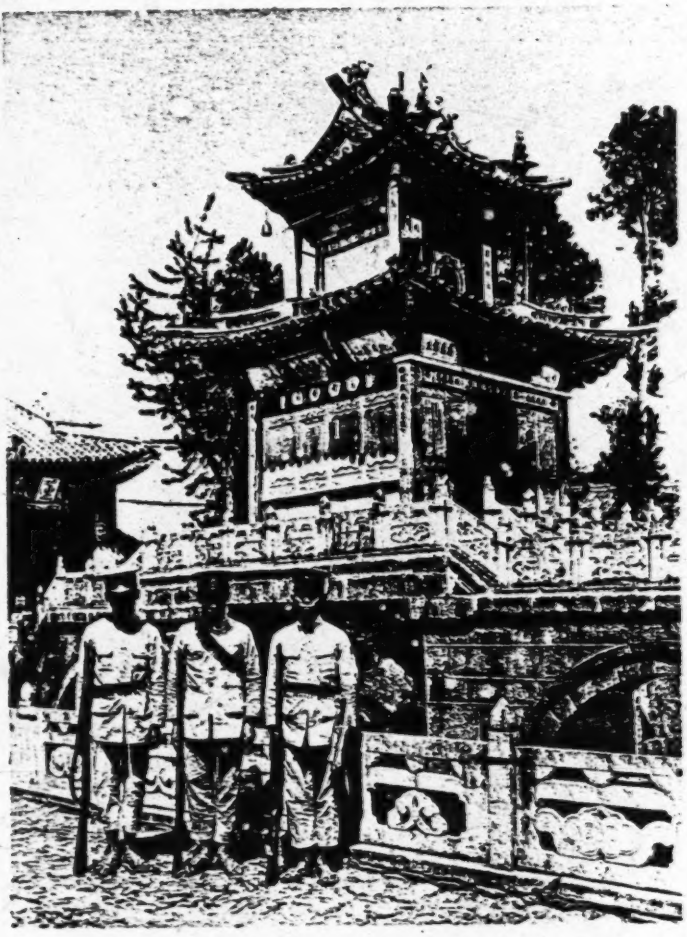

PLATE 5. — KUAN-YIN SSU BETWEEN HSIA-KUAN AND TA-LI

大石殿下關大理之間

The shrine is built over a rock (seen behind the soldier on the right) which is supposed to have been carried here by the Goddess of Mercy, disguised as an old woman. Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺, or Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, is thus also known as Ta-shih An, Great Rock Shrine.

[p. 28 E]

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PLATE 6. — TWO OF THE THREE PAGODAS OF SAN-T'A SSU

大理三塔寺之二塔

These famous pagodas stand to the north of the city of Ta-li. They were built by a master mason of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 632. They withstood two earthquakes, one on June 17, 1515, and another on March 16, 1925. At both times, the city of Ta-li was completely destroyed. Photographed April, 1922.

[p. 28 F]

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PLATE 7. — MIN-CHIA PEASANTS

民家白夫

The Min-chia tribespeople are said to be the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom. They are now scattered all over Yün-nan, but their main stronghold is still Ta-li and the region of Yün-lung 雲龍. They carry their loads by means of a peculiar yoke which rests on their shoulders, a strap passes over the forehead. When stopping to rest they use a stick to prop the wooden yoke, and the left hand rests in the head strap. Chu-ko Liang (A.D. 181–234) is said to have invented these yokes during his conquest of Yün-nan when he employed the Min-chia as carriers.

[p.28G]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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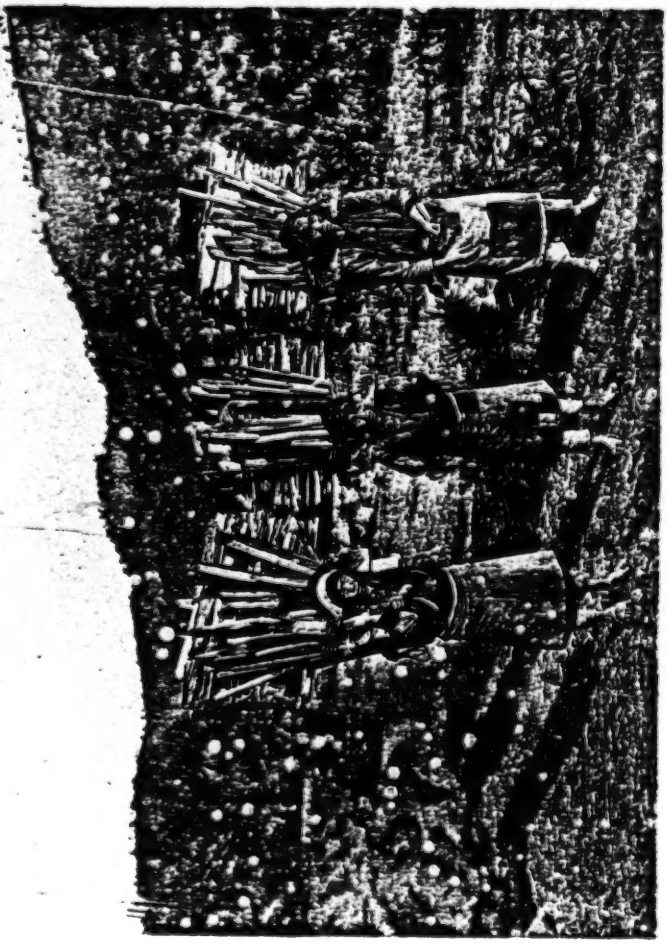

PLATE 8. — MIN-CHIA WOMEN

The Min-chia women are the main burden bearers. The load is carried on a wooden yoke, secured by a head strap. Firewood for the market of Chien-chuan, north of Ta-li.

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PLATE 9. — YEH-YEH, ANCESTOR OF THE MU FAMILY

Yeh-yeh is considered the first ancestor according to the Second Genealogical Chronicle. He arrived in Li-chiang during the reign of Hui Tsung of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1101-1125).

[p. 28 I]

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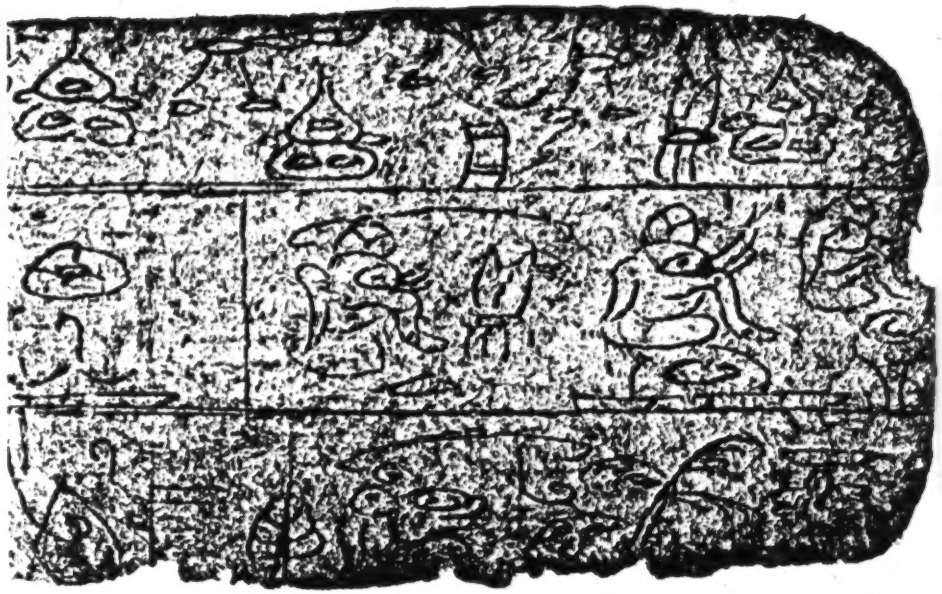

PLATE 10.—AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

古麼些象形文字書

Second half of a page from the manuscript *Ts'o mbêr ssaw*, relating the origin of man. The second rubric of the second line is explained on page 77. *First sentence; Second* and *Third sentence* on page 78.

[p.28 J]

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PLATE 11. — AN ANCIENT NA-KHI MANUSCRIPT

First half of the page figured on plate 10; the third line is explained on page 78. *Fourth sentence; Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh sentence* in part on page 79.

[p. 28 K]

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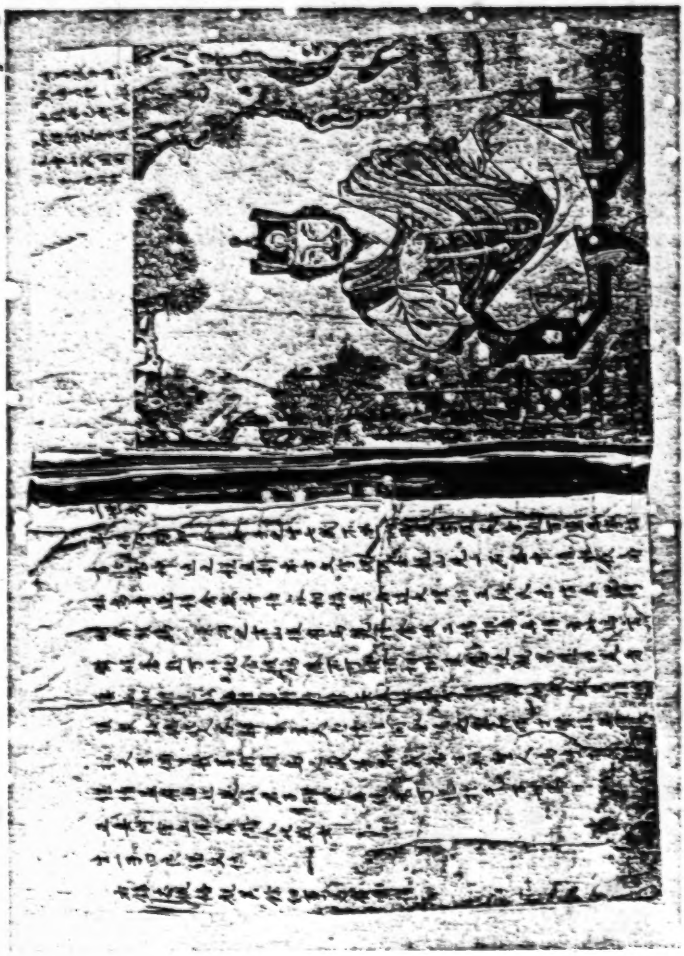

PLATE 12. — THE SECOND GENERATION. MOU-PAO A-TSUNG

卷首圖記二代子

The Nien-pao A-tsung of the Second Chronicle

[p. 28 L]

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PLATE 13.—THE THIRD GENERATION. A TSUNG A-LIANG

[p. 28 M]

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PLATE 14.—THE FOURTH GENERATION. A-LIANG A-HU

[p. 28 N]

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PLATE 15.—THE FIFTH GENERATION. A-HU A-LIEH

[p. 28-0]

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PLATE 16. — THE SIXTH GENERATION. A-LIEH A-CHIA

[p. 28 P]

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Beyond, the country road is paved and slippery and passes through wheat-fields with thousands of graves to the west up the hill-sides, that is the foot-hills or slopes of the Ts'ang Shan. Traffic is heavy on this road, especially in the month of April when the annual fair is in progress. The hills are bare and brown, the lower slopes, as already remarked, being covered with graves. Here is also a thirteen-storey pagoda, the apex of which is in ruins.[28]

Sails are visible on the lake and boats crossing the placid waters to the district of Tung-hai 東海, East lake [the district is actually east of the lake]. Hundreds of people were on the road, the men all wearing low, broad-brimmed hats covered with a sky-blue oil-cloth, and long streamers of the same color knotted in front over the chest or hanging loose down to the knees. Straw-hat sellers were to be seen; the hats are made from rushes, most of them plain, others ornamented with gaudily colored straw, pink, blue, and yellow.

Fifteen li bring us to the temple of Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺 (Goddess of Mercy Temple)[29] (PLATE 5). In front of it kitchens and restaurants were doing a roaring business, for it was at the time of the fair when, in 1922, I made my first visit to Ta-li, coming overland from Siam via Chieng-mai, Keng-tung, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江, Ssu-mao 思茅, Ching-tung 景東 and Meng-hua 蒙化. The village near the temple is called Yang-ho-p'u 陽和舖.

Tradition relates that when the soldiers of Han arrived at the frontier, the Kuan-yin Ta-ssu 觀音大士[30] changed herself into an old woman and carried a large rock by means of a rope made of rice-straw. When she saw the soldiers she spat at them. The soldiers remarked that if the old women of the country could perform such work what must be the strength of the young; and this was sufficient to put fear into the camp. The Kuan-yin's rock is now in the court of the temple in the center of a pool containing gold-fish, and with a shrine over it. The old temple was destroyed during the Mohammedan Rebellion (1855–1873) but was rebuilt afterwards. Volumes could be written

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cumference is over 300 li. There are three islands in the lake, the southern being called Yü-chi tao 玉几島 (Jade table island), the central one Ch'ih-wen tao 赤文島, and the northern one Chin-so tao 金梭島 (Golden shuttle [weaver] island).

[28] This pagoda is called I-T'a Ssu 一塔寺 (Single pagoda). It is also known as Hung-sheng Ssu 宏聖寺 and is situated south-west of the city of Ta-li. It is over 100 feet in height and is said to have been built by A-yü Wang (King Aśoka of India). This has also given the pagoda the name of A-yü Wang t'a 阿育王塔 (Pagoda of King Aśoka). It is hardly possible, however, that A'oka should have built it. The *I-t'ung chih* of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶一統志 (Chinese Geography) records that it was built during the time of the Sui Emperor Wen Ti 文帝 (581–604). The pagoda stands below the seventh peak of the Ts'ang-Shan range.

[29] The real name of the temple, which is written on a board over the entrance, is Ta-shih An 大石庵 (Great rock Shrine). It is also commonly called Kuan-yin-t'ang 觀音堂 and Shih-li-t'ang 十里堂 (Ten-li post-station), as the distance from Ta-li to this temple is commonly reckoned as 10 li.

It is not known when the templ was first built, but the dates of its restora ion or rebuilding are extant. It was first rebuilt in 1807; in the reign of Hsien-feng (1851–1861) soldiers destroyed it by setting fire to it. In the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876), the Ta-li Governor, Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科, rebuilt it. Yang was a native of the district of Li-chiang, having been born in the salt-well village of La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴. His ancestors hailed from Ching chou 靖州 in Hu-nan 湖南.

[30] The word Ta-ssu stands here for the Sanskrit term Mahāsattva (perfected Bodhisattva, greater [*mahā*] than any being [*sattva*] except Buddhas).

[See p. 28 E-- Analyst]

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about the history of this region, which, however, does not come within the scope of this work. It is my hope some time to write a history and geography of the entire province, when this particular region will be fully treated.

The city of Ta-li. — Fifteen li bring us to the city of Ta-li, elevation 7,000 feet.[31] It is built on the sloping plain between the Ts'ang Shan Range and the

[31] In the days of Yü Kung 禹貢 Ta-li was the land south of the division of Liang (Liang Chou 梁州). In the Han dynasty, Wu Ti 武帝 (140–87 B.C.) opened up the land of the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians), and created the territory of I-chou Chün. In the Later Han dynasty (25–220) Ta-li belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. Under the Minor Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡, *i.e.*, the region of the ancient Yün-nan hsien, south-east of Ta-li and Chao chou. In the beginning of the Chin dynasty 晉 (265) it remained unchanged. During the reign of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307–312) it was divided and the district of Tung-ho-yang Chün 東河陽郡 was established. The *Sung Shu* 宋書 states that in the fifth year of Yung-chia of Chin (311) the Tz'u-shih 刺史 (Governor), Wang Sun 王遜 of Ning chou 寧州 (the modern Lin-an 臨安, south of K'un-ming), divided Yung-ch'ang and Yün-nan and established the Chün of Tung-ho-yang to control two prefectures, namely, Tung-ho-yang and Yeh-yü 律楡. Under the Sung and Ch'i dynasties Ta-li remained unchanged. At the end of the Liang 梁 dynasty (about 555–556) it fell into the hands of the Man (savages). In the fourth year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (621), K'un-mi sent an envoy and they submitted. In the seventh year of T'ang Wu-te (624) the Emperor caused the land of Yün-nan chou to be administered. (It was called Yün-nan chou when the Meng family gained control over it. Another name for it was K'un-mi 昆彌.)

The K'un-mi of the *T'ang Shu* (History of the T'ang dynasty) is the K'un-ming 昆明 of the Han dynasty, which lay west of the Ts'uan-man (Ts'uan or Lo-lo savages); it became the land of Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) it became K'uang chou 匡州. After the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756) it came under the control of Nan-chao, and the Nan-chao Kingdom established its capital in this place; it was also called the Western capital. Later it was changed to Chung-tu 中都, or Central capital. In the time of Shih Chin 石晉 (Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 is here meant, the first Emperor of the Later Chin 後晉 dynasty who ruled from 936–942, his reigning title being T'ien-fu 天福) the Tuan family possessed this land and called it Ta-li Kuo 大理國. (The Ta-li Kuo existed from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung, 憲宗 (1253) it was brought to submission. In the sixth year (1256) were established the Shang 上 (Upper) and Hsia 下 (Lower) Wan-hu fu 萬戶府 (Cities of 10,000 families). In the seventh year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1270) they became the Ta-li Lu 大理路 (Circuit of Ta-li). In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) it was again changed to Ta-li fu 大理府, controlling four chou, three hsien, and one Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司.

So much for the history of Ta-li, which has been translated from the *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 1a and 1b.

The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao* ch. 24, fol. 6a, states that the Ta-li ch'eng was near the suburbs of T'ai-ho ch'eng, and was the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城 which in turn was the Grand Ya-men of the Nan-chao Kingdom. The *T'ang Shu Ti-li chih* states that it was twenty li from T'ai-ho ch'eng. In the 14th year of T'ang Ta-li 大歷 (779) I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom built the Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 陽苴咩城. The *Ta-li hsien chih kao* ch. 3, fol. 6a, however states that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng is the present district city (Ta-li) and that I-mou-hsün during the reign of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 794) robbed Hsi-ch'uan 西川, suffering defeat he returned and being afraid, he built the tamped wall of Yang-chü-mieh, fifteen li long and broad. He changed his residence to this place and changed the name to Ta-li.

We further read that Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng was situated below the central peak of the Ts'ang Shan and was the ancient Yeh-yü ch'eng. The *Nan-chao Yeh shih* ch. 上 fol. 12, states that P'i-lo-ko built Yang-chü-mieh north of T'ai-ho ch'eng in the second year of T'ien-pao (743). The *Man-shu* fol. 23, states that originally all the Ho-man 河蠻 dwelt at T'ai-ho ch'eng, Ta-li ch'eng 大豐城 and Yang chü-mieh. In the twenty-fifth year of K'ai-yüan (737) Meng Kuei-i 蒙歸義 (P'i-lo-ko) drove out the Ho-man and took possession of

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lake, and does not differ from other Chinese towns of this province. There are two south gates but only single north, east and west gates. The second southern gate to Ta-li is the famous Wu-hua lou 五華樓 (Tower of five glories) built by Sheng-feng-yu 晟豐酋,[32] in the 10th year of T'ai-chung 太中 (856). In it the sixteen princes of the Hsi-nan-i held a conference; when Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) reached Ta-li he quartered some of his soldiers in it. The Wu-hua lou was erected on the foundations of another structure, called Wu-hua t'ai 五華臺, built in ancient times. This old edifice was supposed to have been very large. It was rebuilt in the third year of the period Chih-yüan 至元 (1337).

The earthquake of 1925 had done much damage, even to the massive Wu-hua lou, but nothing happened to the San-t'a 三塔 (Three pagodas), landmarks of Ta-li. One leans considerably, like the tower of Pisa. From the larger central pagoda a gilded bronze Garuḍa, which the people called a duck, fell from the top, together with a globe and rings of the same metal. Within the globe was found a Chinese work printed during the Yüan dynasty and a small model of the main pagoda. These were sent to the then governor T'ang 唐 of Yün-nan, who is said to have distributed the Yüan classic leaf by leaf among his friends.

The San-t'a are north of Ta-li below the 16th peak of the range; they were erected in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (632) by order of the military official Wei ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德.[33] Around the pagodas have

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T'ai-ho ch'eng. Several months afterwards he captured Chü-mieh. From this it would seem that Yang-chü-mieh or Chü-mieh as it is often written existed before P'i-lo-ko.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382), Military Commander Chou, 周 built a brick wall. The following year the wall was widened. It was rebuilt ten times, the last time in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882).

[32] Feng-yu tried to imitate Chinese custom and did not use his father's name 晟 as was the custom with aborigines. He simply called himself Feng-yu, while on stones he had his name engraved as Ch'üan 酋. He ruled as King of Nan-chao from 824 to 859. The *Ta-li fu chih*, ch. 23, fol. 2a, states that the old Wu-hua lou does not exist. Its foundation, however, is said to be in the center of the present city. It covered an area five li square, was 100 feet high, and could hold 10,000 people. When Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li, his soldiers dwelt to the south of it. Ming soldiers completely destroyed it. There is still a gate-tower in the centre of the city called Wu-hua lou; but the name is the only survival of the original structure.

[33] These pagodas withstood a terrific earthquake in the 10th, or *i-hai* 乙亥, year of Ming Cheng-te, in the fifth moon and 6th day (June 17th, 1515). The *Yüan-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 95, p. 5a, states that all the walls and houses fell, and that the central pagoda was bent and cracked like a split bamboo, but that after 10 days it became completely whole again.

The actual date of the building of the San-t'a Ssu cannot be fixed with certainty, as various Chinese works give different dates. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 478, fol. 23b, gives the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741). The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 5a, states that they were built in the sixth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (632), and that at the beginning of the reign of K'ai-yüan (713) they were rebuilt. The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*, ch. 66, fol. 25b, states that the Nan-chao King invited a T'ang 唐 (Chinese) mason, by name Kung T'ao-hui-i 恭韜敬義, to build these *t'a*. Later they were destroyed but in the beginning of the Yüan dynasty were rebuilt. In the 9th year of Ming Cheng-te, the fifth moon and 6th day (May 29th, 1514) there was an earthquake. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* it gives the 10th year, as mentioned previously, and as it gives the cycle of the year *i-hai* 乙亥 I presume 1515 is correct; on page 4, however, it gives the 9th year. The pagodas were repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by a Buddhist priest.

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344 been built barracks for the regular troops stationed at Ta-li. The San-t'a Ssu 三塔寺 (PLATE 6)[1] are also called Ts'ung-sheng Ssu 崇聖寺 and near them is the grave of the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State) Tuan Kung 段功, a member of the ruling house of Tuan under the Yüan dynasty. He died in 1366.

As has already been remarked, Ta-li (the name is said to be of Tai or Siamese origin, *i.e.*, T'a-lé = lake)[34] is of great historic interest, but does not come 508 within the scope of this work. An aviation ground has been laid out between Ta-li and the lake.

487 *Fourteenth stage.* — From Ta-li to Teng-ch'uan 鄧川[35] is a distance of 90 li.
133 Elevation 7,100 feet.

137 The trail leads across sandy and rocky stream-beds, which descend from the Ts'ang Shan Range, and over ditches and brooks. In the distance is a long, narrow spur extending from the Ts'ang Shan towards the lake: this is the Shang Kuan 上關 (Upper Pass).

We pass a small hamlet which has escaped both earthquake and bandits, and now follow close to the foot-hills as far as the village of Chou-ch'eng 周城, 50 li from Ta-li. Many large *Ficus stipulata* trees, their trunks surrounded by stone enclosures for people to rest their burdens on, are met with along the road.

487 From the last village, which is a lunch-stop, it is 20 li to the village of Shang-
133 kuan (also called Dragon-head). The elevation is 7,100 feet. The poor, mis-
679 erable hamlet is in absolute ruins, having been burnt and looted by the bandit chief, Chang Chieh-pa 張結疤 (Chang the Stammerer). A sordid scene unfolds as one enters the gates of this former stronghold. No inn was available, not a single house intact, and at the time of writing — 1934 — nothing had been reconstructed. The village of Sha-p'ing 沙坪, only two li beyond, shared the same fate as Shang-kuan, and the large schoolhouse, which once served me as shelter, existed no more.

[34] PROFESSOR GEORGE COEDES, Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, in answer to an inquiry regarding the possible Siamese origin of the name Ta-li, writes: "The Siamese word for 'lake' is *da-lé*, pronounced *t'a-lé*, but it is most probably a loan-word from Khmer *danlé* pronounced *tonlé* (Tonlé Sap, Cambodia's Great lake). The use of Cambodian loan-words is usually restricted to South Siam, and I do not think that *da lé* or *t'a lé* exists in any Northern T'ai dialect. The etymology of Ta-li from *da lé* appears to me as extremely doubtful."

As to the origin of the name Ta-li, the *Ta-li ksien-chih kao*, ch. 3, fol. 5a–5b, states that in the T'ang dynasty the Meng family absorbed the other five kingdoms, that is, they united the Liu chao 六詔 (Six kingdoms). In the second year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元, in the reign of T'ang Te Tsung (785) (this should read first year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元, as there was no second year of Hsing-yüan) the grand-child of Ko-lo-feng, I-mou-hsün, called himself the Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) and took as his dynastic title Ta T'i 大禔. It was not until the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天福 of Emperor Kao Tsu 高祖 of the Later Chin dynasty 後晉 (937) that Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 established the dynastic title Ta Li 大理. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 14b, and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, however, state that it was I-mou-hsün who first established the name Ta-li, or Ta Li 大理, as his dynastic title in the first year of Hsing-yüan 興元 (784). Ta Li 大禮 means "great decorum" or "great propriety," while Ta Li 大理 means "great principle." As can be seen, there is therefore some discrepancy in establishing the date, etc., of the name Ta Li 大理.

[35] The ancient name of Teng-ch'uan was written T'eng-ch'uan 騰川.

1 [see p. 28 F. -- Analyst]

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Beyond Sha-p'ing, at the end of the lake,[36] the trail climbs the rocky spur among old graves, skirts the red hill-sides above the marshy plain to the east, thence through a lovely wood and out onto the eroded, red, rocky hills. High ranges enclose us on both sides. We descend to the walled town of Teng-ch'uan,[37] crossing by a bridge over a small stream called the Ch'i Shui 溪水 which forms the moat of the city, and flows past the south gate. A long street descends into this forlorn place, which dips northward. There are no inns for caravans, but a large school-house, or former Confucian temple (Wen Miao 文廟), gave us shelter. The temple, situated in spacious grounds, is in fairly good repair. An agricultural station and the yamen of the magistrate adjoin it. The plain is very fertile and the wheat-fields were the best so far encountered. Buckwheat is also grown.

Fifteenth stage. — From Teng-ch'uan to Niu-kai 牛街 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation 7,500 feet.

From the town we descend to the plain, where we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying local produce to market, such as cereals, rice, pears, mats, reeds, wine in earthen jars, hides, vegetables, etc., and in such quantities that I was astonished and wondered who would buy all these things. It was an endless procession, for it was market-day in Teng-ch'uan. The trail leads between fields and through a large marsh with tall rushes growing in it which are used in making mats and the Ta-li hats.

[36] At the north end, 15 li south of Teng-ch'uan near Sha-p'ing, there is a marshy pond separate from the Ta-li Lake, though its waters drain into it. It is called Shang Erh Ch'ih 上洱池 (Upper Erh Ch'ih).

[37] In the Han dynasty, Teng-ch'uan was in the territory of I-chou Chün, in the prefecture of Yeh-yü 桂榆. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty it was the T'eng-pei chou 遷備州, dependent on Yao chou 姚州, the seat of the Tu-tu 都督 (military governor). Afterwards it became the T'eng-t'an chao 遷談詔 by conquest. It was united with Nan-chao and the latter established the *t'an* 談 of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. Afterwards it was changed to the city of Te-yüan or Te-yüan ch'eng 德源城.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the Sub-military station of 1,000 families of Te-yüan.

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274) the name was changed to Teng-ch'uan chou 鄧川州, dependent on Ta-li. This name was retained in the Ming dynasty. To-day it is called Teng-ch'uan hsien.

In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569) the T'u-chih-chou 土知州 (native prefect) A 阿 was done away with and a transferable official appointed, under whom were registered or enrolled the families of 12 li (communes), and who controlled one hsien. (From *Tu-shih Fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, ch. 117, p. 8b.)

In ancient days Teng-ch'uan had no wall. The first was built, of tamped earth, by magistrate Chou Wen-hua 周文化 in the third year of Lung-ch'ing (1569).

Later it sank in the sand and water and the city was without a wall; it was not rebuilt until the 14th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1641). It had three gates — in the east, south, and north respectively. It was rebuilt several times, but in 1762 it was replaced by a brick wall which was then three and seven-tenths li in circumference and had four gates.

The town is most peculiarly situated on a steep slope, with the Ch'i Shui 溪水 flowing past the highest part of the town just outside the south gate, which has a small stone bridge in front of it. This stream which encircles the city debouches into the Lo-shih Chiang 羅時江 to the north. One steps from the bridge down into the gate and on down the long, steep street which leads through the town. In summer Teng-ch'uan is said to be frequently inundated with flood water. A common saying is that the magistrate who built the wall was

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Twenty li of level going, after passing the village called Yu-so 右所, bring us to another small hamlet at the foot of the embankment of the canal [38] which carries the waters of the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河 [here the stream is called the Mi-chü Ho 彌苴河] into the Ta-li Lake. This is the hamlet of Chung-so 中所 where we cross a bridge [39] over the canal to the eastern embankment. Elevation 7,000 feet. The slopes of the canal banks are wooded mainly with Albizzia trees, Rhus, Zizyphus, etc., giving welcome shade to the traveler. Here we met with large salt caravans with their dirty, grey, cylindrical blocks of salt,[40] also many tribespeople carrying loads of firewood by means of yokes around their necks. The yokes in turn are fastened to straw bands borne over the forehead (PLATES 7 and 8).

As the trail nears the Lang-k'ung gorge, the stream is bounded only on the east by the embankment, the mountains to the west forming its other bank. Here the path enters a deep ravine, bare of trees, except for some *Opuntia* cacti which grow among the black boulders and line the trail or road — for this part of the highway has been improved and graded, and can almost be called a road. The old trail, which led purposelessly up and down over the hill-side, had been abandoned since my first visit in the spring of 1922. Halfway up the gorge we come to a bridge, elevation 7,225 feet, over the roaring torrent known in ancient days as Hsi-erh Ho.[41] On the other side of the gorge a trail leads to the hsien city of Lang-k'ung,[42] formerly known as Erh-yüan 洱源; from there it is 100 li north to Chien-ch'uan, and 45 li south to Teng-ch'uan.

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executed with his entire family and relations by order of the Emperor, so that there remained no d... endants.

[38] This canal is called by the Na-khi, Bu-ndo-lo-gko (Hind part of a pig). *Lo-gko* means "inside."

[39] This bridge is called Te-yüan ch'iao 德源橋, and was built by Wang Kan 王衎, a native of Teng-ch'uan, during the reign of Ming Ying Tsung, period T'ien-shun 天順 (1457–1464).

[40] The salt comes from the salt-well of Ch'iao-hou ching 喬后井, situated on the east bank of the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, which is really the Yang-pi 漾濞, the Chinese calling the upper part of that river the Pai-shih Chiang. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan, printed in the seventh year of the Republic (1918), gives three names for the river: the Kung Chiang 工江, Pai-shih Chiang 白石江, and Yang-pi 漾濞. The strangest thing about this map, however, is that the northern part of the Yang-pi, or Kung Chiang, flows into the Mekong near a place called Hsiao-tien 小甸; the central portion, or Pai-shih Chiang, flows west of the Ts'ang Shan; and the lower part, called the Yang-pi, according to the same map, flows again into the Mekong, this time north of the town marked Yün chou 雲州! This error has, however, been corrected in a later edition published in 1928. The Yang-pi has its source at the head of the valley, 50 li south of Shih-ku 石鼓, flows by Chien-ch'uan 劍川, where it receives the outlet of the lake, and then straight south, and west of the Ts'ang Shan range, into the Mekong. No large river enters the Mekong below Wei-hsi. It is impossible to say what the Kung Chiang is, and where it enters the Mekong.

[41] This river has its source 20 li north of Lang-k'ung in the mountain called Pa-ku Shan 霸谷山; it is the present-day Lang-k'ung River. Chinese geographies say that it flows east of Ta-li and then joins the Yang-pi Ho. They consider Ta-li Lake, into which the river flows at Teng-ch'uan, as a continuation of the river, and the Hsia-kuan Ho, the exit of the Lake, as the same river.

[42] During the Han dynasty Lang-k'ung belonged to the land of Yeh-yü (the present Ta-li region).

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Our trail keeps to the east slope of the gorge and ascends to the end of the ravine, or rather its beginning, on a narrowing plain. Here stood a village, but nothing is left now except charred ruins, it having been burnt down by the bandits. We emerge into a red, hilly country, and here the Lang-k'ung River receives an affluent. 489 133 137

The trail follows the left bank of the stream along the foot-hills and by the village called Hsün-chien-ssu 巡檢司, thence across the gravelly stream-bed, and continues on the right bank between roses and Pyracantha bushes. We cross a gravelly plain to the base of a red hill, which we ascend to the top, at an elevation of 7,550 feet. Here, to the right of the trail, is a small but beautiful lake called Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子. We now descend between pine-covered hills to a plain on which is situated the hamlet of Ying-shan-p'u 應山舖, elevation 7,350 feet. To our right is a steep, rugged mountain mass cut up by deep ravines or chutes. It is a sacred mountain called Fo-kuang-chai Shan 佛光寨山 or simply Fo-kuang Shan;[43] half-way up the mountain is a cave said to hold 10,000 people. A temple, called Ling-kuang Ssu 靈光寺, is visible on the slopes; the temple was built in the first year of Wan-li (1573) by the village police chief Lü Meng-hsiung 呂夢熊.

From here we follow over the well-cultivated plain, wheat being the most abundant crop, past the villages of Wen-pi-ts'un 文筆村 and Ch'ang-ying 長營, until we finally reach the hamlet of San-ying 三營 (Three camps). It is a long, narrow village with a peculiar gate in the center. Elevation 7,500 feet. On this stretch we met long processions of Min-chia women carrying furniture, latticed Chinese doors and windows, baskets or huge stacks of straw hats, and — these were in the majority — huge juniper coffin-boards seven feet long, four inches thick, and three feet wide. These came from Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, many stages to the north, where there are large forests of immense junipers — *Juniperus wallichiana*. They are floated down the Yangtze to Shih-ku and are thence carried to Teng-ch'uan and by boat on the lake to Ta-li. 243 438

From San-ying it is five li to Niu-kai 牛街 (Cattle-market).

A short distance beyond San-ying is a limestone hill called Huo-yao Shan 火藥山 [44] (Fire medicine or powder mountain): it is about 300 feet high, with a pagoda (*wen-pi* 文筆) on the top. The rocks are full of holes and the entire hill is honeycombed; it is the only limestone hill in the immediate neighborhood. At its foot are boiling hot springs, the water being crystal clear as it boils and bubbles up (temperature 170° F.). Steam rises everywhere between the rice-fields and the people wash their clothing in the boiling pools. In February, 1935, this peculiar mountain suddenly erupted. A severe earthquake preceded the eruption, the noise emanating from the mountain sound- 135

[43] It is also called Fo-kuang-chai 寺 and I-nü Kuan 一女關 (Pass of a woman). The latter name has reference to a narrow slanting defile back of the mountain. It was in this cave that Chu-ko Liang, marquis of Wu 武, captured Meng-huo 孟獲. Later in the Ming dynasty in 1383, General Fu Yu-te 傅友德 suppressed a rebellion of native chiefs who fled into this cave. At that time 13,000 people in all were decapitated and 400,000 families of the native tribes made their submission. It was then that Li-chiang made its submission to the Ming, and the Mo-so were pacified.

[44] Also called Huo-yen Shan 火焰山 (Flaming Mountain).

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ing like thunder. Immediately after the earthquake flames burst forth from the mountain, so that the heavens were reddened. This lasted nearly an hour, after which no fire was visible. Later the people went to see the hill and found that a large section of it had fallen in, covering up several of the hot springs which flowed from its base. No one was injured.

Niu-kai is a village in ruins, thanks to the activities of the bandit chief Chang Chieh-pa and his hordes; when I passed through in 1928 he had only a few days before made his submission to the Yün-nan government. More exactly: holding a Belgian missionary as hostage, whom he threatened to kill should the governor of Yün-nan send further troops against him, he brought the governor to accept his own terms. Thus he was established as military ruler of the entire district. He sat with 1,000 of his bandits in the poor village which he had all but burnt to the ground, and the impoverished peasants had to feed the brutes who had ruined their homes. The village consists of about 600 families, and lies on the slopes of the foot-hills, at an elevation of 7,500 feet. It belongs to the magistracy of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.

Sixteenth stage. — From Niu-kai to Tien-wei 甸尾 is a distance of 70 li. Elevation 7,800 feet.

From the village of Niu-kai the trail keeps to the foot-hills which encircle the plain to the right. Somewhat beyond the village a path branches off at the end of the plain, into a deep valley which leads to Ho-ch'ing. This is the shortest way to Li-chiang.

Our trail leads across the Niu-kai plain to a limestone mountain with smooth cliffs on which inscriptions are still discernible dating back to K'ang-hsi (1662–1722). The mountain is called Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 [45] (Goddess of Mercy Mountain), and so is the village a short distance beyond; a Buddhist temple [46] nestles at the foot of the cliff. In the south it joins on to the Tien-ts'ang Shan. Half-way up the mountain is a cave called T'ai-chi tung 太極洞 (Cave of the ultimate immaterial principle, *i.e.*, of the Chinese cosmology). In the center of the cave is a pond called Chin-lung t'an 金龍潭 (Golden dragon pool) which is said to be very deep (the depth being unknown).

A short distance beyond, at a tiny temple, the trail ascends the red hills covered with oaks, pines, *Pinus Armandi* and *P. yünnanensis*, Alnus, *Castanopsis Delavayi*, rhododendrons, roses, Berberis, etc., up over limestone mountains, through oak forest, to a pass with a few houses called Ch'ou-shui-ching 臭水井 (Stinking water-well). At this place many hold-ups and murders were committed by the bandit hordes of Chang Chieh-pa. He strung up his victims by the thumbs to branches of high trees, and tied rocks to their feet;

[45] The name originated from a likeness of Kuan-yin cut into the rock of the mountain by Ko-lo-feng 閣邏鳳 (King of Nan-chao, 748–778) of the Meng family. Other names for the mountain are Fang-chang Shan 方丈山 (Abbot Mountain), Lien-hua Shan 蓮花山 (Lotus Mountain) and Hsiang-yün Shan 祥雲山 (Auspicious cloud Mountain). It is one of the seventeen famous mountains of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (From the *Ho-ch'ing chou chih*, ch. 4, fols. 5b–6a).

[46] The temple is called Miao-hsing An 妙行菴 (Hall of the practice of the Excellent or the Unfathomable). A board bearing the above characters is over the temple gate. It was presented by the Na-khi chief, Mu Hsing 木興, in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694). Mu Hsing was born in 1667 and died in 1720.

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lighting a fire beneath he left them to their fate. It was always a dreaded pass for caravans. At this summit are large groves of oaks (*Quercus Delavayi*); the elevation is 8,930 feet. The motor road passes below and to the west of it.

The trail here descends a little, only to climb again to 9,250 feet, and then continues downward between round, low hills of yellowish-red clay, over a shallow basin-like depression which in the rainy season becomes a pond. This is called the Yeh-ya t'ang 野鴨塘 (Wild-duck pond). The trail goes down between pines to the village of the same name, which we found entirely in ruins, having been looted and fired by the brigands. The path leads steeply into a circular, unproductive, gravelly basin of which only the terraced slopes are cultivated. A big stream issues from the right, which in the summer is an unfordable torrent. It is here called the Sha-pa Ho 沙壩河, as it flows through a sandy plain lined with old poplars and willows. It is a treacherous river and has carried away several bridges; lately a new one of stone has been constructed. At the other end of the little sandy plain is the hamlet of Yeh-chi-p'ing 野雞坪 (Pheasant flat). Elevation 8,500 feet.

From this basin we climb over pine-covered hills on the top of which the trail continues. A little westward and ahead is the mountain mass of Lao-chün Shan 老君山 or Mountain of Lao-chün or Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism. Beyond this mountain is visible La-pa Shan 拉巴山 (La-ba Ngyu in Na-khi), between 14,000 and 15,000 feet in height. To the extreme left, or south-west, is another high mountain which divides the Mekong from the Yang-pi. It is called Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山 (Snow-basin Mountain), but more commonly Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt-road Mountain), for salt is brought over it from the salt-well of La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴, west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 (Prince del-Mazzetti on his map calls it the Ye-lu-schan).

The trail descends over a gravelly ridge winding along valley slopes with a roaring stream to our left, down to the plain of Tien-wei; we cross the same stream which we passed over at Yeh-chi-p'ing and arrive at the village of Tien-wei, after going through large groves of old oaks. Half of the village, situated on the slopes of a hill across the plain, was destroyed. The distance from Niu-kai to Yeh-chi-p'ing being 53 li, the latter is the regular lunch-stop. The elevation of Tien-wei is 7,800 feet.

Seventeenth stage. — From Tien-wei to Chiu-ho 九河 is a distance of 60 li. Elevation 8,150 feet.

The trail leads from Tien-wei past a temple downhill to the Chien-ch'uan plain, leaving the Chien-ch'uan Lake (Chien Hu 劍湖), which is said to be 60 li square, to the east. We pass a new bridge, called Hai-hung ch'iao 海虹橋 (Lake rainbow bridge), over the Tien-wei Ho (the river makes here a semi-circle like a rainbow), which is none other than the Yang-pi River, by the village of Shang-teng 上登; at its entrance opposite the bridge, there is a large, now ruined, temple which is three li from Tien-wei. On the Chinese military map the town of Tien-wei is south-east of the lake, though in reality the lake is east of the town. The plain is intensively cultivated, while on the hill-sides grow *Catalpa Duclouxii*.

From the trail one has the first good view of the Li-chiang snow-range (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 — Jade dragon Mountain), although it is already visible

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from Tien-wei. In the distance can be seen the northern peak of the range, separated by the Yangtze from the main range. This peak is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (the Ha-pa Shan 哈巴山 of the Chinese), simply called Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow mountain) on the Chinese military map.

We follow the edge of the plain, skirting the foot-hills between fields of wheat, beans and peas (only the northern part of the plain is cultivated with rice), pass the hamlets of Han-teng 漢登 and Hsi-chuang 西莊, a distance of ten and a half li from Tien-wei; then Chu-chüan-ch'ang 猪圈場, and from there to Shui-chai 水寨. From this last village it is only a short distance to the walled town of Chien-ch'uan 劍川. Here we met hundreds of Min-chia peasants carrying heavy loads, some enormous earthen jars and pots, others mats, firewood, and pigs in baskets. Very large pigs were slung on poles between two men, the pig securely tied in a mat.

About 20 li from Tien-wei begin the walls of Chien-ch'uan (Rapier stream). This place is renowned for its carpenters, who are clever wood-carvers, and makers of furniture.[47] Chien-ch'uan is at an elevation of 7,750 feet. To the west, on the grassy slopes of the foot-hills, are thousands of graves. Here is the favorite camping place of the Tibetan caravans which come from the north to Ta-li and beyond. Above the graves on the hill-side is a large Buddhist temple called Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺 (Temple of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, Lord of the Earth).

The trail passes between irrigated wheat and rice-fields to the hamlets of Pan-teng-ho 板凳河 and Yung-p'an-ts'un 永盤村. We follow the left border of the plain, which narrows towards the north, passing the villages T'ai-

[47] Chien-ch'uan is the ancient territory of the Man-i (savages). The Hsi-i (Western barbarians) called the town Lo-lu, for in their language *lo-lu* meant lake, and had reference to the Chien Hu or Chien-ch'uan Lake near which the town is situated. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was the I-tu Lo-lu ch'eng 羈縻羅魯城. I-tu was one of the 10 original *chien* 賧 (districts) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. (*Chien* is the Chinese transcription of the Tai word *keng* or *xieng*). The Lo-lu ch'eng is the present-day foundation of Wa-yao-ts'un 瓦窯村 (Tile kiln village). It is 15 li south of Chien-ch'uan. The walls of the Lo-lu ch'eng were built in the T'ang dynasty. In the beginning of the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (about 786), Nan-chao fought Chien-ch'uan and captured the entire territory. Their chief changed his residence to Chien-t'an 劍賧 and changed its name to Chien-ch'iang 劍羌. The Nan-chao Kingdom established the government of Chien-ch'uan. In the Sung dynasty it was changed to I-tu t'an 羈縻賧 and was also called Po chou 渤州.

In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty there was established the *so* 所 (Sub-military station) of the 1,000 families of I-tu (I-tu ch'ien-hu so 羈縻千戶所).

In the 11th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1274), the name was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien (Magistracy of Chien-ch'uan) under the rule of the Ho-ch'ing Lu 鶴慶路 (Ho-ch'ing Circuit). The *Chien-ch'uan chou chih*, ch. 3, fol. 15b, states that the military and civil yamen of the governor of the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing was established in the 8th year of Chih-yüan (1271) and the I-tu 羈縻 was changed to Chien-ch'uan hsien dependent on the Circuit of Ho-ch'ing. In the 17th year of Ming Hung-wu (1384) it was raised to a chou and the families of 18 li 里 (communes) were registered there. In ancient days Chien-ch'uan had no wall, but during the reign of Hung-chih 弘治 (1488–1505), magistrate Li Wen 李文 built a tamped earth wall. In the 15th year of Ts'ung-cheng (1642) the wall was changed to a brick one, 16 Chinese feet high, and 12 thick. The moat was eight feet wide and five deep. During an earthquake in 1688 the wall fell, the towers toppled over the gates, and it was not rebuilt until 1690; it was once more rebuilt in 1712 and again destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In 1860 the Mohammedans flooded the town with water from Lake Chien and many lengths of the south-eastern part of the wall collapsed. It was finally rebuilt.

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p'ing-ts'un 太平村, Liu-chia-teng 劉家登 and Tien-hsin-ch'iao 甸心橋. The village of Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨 is not on the Chien-ch'uan plain but beyond a narrow ravine, the slopes of which are covered with pines. Opposite the village, in a lovely pine forest, are numerous graves. This or the village of Kan-mo-ho 乾磨河 is the regular lunch-stop for the day. Five li from this village will bring us to the end of the stage, the village of Chiu-ho 九河 (Nine streams),[48] but there are still the villages of Chiang-tung 江東 and Wen-mu-ho 文木河 to be passed. Ere reaching Chiu-ho there is a beautiful isolated hill with a lovely forest of oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and thence we travel along the foot of a rocky hill entering the long valley which leads to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. Chiu-ho is situated on a low spur at an elevation of 8,150 feet. It is a miserable hamlet with a single dilapidated temple. Caravans bound for Li-chiang usually prefer to go beyond it to the hamlet of Tu-wo 杜娥 also called Tu-wu 杜吳 on Chinese maps (Na-khi, Dtu-wùa).

We have now arrived at the border of the Li-chiang district, to which the village of Chiu-ho belongs. South of it is Chien-ch'uan territory.

[48] Chiu-ho is called in Na-khi, Gkyi-wùa; and Kuan-shang 關上, at the end of the valley which extends north of Chiu-ho, is called Gkyi-wùa Ts'o-k'ö.

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CHAPTER II

THE LI-CHIANG DISTRICT

487 133 137 *Eighteenth stage.* — From Chiu-ho to Li-chiang 麗江 is a distance of 90 li. Elevation, 8,200 feet.

From Chiu-ho we follow the plain, leaving to the left the large village of Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅 and five li further on coming to the village of Pei-su-mei 北蘇梅,[1] the names meaning Northern and Southern Su-mei respectively. Opposite the village and the temple is a small open-air theater where we used to stop with our caravan on former journeys. In this region the walnut trees were still leafless. This at the end of April. The hills forming the western valley wall are a brilliant red and covered with pines (*Pinus yunnanensis*). Many villages are scattered along the foot-hills, some extending up their slopes (*see* description of Chiu-ho li, p. 178). Small trails lead from this valley to Lao-chün Shan 老君山, which has always been a rendezvous for brigands. From the village of Pei-su-mei, it is five li to the Na-khi hamlet of Tu-wo (P'u-wu in Min-chia) where the Na-khi caravans prefer to put up for the night. Both villages are situated at the eastern side of the valley; here, also, the hills are covered with pines and numerous walnuts; the latter, mostly cultivated, can be found along the road, besides pears, peaches and plums.

The trail meanders over the gravelly valley floor past Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌, then P'o-chio 坡脚 (Foot of the hill) or Kuan-shang 關上 (Na-khi, Ts'o-k'o), 30 li from Chiu-ho. This is the last village in this valley, at the head of which is a beautiful, deep blue lake, the head-waters of the Yang-pi River. The lake is called Bbu-t'u-ndĕr (Shrimp pond), in Na-khi. From here it is a drop of 2,000 feet to the Yangtze and a distance of about 50 li to Shih-ku. The valley is inhabited mostly by Min-chia in the lower, and Na-khi in the upper part.

From the village of Kuan-shang the trail is paved, but is in a most terrible condition, and the grade next to impossible. It ascends from an elevation of 8,300 feet at Kuan-shang, over the partly forested mountain called T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山 which hems in the valley to the east, to the top of a pass at 9,800 feet, and shortly to another pass 10,100 feet above the sea. Here we have emerged on a rather large, dry plateau, the trail leading between low, round, [243] wooded hills. The Na-khi come from their villages and cultivate the gentle slopes of the hills, mostly with buckwheat and oats. On both sides of the trail are large sink-holes from which the plateau derives its name, Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 (Sinking water caves).[2] These holes, which are apparently of great depth, remind one of volcanic blow-holes or small craters; but here all is lime-

[1] The village is called Ts'o-k'ö-muan in Na-khi (Lower Ts'o-k'o). Transcribed in Chinese characters it is written Ts'o-k'uei mou 坡魁某. It is also called Nan-kuan-chan 南關站.

[2] "The topography of this down country is very old and in striking contrast to the valley which leads to the Yangtze and Shih-ku, and in which Kuan-shang is situated. The features of the down, with its gentle, rounded hills and shallow valleys, were developed before the formation of the Kuan-shang valley. The rocks exposed in the western part of the downs belong to the Kaoliang Series. The latter consist of phyllites and chloritic schists, quartzites, crystalline limestone, and limestone breccia. They belong to the Archeozoic or earliest era of geological history." (GREGORY)

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stone, and the entire plateau is apparently hollow, as is the region of the lake of La-shih-pa 拉史爬. The walls of the sink-holes are covered with oaks and pines, the floors giving way in the center to funnel-like shafts.

The trail leads east over the undulating plain of yellow clay and extensive limestone outcroppings, which remind one of the lava-flows of Hawaii, but are grey in color. These outcroppings are taken possession of by deep pink *Rhododendron racemosum* bushes which, with a prostrate form of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, form regular carpets.

Straight ahead is the famous pyramidal mountain Wen-pi Shan 文笔山 (Pencil Hill), called Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv, or Sä-bpi a-nan Ngyu, in Na-khi, whose slopes had suffered badly during the earthquake in 1925, when the whole western face of the mountain slid down, forming a huge talus slope. The mountain is renowned in Tibet. It represents a mountain deity called Zhi-da-mung-po (gzhi-bdag-smug-po གཞི་བདག་སྨུག་པོ་). (*See*: *San-pi-wai-lung* p. 184).

Further the trail turns north-east over the same plateau (called in Na-khi, La-bpiu-k'o), at an elevation of 10,000 feet, and then descends to a little shrine called the Shan-shen Miao 山神庙 (Shrine of the mountain spirit). It continues on down to a lower plateau — again with sink-holes — the level places being under cultivation. From here the Li-chiang snow range is now visible to the north.

The crops on this plateau are dependent wholly on rain, for it is entirely waterless. The lowest part stands at 9,400 feet, and the dusty trail seems endless, but descends at last through pine forest to the plain of La-shi, in Chinese La-shih-pa 喇史爬 also written 拉史爬). The caravan-stop is at the hamlet of Sä-bpi wùa boa (also called Sä-mbi wùa-boa in the Dto-mba or Na-khi priest books). Elevation 8,700 feet.

Beyond the village a wooden bridge leads over the La-lo-k'a stream, whence the trail runs between the La-shi K'hü (Lake of La-shi), and the mountains and then north-east towards the pass over the spur which joins the southern end of the Li-chiang snow range with Ma-an Shan 马鞍山 and Wen-pi Shan 文笔山. The pass is called in Na-khi, La-shi gkaw-gku, is 8,750 feet above sea level, and 20 li from La-shih-pa. From its foot it is eight li across the plain to the town of Li-chiang.

As the region to the south of Li-chiang is inhabited mainly by the Min-chia tribe it may not be out of place here to say a few words about these neighbors of the Mo-so, or Na-khi.

THE MIN-CHIA TRIBE (PLATES 7, 8)

The Min-chia 民家, called Lä-bbu by the Na-khi and considered by them as their second elder brother — the first being the Tibetan, whom they call Gv-dzu — are known to the Chinese, especially in their literature, as Pai-jen 白人 (White people). In their own language they call themselves P'ĕr-tsu, colloquially they speak of themselves as P'ĕr-nv-tsu. They are scattered over much of Yün-nan and formed once the principal population of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom. Unlike the Na-khi they have no written language. They are much intermingled with the tribes which live in the neighboring region of

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101 Ta-li. From their stronghold, which is the Ta-li plain, they extend north to Ho-ch'ing, one day south of Li-chiang, and thence south-west, where they occupy exclusively the valley of the P'i Chiang 洱江 with its two towns, Yün-lung 雲龍 [3] in the south, and Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 in the north.

[291] The K'un-ming plain is to some extent also peopled by Min-chia, and the
197 women are easily recognized by the brilliant red trousers they wear. They are now a mixed race and, as Terrien de Lacouperie says, "their language bears out the same testimony." In his paper on the pre-Chinese languages he says, "Chinese, Mo-so, Lo-lo, and Tibetan words have been adopted instead of the original vocables, but the Mon character of the language is still recognizable in many words, and the positions of the genitive and of the adjective are in accordance with this indication." The Min-chia are not related to the Tibeto-
[144] Burman stock to which the Mo-so or Na-khi belong, but are akin to the Palaung, Wa, and others of the Mon-Khmer race. As I have not studied these people, I shall simply give translations of texts regarding them from Chinese works such as the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Great Topography of Yün-nan), etc. *See*: FITZGERALD C. P., *The Tower of Five Glories*, 1941.

539 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 199, pp. 8b–9a, states: "Pai-jen first dwelled
173 at Ta-li and Pai-ngai-ch'uan 白崖川. Accordingly they belong to the division
101 of the Pai-man 白蠻 of Chin-ch'ih 金齒 [Chin-ch'ih ch'eng 金齒城 is the
[302] present-day Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌) in south-west Yün-nan]. Because the custom of the Pai-i 百夷 was to cover two of their front teeth with gold, they were called the Chin-ch'ih-man 金齒蠻" (Gold-teeth savages). This custom still prevails in Yün-nan; especially in the capital, where Chinese dentists are more busily engaged covering perfectly sound canines with gold than in genuine dentistry.

"To the west of Chin-ch'ih were the T'u man 土蠻 (Aboriginal savages) to whom belonged eight tribes, the Chin-ch'ih, Pai-i, P'o, O-ch'ang 鍛昌 (Marco Polo's Vo-chang), P'iao 驃 (evidently the natives of eastern Burma are meant), the Hsieh 蝎, Chü-lo 渠羅 and Pi-su 比蘇. The Chin-ch'ih-man were originally the Mang-shih-man 芒施蠻. At the time when I-mou-hsün fought all the savages, the Chin-ch'ih tribe were weakened. Afterwards they increased and flourished. For that reason there was established in the Chin-ch'ih and other [tribal] lands an An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification commissioner). Afterwards the Pai-jen dwelled in the territory of Ching-tung fu 景東府,[4] Yün-nan, Lin-an 臨安, Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, K'ai-hua 開化, Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, Yao-an 姚安, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei 永北 and Li-chiang.

[3] Latitude, 25° 49′; Longitude 99° 22′. According to the K'ang-hsi dictionary the character 洱 is read *tz'u* and never *p'i* or *pi*. The people of Yün-lung call their river P'i Chiang, also often P'i Chiang. The character 洱 used on the local military map and in Yün-nan generally is therefore wrong; it should be 沘, which according to the K'ang-hsi dictionary is pronounced *pi* or *p'i*, and is also given as the name of a river. The *Chio-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 478, fol. 11a, states it is also called Lo-ma Chiang 騾馬江 and Shun Chiang 順江, it has its source in Lao-chün Shan.

[4] Pi-su was one of the eight *ch'eng* (cities) of the State of Yung-ch'ang, which was the Li-chiang district during the Later Han dynasty, and is not to be confused with the present Yung-ch'ang just mentioned. During the Nan-chao Kingdom the Pai-man captured Ching-tung, after it had been established by the Meng family as Yin-sheng fu 銀生府.

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"The Pai-jen are also called Min-chia-tzu (Sons [descendants] of the families of the people). 539 173 101

"They are a branch of the ancient Pai Kuo 白國. Anciently they were erroneously called P'o and afterwards the P'o and Pai were considered one tribe. In point of fact, they have nothing in common.

"They are distributed everywhere over Yün-nan. Their customs are not very different from those of the Chinese.

"The Pai-jen are the descendants of Chang Lo-chin-ch'ju 張樂進求 of the Pai Kuo. [He was the King of Chien-ning 建寧 who in the 23rd year of T'ang Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The city of Chien-ning is the present Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, the former Pai Kuo or White Kingdom]. The Chao 趙, Yang 楊 and Tuan families 段氏 are their descendants.

"They believe in Buddhism and sorcery."

The *Tien hsiao-chi* 滇小記 (Brief History of Tien), fol. 59b, states: "The Pai-jen are the scattered descendants of the ancient Pai-Kuo. They are now distributed all over Yün-nan. Colloquially they are known as Pai-erh-tzu 白兒子. Tradition relates that they were the followers of Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 who came to Yün-nan from the State of Ch'u 楚 and later [about 280 B.C.] established the Kingdom of Tien, and made himself King of Tien" (Yün-nan).

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PLATE 17.—THE SEVENTH GENERATION. A-CHIA A-ZE (MO TE)

[p. 43 A]

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PLATE 18.—THE EIGHTH GENERATION. MO CH'U

[p.43 B]

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PLATE 19.—THE NINTH GENERATION, MU TU

木土九世

[p. 43 C]

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PLATE 20.—THE TENTH GENERATION. MU SHEN

本 藩 十 世 考

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PLATE 21.—THE ELEVENTH GENERATION, MU CH'IN

Ep. 43 E

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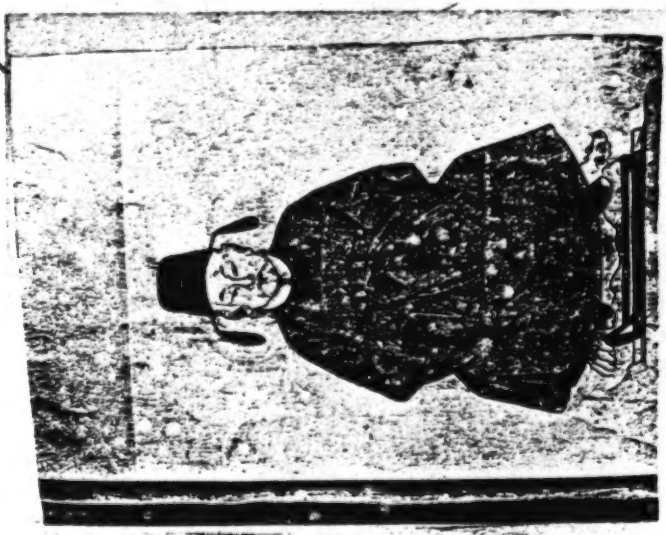

PLATE 22.—THE TWELFTH GENERATION: MU TAI

十二世穆泰

[p. 43 F]

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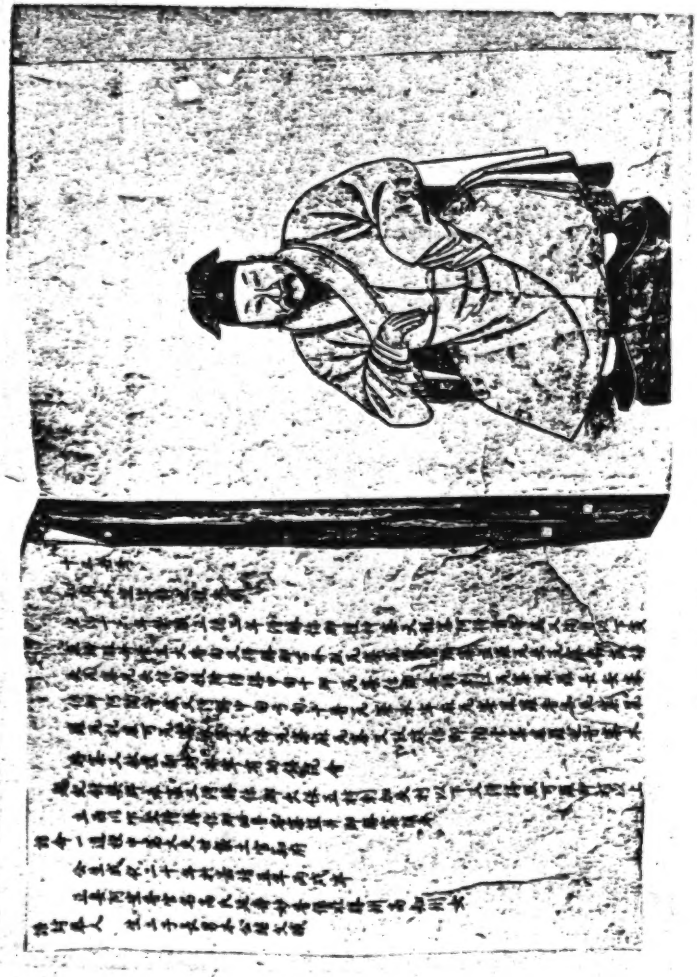

PLATE 23.—THE THIRTEENTH GENERATION MU TING

木 定 十 三 世 考

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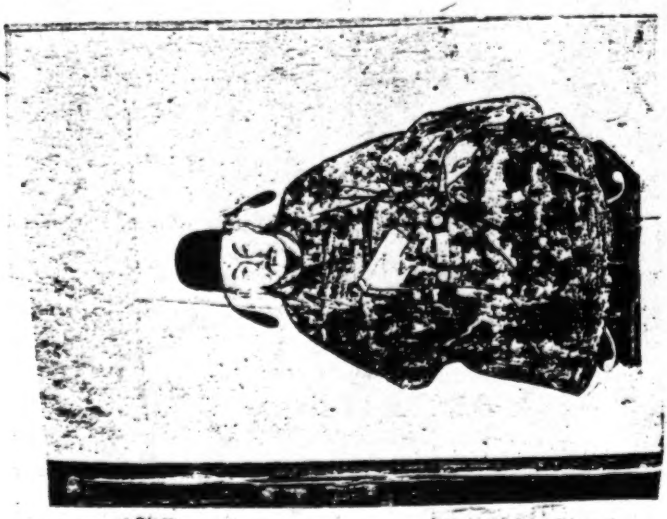

PLATE 24.—THE FOURTEENTH GENERATION, MU KUNG

木公十四世孫

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PLATE 23.—THE FIFTEENTH GENERATION, MU KAO

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FIG. 16.—THE SIXTEENTH GENERATION, MU TUNG

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PLATE 27.—THE SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. MO-WANG

[p. 43 K]

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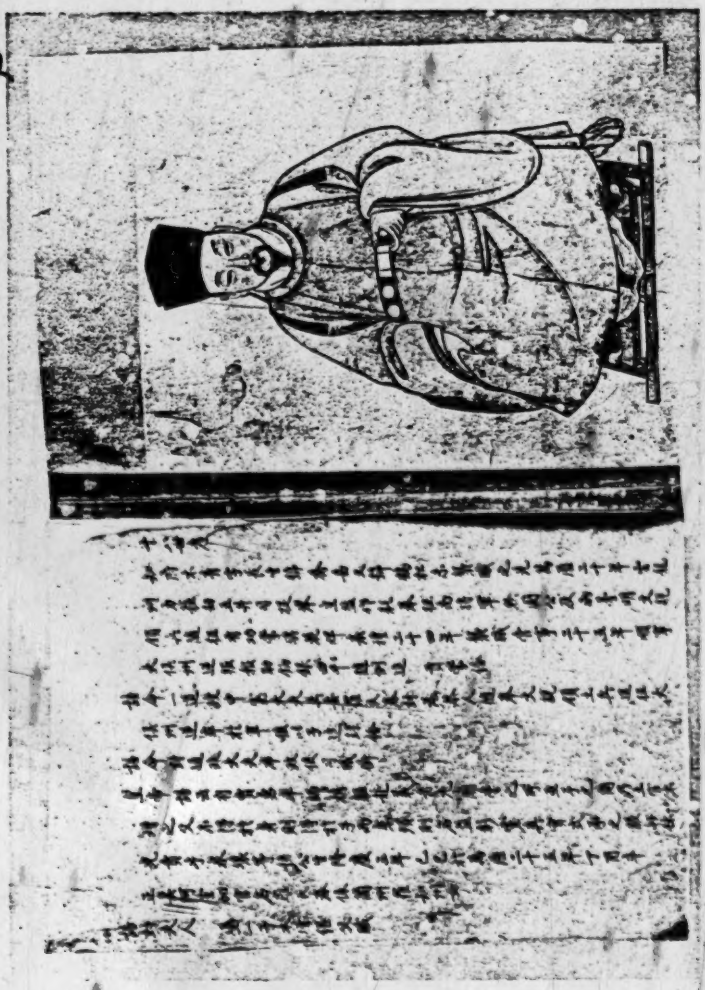

PLATE 28. — THE EIGHTEENTH GENERATION, MU CH'ING

第十八代 穆青

[p.43 L]

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PLATE 29. — THE NINETEENTH GENERATION. MU TSENG

考世九十（白產木）增木

He was also known as Mu Sheng-pai and was the most famous of the Na-khi rulers.

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PLATE 30. — MEMORIAL GATE OF THE MU FAMILY, LI-CHIANG

麗江木氏石牌坊

This gate or *P'ai-fang* stands in front of the former official residence of the Na-khi chiefs. The inscription *Chung I* 忠義 Loyalty and Righteousness was presented — 1620 by Ming Emperor Shen Tsung (Wan-li) to Mu Tseng. In the upper panel are the two characters *Sheng-chi* 聖旨 meaning Imperial decree. The Yamen is now used as the district's public primary school.

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PLATE 31. — THE TWENTIETH GENERATION. MU I

考世十二錄本

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PLATE 32. — THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION OF THE SECOND CHRONICLE. MU YU

第二本氏宦譜二十一世考本穆

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PART II

THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

"Records of Li-chiang"

173 The following brief historical account of the Li-chiang district has been taken mainly from the Records of the prefecture of Li-chiang (*Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 麗江府志略), which is dated the 15th day of the third moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty 大清記 (April 9th, 1743). It was written by the Li-chiang magistrate, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣, whose literary name was Wei T'ing 未亭. He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi) and received the degree of Doctor in 1718. He took office as magistrate of Li-chiang in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736). He was evidently still holding that office when he wrote the Records as he figures as the last magistrate in that work. A preface was written to it by the Inspector, or Hsün-ch'a 巡察 for the Western political Division or I-hsi Tao (遛西道), Chu Feng-ying 朱鳳英, dated the 1st day of the tenth moon of the 8th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 16th, 1743). Another preface was written by Chang Yün-sui 張允隨. He was a Chinese Bordered Yellow Bannerman, and previous to becoming Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou, he held many minor positions, such as magistrate of Ch'u-hsiung, and provincial treasurer of Kuei-chou. These are the first and only records ever written of Li-chiang, both before and after it came under complete Chinese jurisdiction in 1723. There exist, as far as I am aware, only two copies of these records. One is in Li-chiang, in the joint possession of two families, the other is in the Zi-ka-wei (Shanghai) Catholic Mission Library (Shang-hai Hsü-chia-hui T'ien-chu t'ang-ts'ang-shu lou 上海徐家匯天主堂藏書樓). Through the kindness of the late Mr. Mu Shu 木恕, a descendant of the old Na-khi chiefs residing in Li-chiang, I obtained the loan of the record in Li-chiang for the purpose of having it copied. It is not in the Yün-nan Government Library, but the Peiping National Library and the Peiping Palace Library possess the second half of the work in manuscript form.[1]

In the general introduction we meet with these pompous opening sentences: "The great enterprise of turning a frontier, barren and desolate, into a civilized country within a short space of time, can never be accomplished by one or two

[1] The records I found in Li-chiang were in very bad condition, they were printed on very thin paper and many characters had become illegible. I therefore had the Zi-ka-wei Li-chiang records copied, through the kindness of the late Rev. P. C. Baumert, Librarian. In the Department of Education in Li-chiang there is a manuscript copy of a Li-chiang hsien chih which has never been printed, it dates from the 10th year of Kuang-hsü (1884). I had it copied in 1941 but it was lost with the translations of over 700 Mo-so manuscripts, Tibetan books and other rare mss., in the Arabian Sea due to enemy action in the spring of 1944.

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173 subjects only of our Imperial Court. In order to accomplish this arduous task, it is first necessary to appoint a reputable subject, well-experienced in governing, as magistrate of the chief city, one who, through careful management and deep study, will educate the people and correct their customs. Only then will our excellent culture of hundreds and thousands of generations, find root in that land, grow luxuriantly, and unfold its first brilliant flower."

It is said of the writer of the record, Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan, that in his leisure time he would call on old scholars of the neighborhood and try to collect from them all remaining manuscripts relating to the history of this district, also maps, and literature about its mountains and rivers, biographies, etc. This enabled him to write the first record of Li-chiang in two *chüan* 卷, an Upper 上 and a Lower 下, each consisting of six chapters. The printing blocks of these records were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. It is very strange that no magistrate since 1736 had the time or interest to keep these records up to date, and issue a new edition, as Li-chiang is one of the most interesting regions and certainly the most beautiful of the entire province.

Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan says that Li-chiang had been part of the Chinese Empire since the days of the Yüan dynasty, and was at the time he wrote (1743) a safe rampart of the western frontier of Yün-nan. He tells us that the officials of the Yüan and Ming dynasties had adopted only a vague policy in ruling the district and did nothing to mitigate the pain and misery of its people. And, furthermore, "that it had been said that instead of naturalizing them (the Na-khi) into Chinese, those Chinese officials who governed them were themselves naturalized by the Barbarians." The record further states that "the people were employed by their magistrates to do transport work, open the jungle, and become soldiers to fight the bloodiest battles and to sacrifice their lives for the safety of our country. Not a single word of comfort and encouragement, nor any show of mercy or grace, had ever been delivered to these people by past officials." Thus reads Kuan's indictment of the officials who ruled Li-chiang. Kuan held his post under the Manchu regime, and therefore it is easy to see why he enlarges on the benefits the people derived from the Imperial Manchu rule, and why he says that they (the Na-khi) "are now of one mind and of one voice." And this was said to have been due "to the great influence, inspiration, benevolence and mercy exhibited by the Manchu dynasty for 60 years." This was written 20 years after the Chinese had taken over the administration of Li-chiang.

Their magistrate asks these questions: "Why did the Barbarians apply for naturalization in 1723? Why did they not remain in their peaceful barbarian state?" And he answers them with this phrase: "*They had been attracted by the Imperial Benevolence as animals are attracted by sweet grass.*" He closes his preface by stating that "he dare not say that he established anything for these people, but that the bright future and the hopes of Li-chiang will certainly depend upon future capable magistrates of *superior quality.*"

The viceroy in his preface states that "prior to the nationalization of Li-chiang, its native chieftains or local magistrates oppressed the people, they were violent, cruel, greedy and lustful." It is given as a fact that the chief had the right and privilege to deflower any bride, who could only return to her legal, newly-wed husband after having spent three days with the chief.

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It was this latter violence which the people could bear the least and which caused them to apply for naturalization. The viceroy closes his preface by saying that "he is pleased to see that the Imperial Rule has spread its influence even to this farthest and *desolate* land, whose people are living a quiet life, and who lack nothing to satisfy their desires." 173

It is doubtful, however, if the pious hopes expressed by Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan have ever been fulfilled.

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CHAPTER II

General History of the Region

173 The following pages are translations of the *Yen-ko* 沿革 (Successive changes) in the history of Li-chiang and the territory to which it belonged, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 12b.

Between 298 and 262 B.C., we briefly recall, Chuang Ch'iao, a general of the State of Ch'u, invaded the region and established the Kingdom of Tien (*see* pp. 5–6 for details of this period).

In the fifth year of Han Wu Ti and the period of Yüan-kuang 元光 (130 B.C.) "the Emperor appointed Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如, the Chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 (Lieutenant-General), and the Fu-shih 副使 (Assistant Commissioner) Wang Jan-yü 王然于, and others to proceed with the Imperial Insignia to the Hsi-i (Western barbarians). Thereupon the different rulers of the Jan-mang 冉駹[1] and Yeh-yü 櫟榆[2] petitioned to become subjects of the

[1] The regions to the north of Tso-tu 筰都, on the western border of the State of Shu, comprised at the time of the Han dynasty a certain number of tribes, governed by their great chiefs. Among them the Jan-mang occupied first rank. Originally there were two tribes, the Jan and the Mang. The Jan-mang changed their residence occasionally in search of pasturage. They advanced up to the western frontier of the State of Shu. In the sixth year of Yüan-ting 元鼎 of the Emperor Wu Ti (111 B.C.) their territories were united into a *chün* 郡 (a territorial division), which received the name of Wen-shan 汶山. — That is what the *Mou chou chih* says in ch. 1, fol. 7a.

The *Wen-chih chi lüeh* 汶志紀略, ch. 1, fol. 4b, says that in the Han dynasty their territory was called Mien-ssu hsien 綿虒縣, subject to Shu Chün 蜀郡. In the Eastern Han it became the Mien-ssu tao 道, while in the Shu Han it became the Wen-shan Chün 汶山郡. This is the territory of the present Mou hsien 茂縣 in the Min valley, six stages north of Ch'eng-tu, on the north-west border of Ssu-ch'uan. The Wen Mountain, which has given the name to the district, is north-west of Mou chou. On Chinese maps showing the domain of the Fighting States the mountain is situated on the extreme north-western border of the State of Shu, and south of the T'ao Ho 洮河 and the Min Shan 岷山 in the present The-wu or The-wo ཐེ་བོ (The-bu) country 鐵布 (T'ieh-pu). In the Great Geography of China it is considered the Min Shan, but not the Ku Min Shan 古岷山 (Old Min Shan), which is apparently the one in Kansu. The *Wen chih chi lüeh* says that the Yu kung 禹貢 Min Shan 岷山 leads to the *Chiang* 江 (Yangtze), and the *Shih Chi* 史記 states that the Min Shan is the Wen Shan 汶山.

133 The Kan-su Min Shan is a distinct range for the most part composed of grey limestone only the eastern part is conglomerate. To the north of it flows the T'ao River 洮河 and to the south of it the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江 or Pai-lung Chiang 白龍江. Many lateral valleys debouch into these rivers north and south respectively, their sources being among the crags of the Min Shan. The valley of the Pai-shui Chiang is quite broad and fertile especially in its central part. Thus the Min Shan is a distinct and separate range. Of course the entire region is mountainous but the mountains are much lower both to the north and to the south of the Min Shan; they are mere hills in comparison, especially those to the north of it. In the extreme eastern end the limestone extends across the Pai-shui Chiang Valley and there the river flows in a narrow chasm. It is here that the Min Shan connects with the range to the south where two streams, the To-erh-ku Ho 多兒谷河 and the A-hsia-ku Ho 阿夏谷河 join the Pai-shui Chiang coming from the south and having their source in the range over which a pass called the Yang-pu Shan-k'ou 陽布山口 leads into Ssu-ch'uan; the pass is the border between Kan-su and Ssu-ch'uan. From here long valleys lead

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Chinese Imperial rule. In the first year of Yüan-feng 元封 (110 B.C.), Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 [born about 145 B.C., died between 86–74], a Lang-chung 郎中 (Senior Secretary of a board), was commissioned to subjugate Pa Shu 巴蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan) in the west, and to seize the territory of Chiung 邛, Tso 作 and K'un-ming 昆明,[3] namely the land of Li-chiang."

In the second year of Yüan-feng 元封 (109 B.C.) the generals Kuo Ch'ang

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south as the Ta-shen kou 大神溝 which debouches into the Hei Ho 黑河 which has its source south of the range flanking the Pai-shui Chiang to the south. Here all existing maps are entirely incorrect both foreign and Chinese (*see* J. F. Rock, The Land of the Tebbus in *The Geographical Journal* (R. G. S. London) Vol. LXXXI, no. 2, 1933; p. 108–127, map on p. 112). There follows a maze of mountains with vallevs, the main being that of the Hei Ho flowing south to where it is joined by the Pai Ho 白河, the latter having several sources all coming from the south or southeast and flowing north till they mingle with the Hei Ho and then flow east past Nan-p'ing, to Wen hsien 文縣. It is the range to the south of this stream, extending from west to east, to the north of Sung-pan and Lung-an, now called P'ing-wu 平武, which is the Min Shan of Ssu-ch'uan or the Wen Shan of the ancients. A pass known as the Kung-kang Ling 弓杠嶺 leads over it and it is here that the Min Chiang 岷江 or Min River has its source. V. K. Ting on map 27 gives the Min Shan to the south of the Pai-lung Chiang and for the actual Min Shan of Kan-su he gives the name Hsi-ch'ing Shan 西傾山?, both are incorrect. The Hsi-ch'ing Shan of the Tribute of Yü or Yü-kung is none other than the Tibetan Klu(i)-khra-bu-lag, pronounced Lu(i)-chhra-bu-lag which in the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wen chih* 西域同文志 is transcribed Lo-ch'a-p'u-la 羅察布拉. This mountain range which I visited and where the T'ao Ho, called in Tibetan Klu (Lu) Chhu, has its source (whence the range derives its name Lui-of the Lu River), is to the west of the Min Shan and is undoubtedly an extension of it, being also of limestone, but grassland separates the two ranges.

[1] Yeh-yü is the present Ta-li and was 10 li north-east of T'ai-ho hsien 太和縣. In ancient days, during the Han dynasty, Yeh-yü must have comprised a larger area, for Ma Tuan-lin speaks of the savages of Yeh-yü. The name Yeh-yü first appears during the period Yüan-feng in the second year of Han Wu Ti (109 B.C.). The Yeh-yü were a tribe, as were the Ku-hui 薄姬 who lived with them in the same territory. The land of the Ku-hui-i was to the east of Teng-chuan 鄧川, whose territory adjoined Yeh-yü. In the 18th year of Chien-wu-建武 (A.D. 42) of the Later Han dynasty the Yeh-yü savages rebelled and killed their chief official.

Under Han Wu Ti, in the sixth year of Yüan-ting (111 B.C.) there were founded 15 hsien (districts) in the Commandery of Yüeh-sui or Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. The first was Chiung-tu 邛都. This is the land south-east of the present district of Hsi-ch'ang 西昌縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. Ting-tso 定作 was the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣, also in Ssu-ch'uan. Ta-tso 大作 was to the north of Hui-li chou 會理州. Ku-fu 姑復 at that time was the land west of Li-chiang. — From the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3b. The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 6a, says Ta-tso is supposed to be the present Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣. Actually it is the Mu-li 木裏 and Kua-pieh 瓜別 of Yen-yüan.

[3] Chiung 邛 was east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, in the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 of Ssu-ch'uan, and the district of Tso 作 west of it, while K'un-ming 昆明 was the territory west of I chou 益州, the K'un-ming of to-day. Li-chiang at that time belonged to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡 and was called Ting-tso hsien 定作縣. The Tso were a nomad tribe and so were the Chiung. Jan and Mang. They were also called Tso-tu 作都 and Chiung-tu 邛都. The *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 8b, relates that Han Wu Ti sent several embassies over four different routes to the western regions of Shu 蜀. Each of the embassies covered one to two thousand li of territory. The northern embassy's route was closed by the Ti 氐 and Tso 作 tribes, and the southern embassy's route was closed by the Sui 巂 and K'un-ming 昆明 savages. In K'un-ming there existed neither a prince nor a chief, but they understood stealing and robbing, and murdered messengers from the Court of Han at every opportunity, so that no one could pass.

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173 郭昌 and Wei Kuang 衛廣 [4] were ordered to subjugate the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 [5] who had not yet been humiliated and brought into subjection. At that time the king of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) returned to allegiance and was given a royal seal. His land was made into the State of I chou 益州郡.

At first Emperor Wu Ti sent messengers to Tien to seek a way to the Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國 (India — the region of the basin of the Sindh River or Indus). Ch'ang Ch'iang 常羌, King of Tien,[6] asked the messengers: "Which kingdom is the greater, the kingdom of Han, or my kingdom?" When the messengers returned and reported this question to the Son of Heaven, he was angered at the disloyal words, and caused a lake to be dug in the south-west of the Imperial city of Ch'ang-an 長安 [7] in the same shape as the lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu lake) for the purpose of carrying on manœuvers on the water. In the meantime the kingdom of Tien was attacked and pacified, and the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 was established, to which the hsien of Ting-tso 定作縣 (Li-chiang) belonged. A short time afterwards another envoy was sent, but communications with K'un-ming were again interrupted.

During that time, Jen-kuo 仁果,[8] descendant of King Pai-fan 白飯 of T'ien-

[4] These two generals were sent to war with K'un-ming because the latter repeatedly obstructed the road to the envoys of Han. They decapitated several ten thousand and made many prisoners, after which they left. In spite of this, the Han envoys, which later were again sent to K'un-ming, met with hostility in Yün-nan, and no Han embassy ever managed to pass through K'un-ming. — From the *Shih* 史記, ch. 123, fol. 12a.

[5] There were three regional barbarian tribes: the Hsi-nan-i, Hsi-i, and Nan-i (South-western, Western, and Southern barbarians respectively). There is a statement in the *Tien-yün li-nien-chuan*, ch. 2, fol. 8b, that the K'un-ming-i 昆明夷 are the present-day Mo-so and Li-su of Li-chiang, actually those outside of T'a-ch'eng 塔城, La-p'u 喇普 and other places west of the Yangtze, on the road to Tibet from Yün-nan, etc. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 400, fol. 5a, states that the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty was afterwards captured by the Man-i. During the reign of Chou Wu Ti 周武帝 (561–578) there was established Ting-tso chen 鎮. In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619), the district or hsien of K'un-ming was established in the *chen*. The *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 1, fol. 2b states that there were three K'un-ming. The *Han Shu* says K'un-ming extended from T'ung-shih 桐門 north-east to Yeh-yü (Ta-li); this is the Sui 隋 (Sui chou) K'un-ming and is the present Pao-shan 保山 — Yung-ping 永平 (south-west of Ta-li). In the second year of T'ang Wu-te (619) Sui chou established a K'un-ming hsien which is the Ssu-ch'uan Yen-yüan hsien of to-day. The third was one of three *chou*, viz.: Yin 姻, Tsung 總, Tun 敦州; but which one is now not known. None of these three K'un-ming, however, is identical with the present-day K'un-ming, the former Yün-nan fu.

[6] As Wu Ti ruled from 140–87 B.C., Ch'ang Ch'iang must have been King of Tien during that period. In the Hsi-nan-i of the *Ch'ien-Han Shu* 前漢書, ch. 95, fol. 3b, the name of the King of Tien is given as Tang Ch'iang 當羌. The sending of these messengers to India via the Kingdom of Tien took place between the first and fourth year of Yüan-shou 元狩 (122–119 B.C.), for it states that after four years, that is, after 119 B.C., the road to K'un-ming 昆明 (Yün-nan) was closed.

[7] Hsi-an fu on the Wei Shui 渭水 in the present province of Shensi.

[8] As the King of Tien, Ch'ang Ch'iang, was entirely engrossed in the Buddhist religion and cared nothing for affairs of state, the peasants made Jen-kuo King of Pai-ngai. Jen-kuo was a descendant of Pai-fan Wang, whose name meant "white rice."

Jen-kuo now governed Pai-ngai (the present Hung-ngai 紅崖), and as both he and Ch'ang Ch'iang contended for the kingdom, Han Wu Ti afterwards established Jen-kuo as ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國. Sarkson, in his translation of the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, makes a mistake in translating the word *t'ui* as "to expel, chase"; *t'ui* in this instance means "to

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chu Kuo 天竺國 (India), was elected by the masses as King of Tien. He established his capital at the city of Pai-ngai and called his kingdom Pai-tzu Kuo. Thus the hereditary office of the Chuang Ch'iao 莊蹻 family came to an end. 173

In the 12th year of the period Yung-p'ing 永平 of Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 69), Liu-mao 栒貌, King of Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國,[9] submitted to the Imperial rule, and his kingdom became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (Records of the prefecture of Yung-ch'ang), ch. 9, fol. 1b, states that

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elect, to promote." He translates the passage 仁果者爲衆所推立於白崖, by "Jen-kouo, chassé par son peuple, s'était établi à Pai-yai," while it should read, "Jen-kuo, elected by his people, established himself at Pai-ai."

[9] The founder of the Ai-lao Kingdom was Chiu-lung 九隆. The State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, now called Pao-shan hsien 保山縣, between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 (the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝) was the ancient Ai-lao Kuo 哀牢國. Its name was derived from Ai-lao Shan 哀牢山. This mountain is 20 li east of Yung-ch'ang fu (Pao-shan hsien), and it is also called T'ien-ching Shan 天井山. The Barbarian, Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, of the State of Ai-lao, went fishing in lake Chiu-lung 九龍池 (also called I-lo Ch'ih 易羅池) and was drowned. His wife, Sha-i 沙壹, who lived on the slopes of Ai-lao Shan, went to weep on the shore of the lake. She was struck by a floating log, felt affected, and after ten months gave birth to a son — and in all to ten sons.

Afterwards she conducted her ten sons to the shore of the lake. The log changed into a dragon and said to her. "Where are my sons?" Nine of the ten sons were frightened and ran away. The youngest remained, and the dragon licked its back. In the language of the Ai-lo man (savages), *chiu* 九 meant "back" and *lung* 隆 "to sit" or "to keep one's seat." It is from this that the family name Chiu-lung 九隆 originated.

Another tradition relates that the woman Sha-i was fishing for herself when she was struck by the log, etc.; and that at the foot of Ai-lao Shan there lived another woman, by the name of Nu-po-hsi 奴波息, who gave birth to ten daughters. These latter became the wives of the Chiu family brothers. They established ten clans, as follows: Tung 董, Hung 洪, Tuan 段, Shih 施, Ho 何, Wang 王, Chang 張, Yang 楊, Li 李 and Chao 趙. They multiplied, so that there were many grandchildren, and they all lived on the mountain of Chiu-lung 九龍山. This mountain is seven li south-west of Yung-ch'ang; according to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, it is west of Pao-shan hsien, 10 li outside the Lung-ch'üan men 龍泉門 (Dragon-spring gate).

The *Pei-cheng-chih* says Yüan-lung 元隆 instead of Chiu-lung, apparently a misprint.

After the death of Chiu-lung, his direct descendants inherited the sovereignty from generation to generation. Later some of the brothers separated and established smaller States. The subjects of these princes dwelled in valleys and ravines, protected by the mountains and streams. They later separated into 99 tribes, from whom originated the Nan-chao (Kingdom).

To return to Meng-ch'ieh-tu 蒙伽獨, who was also known as Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤: He was the fifth son of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴. The latter, who had nine sons, was himself the son of P'iao-chü-ti 驃苴低, also known as A-yü Wang (Aśoka the Sorrowless), sovereign of the Indian kingdom of Magadha, and his wife Ch'ien-meng-k'uei 欠蒙虧.

Ti-meng-chu, as related, had nine sons; the first was Meng-chü-fu-lo 蒙苴附羅, who was the ancestor of the Sixteen Kingdoms. The second, Meng-chü-lien 蒙苴廉, was ancestor of the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans); the third, Meng-chü-no 蒙苴諾, of the Han-jen 漢人 (Chinese); the fourth, Meng-chü-ch'ou 蒙苴酬, of the Tung man 東蠻 (Eastern savages). The fifth son, Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, had 12 sons: seven were saints, five were sages, and they were the ancestors of the Meng family. The sixth son, Meng-chü-t'o 蒙苴託, was the ancestor of the Shih-tzu Kuo 獅子國 (Lion Kingdom) — Siṁha or Siṁhala (Ceylon). The seventh, Meng-chü-lin 蒙苴林, was the ancestor of Chiao-chih Kuo 交趾國 (the Hanoi region in Tonkin); the eighth, Meng-chü-sung 蒙苴頌, of Jen-kuo 仁果, ruler of Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國; the ninth, Meng-chü-ch'u 蒙苴閭, of the Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians), that is, the Tai (Shan), who occupy the lower regions in southern Yün-nan, which begin at from 4,000 feet down.

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113 "in the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties it was the land of Jung chou 戎州, and that outside this south-west border was Ai-lao Kuo, originally called An-lo Kuo 安樂國, and in the language of the barbarians incorrectly called Ai-lao." It says further that it was spoken of as Shen-tu Kuo 身毒國. It was the kingdom west of Shu 蜀, the present-day Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang). [According to this, Pao-shan is identical with Shen-tu Kuo, always considered to be a name for India, and especially for the region of the basin of the Indus]. The Chiu-lung family lived there, and had no intercourse with China.

Under the Han dynasty. — In the first year of the period Yüan-shou 元狩 of Han Wu Ti (122 B.C.), the land of the south-western barbarians was opened, and the first connection was with Po-nan. The district of Pu-wei 不韋縣 was then established under the Chün of I chou 益州郡. In the first year of Yung-p'ing 永平 of the Later Han Ming Ti 明帝 (A.D. 58) the different barbarians revolted again. Thereupon the magistrate Chang Hsi 張喜 of I chou punished and pacified them. There was then established the Chün of Lan ts'ang 蘭滄郡 and the two hsien of Po-nan 博南[10] and Ai-lao 哀牢.[11] In the 12th year of the same emperor (69), in the spring, Ai-lao submitted and their territory became the Chün of Yung-ch'ang 永昌郡 to which were ceded six additional hsien from the western part of the Chün of I chou 益州.[12] The above-mentioned six hsien were called: Pu-wei 不韋, Sui-t'ang 嶲唐, Pi-su 比蘇, Yeh-yü, Hsieh-lung 邪龍 and Yün-nan.[13] At that time Li-chiang belonged to Hsieh-lung hsien 邪龍縣.

In the second year of the period Chien-ch'u 建初 of Han Chang Ti 章帝 (A.D. 77). Lui-lao 類牢, son of Liu-mao 栁貌 (ancient King of the Ai-lao) rebelled. Lu-ch'eng 卤承, leader of the K'un-ming-man 昆明蠻 (K'un-ming

[10-11] Po-nan was east of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. The latter was 170 li north-east of Pao-shan (Yung-ch'ang), between the latter city and Ta-li. Ai-lao hsien was south-west of Yung-ch'ang and was the ancient (Ngai) Ai lao wang's kingdom. The *Ta-ch'ing I-tung-chih* (Great Geography of the Chinese Empire) says it is east of Yung-ch'ang (Pao-shan hsien 保山縣).

[12] The *Tien hsiao chi*, fol. 15b, states: "I chou is the Ch'eng-tu of Ssu-ch'uan. Wu-hou (Chu-ko Liang) said that I chou was very difficult to control. Han Wu Ti (in the 2nd year of Yüan-feng, 109 B.C.) took the kingdom of Tien 滇王國, and established I-chou Chün; this is the region between K'un-ming and Ta-li. The *Han chih* 漢志 states that I chou was divided and Yung-ch'ang Chün was established but was still part of I chou. The I chou of Tien (Yün-nan) was first, and the I chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) was established later by Liu Yen 劉焉 (about the 3rd year of Chung-p'ing 中平, A.D. 186), who was its governor. (Liu Yen was a native of Ching-ling 竟陵 and lived on the mountains of Yang-ch'eng 陽城山. He later moved from Mien-chu 綿竹 in Ssu-ch'uan to Ch'eng-tu whence he governed I chou). Later people only knew of the Ssu-ch'uan I chou, and did not know that the first or earlier I chou existed in Yün-nan."

[13] The first hsien, Pu-wei, is identical with the present-day Pao-shan hsien 保山縣 (Yung-ch'ang), and was north-west of Yung-ch'ang fu. It ceased to exist in the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265). Sui-t'ang was situated in the present Yün-lung hsien 雲龍縣, and so was Pi-su hsien. The former was south of Yün-lung, and the latter was west of it. As regards Sui-t'ang, D'HERVEY DE SAINT-DENYS in his part translation of Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen-hsien t'ung kao* 馬端臨, 文獻通考, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine méridionaux*, p. 176, says, "Territoire actuel de Li-kiang." which is wrong. Yeh-yü was south-east of the present Ta-li fu. Hsieh-lung was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山, the present La-pao 剌寶 (Na-khi, La-bpu) north of Li-chiang within the Yangtze loop. Yün-nan hsien is 100 li south-east of Feng-i 鳳儀 (Chao chou 趙州) and is the Hsiang-yün 祥雲 of to-day.

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savages), recruited many soldiers and with the combined forces of many other States attacked Lui-lao at Po-nan 博南 in the Chün of Yung-ch'ang, where the latter was defeated and slain. The Emperor then conferred on Lu-ch'eng the honorary title of P'o-lu-p'ang-i hou 破壞旁邑侯 (Marquis of the conquered frontier districts).

The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* (ed. 1785), ch. 5, fol. 1b, states: "In the first year of the period Chien-ch'u (76) Lui-lao, King of the Ai-lao, killed the magistrate. Wang Hsün 王尋, prefect of Yüeh-sui 越巂, recruited 20,000 soldiers from Yeh-yü (Ta-li) and Ai-lao. He attacked Po-nan and burnt all its houses. In the following year (77) the various barbarians competed with one another in attacking Lui-lao, who was there defeated and killed. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 31, fol. 5a, it says that Lu-ch'eng assisted Wang Hsün's recruiting of soldiers.

During the Three Kingdoms. — In the third year of Shu Han Chien-hsing 建興 (225) Yung-k'ai 雍闓, leader of I chou, rebelled and, slaying the T'ai-shou 太守 (prefect), submitted in person to the Imperial rule of the Kingdom of Wu 吳 (222–280), one of the Three Kingdoms 三國. On a southern expedition, Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 [14] crossed the Lu Shui 瀘水 [15] with his troops from Yüeh-sui 越巂, marched to Pai-ngai, killed Yung-k'ai 雍闓 and captured Meng-huo 孟獲.[16]

The followers of Meng-huo besieged Li-hui 李恢 at K'un-ming. In the meantime Chu-ko Liang quartered his troops on the bank of the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween), on the border of Li-chiang district, and subjugated I chou, Yung-ch'ang, Tsang-ko and Yüeh-sui.[17] I chou was then changed into Chien-ning Chün 建寧郡; the Commandery of Yün-nan 雲南郡 was also established, and both Chien-ning and Yung-ch'ang were placed under its administrative control.

[14] Born in 181, died 234; a native of Shan-tung. He returned from this southern expedition to subdue the border tribes, even reaching Burma in January, 226, or the twelfth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing.

[15] The Lu Shui is the Ya-lung Chiang 雅礱江, also known as Chin Chiang 金江; its ancient name is Jo Shui 若水. The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 66, fol. 22a, states that Chu-ko Liang crossed the Lu Shui in the fifth moon of the 3rd year of Chien-hsing (June–July, 225). The fifth moon commenced in that year on June 24th.

[16] Yung-k'ai, the leader or chief of I chou (Yün-nan), and his cunning servants, killed Wang Ang 王伉, prefect of Chien-ning 建寧, and made his submission to the State of Wu 吳, one of the Three Kingdoms; thereupon the King of Wu, Sun Ch'uan 孫權, nominated Yung-k'ai prefect of Yung-ch'ang, but Chu-ko Liang, who was sent against the tribes of the south by the Shu Han 蜀漢, killed Yung-k'ai. Meng-huo was a prince who had rebelled against the State of Shu, and was in league with Yung-k'ai, hence Chu-ko Liang took him prisoner. It was this Meng-huo who had been captured seven times and released seven times by Chu-ko Liang. Overcome by the generosity of the latter, he led his wife, brother and relatives to the Marquis's tent and submitted, saying: "I and my son and son's sons will remember your grace, and will be loyal." Chu-ko Liang confirmed Meng and his family in their princedom.

[17] I-chou Chün comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan; Yung-ch'ang Chün, the territory of the present Pao-shan hsien 保山縣; Tsang-ko comprised parts of Kuei-chou 貴州 and eastern Yün-nan, such as Ch'u-ching 曲靖, Lo-p'ing 羅平, Lu-liang chou 陸涼州 and Chan-i chou 霑益州; Yüeh-sui, the region of the Chien-ch'ang valley 建昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. Li-chiang belonged to the latter and was then called Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣.

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173 At that time Lung-yu-na 龍佑那, descendant of the 15th generation of Jen-kuo of the Pai-tzu Kingdom 白子國, was enabled to pacify and settle his people. Chu-ko Liang appointed him as their chief, gave him back his own land, conferred on him the surname Chang 張, and changed the name of Pai-tzu Kingdom to Chien-ning Kingdom 建寧國. A walled city was built and called the Chien-ning ch'eng 建寧城,[18] and an iron pillar and stone monument were erected in memory of these military exploits.

During the five pre-T'ang dynasties. — In the seventh year of the period T'ai-shih 泰始 of Chin Wu Ti 武帝 (271), there was established Ning chou 寧州,[19] to whose administrative control was allotted a part of the district of I chou which still existed and had its own administration.

In the fifth year of T'ai-k'ang of the same emperor (284) Ning chou was abolished and the district placed under I chou.

In the second year of T'ai-an 太安 of Emperor Hui Ti 惠帝 (303) Ning chou was re-established.

In the second year of Yung-chia 永嘉 of Emperor Huai Ti 懷帝 (308) I chou was renamed Chin-ning 晉寧, which name was retained by the Sung 宋 (420–478), Ch'i 齊 (479–501), Liang 梁 (502–556) and Ch'en dynasties 陳紀 (557–589).

In the 15th year of K'ai-huang 開皇 (595) of the Sui 隋 dynasty, there was established the Tsung-kuan fu 總管府 (Civil government of I chou), which controlled Nan-ning chou 南寧州 from a distance without an official taking up his residence in that place.

Under the T'ang dynasty. — In the seventh year of the period Wu-te 武德 of T'ang Kao Tsu 高祖 (624), the Emperor ordered Wei Jen-shou 韋仁壽[20] to investigate the affairs of Nan-ning chou. He led 500 soldiers to the Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河,[21] to take charge and govern. He established eight chou and seven-

[18] Chien-ning ch'eng is the present village of Mi-tu 彌渡, 30 li south of Hung-ngai, two and a half stages south-east of Ta-li. In Mi-tu there is a temple called T'ieh-chu Kung 鐵柱宮 (Iron-pillar Temple), in which an iron column is preserved to this day. The pillar was cast by the Chien-ning King, Chang Lo-chin-ch'u 張樂進求. A second one (the first having perished) was cast by Meng Shih-lung 蒙世隆, who called it T'ien-tsun chu 天尊柱 (Celestial venerable column).

[19] In the Han dynasty it was the land of I chou, and in the Minor Han it was the Hsing-ku Chün 興古郡, extending north-east of the Lake of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu). Ning chou during the Chin dynasty extended south of the Yün-nan fu Lake and adjoined A-mi chou 阿迷州, the present K'ai-yüan 開遠. Later, during the Ming dynasty, it belonged to Lin-an fu 臨安府, the Chien-shui hsien 建水縣 of to-day.

[20] According to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* (Old T'ang History), he was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of Yung chou 雍州. On account of his ability he was sent to examine the military governor of Nan-ning chou; he administered the affairs of state from Yüeh-sui. He was ordered once a year to this district to encourage and comfort the people.

133 312 [21] The Hsi-erh Ho has its source 50 li south-west of Ho-ch'ing, on the mountain Hei-ni-shao Shan 黑泥哨山. This mountain is densely forested and a favorite haunt of robbers. It flows south-west and receives several affluents; thence flows south by Kuan-yin Shan 觀音山 and is there called the Kuan-yin Ho, also the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河. It receives an affluent from Erh-yüan 洱源 called the Lang-k'ung Ho 浪穹河, which has its source in the Pa-ku Shan 鵓鴿山. The main branch of the Hsi-erh Ho comes, however, from the south-west of Ho-ch'ing. It flows into the Erh Hai 洱海 (Ta-li Lake) at Teng-ch'uan 鄧川. The dikes

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teen hsien. The Li-chiang Records state that he established seven chou and fifteen hsien.

In the 23rd year of the period Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (649) Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu 張樂進求 (*see* p. 9) abdicated in favor of the Meng family. The Meng family were originally of the Ai-lao barbarians, whose king was called Chiu-lung 九隆. A man by name Hsi-nu-lo 細奴邏, descendant of Chiu-lung (he was a descendant of the 36th generation of Meng-chü-tu 蒙苴篤, and fifth of Ti-meng-chü 低蒙苴 [*see* p. 9] who ruled from 649–764) was one day ploughing fields in the Wei Mountains 巍山.[22] He had often been noticed by others as possessing strange and lucky signs. Chang Lo-chin-ch'iu, descendant of the 17th generation of King Lung-yu-na 龍佑那 of the Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, abdicated in favor of Hsi-nu-lo, who was then created Ch'i Wang 奇王 Mysterious King and called his kingdom Ta Meng 大蒙 (Great Meng Kingdom).[23]

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Hsi-nu-lo called himself Ch'i-chia Wang 奇嘉王 (the Mysterious and admirable King).

At the close of the Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom) there were six *ch'ü-shuai* 渠帥 (leaders), who called themselves Liu chao 六詔 (Six kings), *chao* meaning king. They were all the descendants of Chiu-lung, founder of Ai-lao Kuo. Hsi-nu-lo, who lived in Meng-shih ch'uan 蒙氏川 (the present Meng-hua, one and a half stages south of Ta-li), called his realm the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔. The others were the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi is the present Li-chiang hsien); the Lang-k'ung chao 浪穹詔 (Lang-ch'iung [but read *k'ung* in Yünnan], the present Erh-yüan, one and a half stages north of Ta-li); the Teng-t'an chao 鄧賧詔 (Teng-t'an, the present Teng-ch'uan hsien 鄧川縣, 90 li north of Ta-li); the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔 (the present [banks] of the Mi-tz'u Ho 彌茨河, the former Lang-k'ung in the district of Erh-yüan); and the Meng-sui chao 蒙巂詔 (the present Chien-ch'ang 建昌 [Hsi-ch'ang 西昌] in Ssu-ch'uan and north of K'un-ming).

Only the Meng-she chao 蒙舍詔, which lay to the south of the other five kingdoms, was therefore called the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom).

In the 26th year of the period K'ai-yüan 開元 of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (738), Wang Yü 王昱, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Chien-nan 劍南,[24] received bribes from P'i-lo-ko 皮羅閣[25] requesting that he

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through which the stream flows across the Teng-ch'uan plain were begun during the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449). They burst ten times between 1691–1775.

[22] The present-day Wei-pao Shan 巍寶山, situated 20 li south of Meng-hua 蒙化 (one stage south of Hsia-kuan 下關).

[23] The Ta-meng Kuo (Nan-chao Kingdom) existed from 649–902. There were 13 generations of rulers over a period of 255 years.

[24] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says Chien-ch'uan 劍川; Chien-nan is correct. It was the ancient State of Shu and during the T'ang dynasty was called Chien-nan. The Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih resided in Ch'eng-tu fu 成都府 and controlled 39,000 troops and 2,000 cavalry. In the west he attacked the T'u-fan and in the south he governed the Man (savages).

[25] P'i-lo-ko was the great-grandson of Hsi-nu-lo, founder of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He was the son of Lo-sheng-yen 羅盛炎 and was 31 years of age when he ascended the throne of Meng-she chao in the 16th year of K'ai-yüan (728). The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that the above mentioned event, that is, the combining of the five other kingdoms, or *chao*, took

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173 petition the Emperor on his behalf to permit the combining of the other five chao with his into one kingdom. The Emperor sanctioned his petition. At that time Po-ch'ung 波衝,[26] King of Yueh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Li-chiang), was murdered by Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求, a violent chieftain. The land of the five kingdoms combined was then given to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 (779), Ko-lo-feng[27] died and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, succeeded to the throne. He allied himself with the T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibetans) and invaded China. The Emperor then sent Li Sheng 李晟,[28] the Shen-ts'e-tu chiang 神策都將 (General of divine strategy), to defeat him.

In the first year of the period Hsing-yüan 興元 of Emperor Te Tsung 德宗 (784), I-mou-hsün changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-li Kuo 大理國 (this is the first appearance of the name Ta-li; *see* Note 34, p. 32). He usurped the Imperial right to confer the titles of Wu-yo 五嶽 (the five sacred mountains) and Ssu-tu 四瀆 (the four rivers of China) on his own five mountains and four rivers respectively. He thus conferred on the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 (which extends from north to south, west of Ta-li and its lake), the title of Chung-yo 中嶽 (Central Yo); on the Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山, at the border of Tung-ch'uan 東川 in north-eastern Yün-nan, the title of Tung-yo 東嶽 (Eastern Yo); on the Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山, better known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山 on the borders of Yin-sheng-pu 銀生部,[29] the title of Nan-yo 南嶽 (Southern Yo); on the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山,[30] on the borders of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the title of Hsi-yo 西嶽 (Western Yo); on Yü-

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place in the 18th year of K'ai-yüan (730 instead of 728). P'i-lo-ko then made himself King of the Nan-ch[illegible] (Nan-chao Wang 南詔王). The *Tien-hsi* under chapter *Tien-ku* 典故 (Traditions), fol. 35a, states that at the end of the K'ai-yüan period (about 741) P'i-lo-ko pursued the Ho-man 河蠻 (River savages) and captured T'ai-ho ch'eng 太和城 (under Ho-man must be understood the dwellers along the shores of the Hsi-erh Ho or Ta-li Lake). He bribed the Chien-nan Chieh-tu-shih, Wang Yü, to petition the Emperor on his behalf to unite the Liu chao into one kingdom. The date given here does not agree with that of the previously mentioned work.

[26] Po-ch'ung was the founder of Yüeh-hsi chao, which was also called Mo-so chao 磨些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom). He resided at Sui chou 曲州, the present Li-chiang. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 17b, states that the wife of Po-ch'ung was very beautiful and that Chang Hsün-ch'iu had immoral intercourse with her. It was on that account that he killed her husband, Po-ch'ung. The Nan-chao King reported this to Wang Yü, who came to Yao chou 姚州 (this was in the southernmost part of Chien-nan, adjoining the Nan-chao Kingdom). They succeeded by a ruse in getting Chang Hsün-ch'iu to come to Yao chou, where they killed him. The land of Mo-so chao was then given to Nan-chao.

[27] Ko-lo-feng was the son of P'i-lo-ko. He ascended the throne of Nan-chao at the age of 36, in the seventh year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (748). I-mou-hsün was 24 years of age when he ascended the throne of Nan-chao in 778, one year prior to his grandfather's demise. He transferred his capital to Shih-ch'eng 史城 (the latter is 40 li north of Ta-li and is the present-day Hsi-chou 喜洲, inhabited by Min-chia). It was also known as Ta-li ch'eng 大理城.

[28] Li Sheng was a native of Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kan-su. He was 18 years of age when he joined the army and six Chinese feet tall. He was fearless and courageous.

[29] The present-day Ching-tung 景東 on the Ta Ho 大河 (Chung-ch'uan Ho 中川河).

[30] On the Chinese map it is called the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎貢山 and also Mo-p'an Shan 磨盤山, and is 120 li east of T'eng-ch'ung. It extends from north to south, west of the Salween River.

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lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain, or Li-chiang snow range), he conferred the title of Pei-yo 北嶽 (Northern Yo). On each of the five mountains he built a temple to the mountain-spirit, and a San-huang miao 三皇廟 (Temple to the three emperors — the Three primordial sovereigns: Fu Hsi 伏羲, Shen Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黃帝). Sacrifices were offered to them on the respective festivals of the four seasons (See also Part III, Ch. II, The Jade dragon Mountain, etc., p. 187–191). On the four great rivers of Yünnan, the Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 (Mekong), the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of golden sand or Yangtze), the Hei-hui Chiang 黑惠江, better known as Yang-pi Chiang 漾濞江, which is a tributary of the Mekong and has its source south-west of Li-chiang, and the Lu Chiang 潞江 (Salween), he bestowed the title of the Ssu Tu 四瀆 (Four great rivers). 193

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan 貞元 (793) I-mou-hsün sent messengers to the Emperor applying for permission to make a surprise attack on the T'u-fan 吐蕃 in concert with Wei Kao 韋皐.[31] Thereupon he was appointed King of Yün-nan by Imperial decree. In the 10th year (794) Wei Kao employed I-mou-hsün's troops to attack the Tibetans and thoroughly defeated them. He cut the Iron Bridge, captured sixteen cities, and made prisoner five Tibetan kings whom he presented as captives of war at the Imperial Court. (The T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋, Iron Bridge, is in the Chü-tien 巨甸 area the former Chü-chin chou 巨津州 in the Li-chiang district.)

Meanwhile the T'u-fan tried to enlist soldiers in the Nan-chao Kingdom. I-mou-hsün deceived them by saying he was weak and his army numbered few, and so he could only send 5,000 soldiers to comply with their request. At the same time he secretly led several ten thousand soldiers, following at the heels of the Tibetans. He routed them completely at Shen-ch'uan 神川 [32] (the territory of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of the Cheng-yüan period (799) Wei Kao and the Nan-chao Kingdom again defeated the T'u-fan at the Iron Bridge.

In the second year of the period T'ai-ho 太和 (828), Wang Tso-tien 王嵯巔,[33]

[31] Wei Kao was a native of Wan-nien hsien 萬年縣 in the prefecture of Ching-chao (fu) 京兆府, the present Hsi-an in Shensi. Wan-nien hsien was established in the fu of Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) in the 2nd year of Ming Ti of the northern Chou dynasty (A.D. 558). He was born in 745, and according to the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, ch. 236, fol. 25a, he died in the eighth moon *kuei-ch'ou* 癸丑 of the 1st year of Shun Tsung period Yung-cheng 順宗永貞 (September 13th, 805). O. FRANKE in his *Geschichte des Chin. Reich.* III: 307. says he died in 806, in the year in which Shun Tsung started his reign. Now Shun Tsung ascended the throne on the day *ping-shen* 丙申, that is the 26th of the first moon of the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (February 28th, 805). He adopted Yung-cheng as his reign title on the day *hsin-ch'ou* 辛丑 of the eighth moon (September 1st, 805), he abdicated the same month, and died on the day *chia-shen* 甲申, of the first moon of the first year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (February 11th, 806). Wei Kao ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans.

[32] According to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 22a, the part north of Chü-chin chou 巨津州 (the present region of Chü-tien 巨甸) of the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) was also called Shen-ch'uan 神川. This name was only applied to that territory and stretch of the river during the T'ang dynasty.

[33] Wang Tso-tien was a Chieh-tu-shih (Imperial commissioner) of Lung-tung 弄棟. This latter place was north of Yao chou where there was an ancient walled town; during the Han dynasty it was the district of Lung-tung 弄棟縣. It was inhabited by Man (savages). I-mou-hsün pacified the region. Wang Tso-tien received many valuable gifts from the

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173 a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, plundered and invaded the three chou cities, as Chiung 邛 (west of Ch'eng-tu 成都 in Ssu-ch'uan); Jung 戎 (in the Chien-nan 劍南 district of Ssu-ch'uan during the T'ang dynasty, and the present-day I-pin 宜賓 [Hsü chou 叙州]); and Sui 嶲 (also in the ancient Chien-nan district of Ssu-ch'uan, the present-day Yüeh-sui 越嶲 in the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley).

He also plundered Ch'eng-tu and entered its territory.

In the fourth year of T'ai-ho (830), Li Te-yü 李德裕[34] was appointed Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih 西川節度使 (Imperial commissioner) of Hsi-ch'uan.[35] He constructed the city walls of Chang-i 仗義城, Yü-wu 禦侮城 and Jo-yüan 柔遠, which were considered important strategical points. He restored the Chiung-lai Pass 邛崍關 (this pass is 80 li west of the hsien city of Jung-ching 榮經縣 in the district of Ya chou in Ssu-ch'uan; it was the dividing line between the Chiung 邛 and Tso 筰 tribes) which he returned to the control of Sui chou 嶲州. He also governed the affairs of T'ai-teng 臺登 (the territory of Li-chiang). Li-chiang belonged to the same territory but was, of course, not identical with T'ai-teng hsien. The latter was in the district of Sui chou and was part of the present day Mien-ning hsien 冕寧縣, north of Ning-yüan fu (Hsi-ch'ang 西昌).

In the second year of the period T'ien-fu 天復, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (902) Cheng Mai ssu 鄭買嗣,[36] the Ch'ing-p'ing kuan 清平官 (Incorruptible tranquilizing official), of the Nan-chao Kingdom, killed his master Shun-hua-chen 舜化眞 and, destroying the Meng family, usurped the throne and called his kingdom the Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great excelling peaceful Kingdom).

In the first year of the period T'ien-ch'eng 天成 of T'ang Ming Tsung 明宗 (926), Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞, the Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 of Tung-ch'uan 東川,[37] killed Cheng Lung-t'an 鄭隆亶, grandson of Cheng Mai-ssu, and

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Nan-chao King, Ch'üan-li-sheng 勸利晟, who even accorded him his own family name Meng, and invested him with the title of T'ai-yung 太容. This, in the language of the barbarians, meant T'ai-hsiung 太兄 (Great or beloved elder brother). This latter explanation can be found in the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan* 滇雲歷年傳, ch. 4, fol. 40b. In the same work it states, fol. 40a, that Wang Tso-tien killed Ch'üan-lung sheng 勸龍晟, King of Nan-chao and elder brother of Ch'üan-li-sheng, who succeeded him on the throne. The former was licentious and oppressed the people, and it was on account of his tyranny that his minister killed him. In 819 he was disgraced by the king, but later pardoned for all his crimes. — *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. I, fol. 20b.

[34] Li Te-yü was a native of Chao-chün 趙郡 and for a time was governor of the modern Ch'eng-tu, Ssu-ch'uan. He was also president of the Board of War, but later was impeached and banished to Ai chou 崖州 (Yai chou, in Kuang-tung), where he died (GILES).

[35] The Hsi-ch'uan Chieh-tu-shih was also called the Chien-nan Hsi-ch'uan 劍南西川, etc.; he governed Ch'eng-tu fu, and many chou cities, as, for example, Jung chou, Chiung chou 邛州, Sui chou 嶲州, Tieh chou 疊州 (south of the Kan-su Min Shan 岷山 in the valley of the Pai-shui Chiang 白水江, the present T'ieh-pu 鐵布 country), and others.

[36] He was first a minister of the Nan-chao Kingdom, and ascended the throne at the age of 42. He ruled from 902 to 910. His reign title was An-kuo 安國 (Peaceful kingdom) and his capital Ta-li.

Shun-hua-chen was the last Nan-chao King of the Meng family. He ascended the throne at the age of 21, and ruled from 897 to 902.

[37] The latter comprised parts of Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan; the present Hui-tse 會澤 (Tung-ch'uan) in north-east Yün-nan was the southern part of the Tung-ch'uan of the T'ang dynasty.

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made his Imperial attendant, Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, King of Nan-chao. He changed the dynastic title to Ta T'ien-hsing 大天興; it was also called Hsing-yüan Kuo 興源國. The dynasty lasted only one year. 173

In the third year of T'ien-ch'eng (928) Yang Kan-cheng deposed Chao Shan-cheng and made himself King of Nan-chao, and called his dynasty and kingdom Ta I-ning, or Ta I-ning Kuo 大義寧國. This dynasty lasted until 937. In 929 he called his reign Hsing-sheng 興聖 and later Ta-ming 大明.

Under the Later Chin dynasty. — In the first year of the period of T'ien-fu 天福 of Hou Chin Kao Tsu 高祖 (936), Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平, the Chieh-tu-shih of T'ung-hai 通海 (this prefecture is 150 li north of Lin-an fu 臨安府, the present-day Chien-shui 建水 of evil repute, and east-south-east of K'un-ming), commenced military operations to punish Yang Kan-cheng. In the third year (938), Tuan Ssu-p'ing[35] made himself King of Nan-chao and changed the dynastic title to Ta-li 大理.

Under the Sung dynasty. — In the third year of the period Ch'ien-te 乾德 of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (965), Wang Ch'üan-pin 王全斌[39] offered a map of Yün-nan to the Emperor and requested his orders to conquer Yün-nan, but in vain.

After Wang Ch'üan-pin had subdued Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) he wished to use his military prestige to conquer Yün-nan, therefore he again offered the map to the Emperor. However, T'ai Tsu, who well understood the source of the trouble suffered by the T'ang dynasty, made a mark with his jade axe on the

[35] In the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 4, fol. 64a, it states that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished Yang Kan-cheng. The latter was defeated and made his way to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 (between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh, four stages north-east of the latter) and committed suicide by strangulation. It further states that he was a tyrant, and oppressed the people, and was thus disliked by Chinese and aborigines. It was for this reason that Tuan Ssu-p'ing punished him. Yang Kan-cheng sent his five younger brothers to attack Tuan, but they were unsuccessful.

Strange to say, the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 1, fol. 32b, records that Tuan Ssu-p'ing, after he became king, forgave Yang Kan-cheng and that the latter became a Buddhist monk.

Tuan Ssu-ping ruled until 944. He was 44 years old when he made himself king. His reign title was Wen te 文德 and his capital Ta-li fu. His posthumous title was T'ai-tsu sheng-shen Wen-wu Huang-ti 太祖聖神文武皇帝. The Ta-li dynasty had 14 rulers and lasted until 1094.

The ancestors of Tuan Ssu-p'ing, according to the Nan-chao History, were natives of Wu-wei 武威, the region now forming the prefectural city of Liang chou 涼州 in north-west Kan-su. The *Pei-cheng-chih* says that his ancestors came from Kuang-wei 廣威, south-east of Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su, which belonged to the Chün of Wu-wei. [Wu-wei hsien is only 60 li from the Mongolian border.] Since the revolution Liang chou has again been changed to Wu-wei hsien.

For generations these ancestors were generals of the Meng family of the Nan-chao Kingdom. Tuan Ssu-p'ing was the sixth generation after Tuan Chien-wei 段儉巍, who defeated the troops of the T'ang dynasty in 754 near the Ta-li Lake and the Tien-ts'ang Mountains 點蒼山.

[39] Wang Ch'üan-pin, according to the *Sung Shih* (Sung Dynastic History), ch. 255, fol. 13b, was a native of T'ai-yüan hsien 太原縣 in Ping chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan, Shan-hsi 山西 province). He was a military commander who conquered Shu 蜀 after which he intended to take Yün-nan. The Emperor admonished him saying: "The barbarians will obey us without the use of soldiers and without conquering them."

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173 map, where the Ta-tu River 大渡河[40] was shown, saying: "Beyond this point the land is no longer my territory." Hence Yün-nan became detached from the Chinese Empire and the Tuan family usurped the throne of Nan-chao for 300 years. During that time Li-chiang had been occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 醋醋,[41] leader of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi). The chief who ruled about that time (965) among the Mo-so is given as O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具.

Under the Yüan (Mongols). — In the fourth year of the period of Shun-yu 淳祐 of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1244), the Mongolian troops attacked Ling Kuan 靈關 (Ling Pass).[42] In the battle, Kao Ho 高禾,[43] a Ta-li 大理 general, was killed. After the battle the Mongolian troops withdrew.

In the 12th year of Shun-yu (1252), the Mongols sent troops under Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈), the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Imperial younger brother), to attack Ta-li 大理 (13 stages west of K'un-ming). He led his troops from Lin-t'ao 臨洮[44] across T'u-fan 吐蕃 country to Li-chiang. As the Mongols respected the customs of the people wherever they went, the people turned to allegiance in all sincerity. They then established the civil office of Ch'a-han-chang 茶罕章管民官[45] in Li-chiang.

In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 of Yüan Shih Tsu 世祖 (Kublai Khan)

[40] The Ta-tu Ho, with the Ya Ho 雅河, is an affluent of the Min River 岷江. Their confluence is at Chia-ting 嘉定 in Ssu-ch'uan. The source of the Ta-tu Ho is to the north-west of Li-fan t'ing 理番廳 in the Ch'iang 羌 tribal lands of north-west Ssu-ch'uan. It receives affluents from the south-west, such as the Ta-chien-lu Stream. On foreign maps it appears as the T'ung Ho 通河.

[41] In the First Chronicle of the Mu family, the name Ts'u-ts'u appears as Muan-zä Ts'u-ts'u. Muan-zä was the name of Ts'u-ts'u's father (*see* pp. 80–81). According to the First Mu Chronicle, however, Ts'u-ts'u lived 12 generations before Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 who, between 674–675, became Governor of Li-chiang.

[42] The Ling Pass is north-north-west of Ya chou in the prefecture of Lu-shan hsien 廣山縣, and 60 li distant from the hsien city. In the Han dynasty it belonged to Yüeh-sui 越巂, to which Li-chiang was subject.

[43] Kao Ho was a general of the Nan-chao army under Hsiang-hsing 祥興, King of the Hou Ta-li Kuo 後大理國 (Nan-chao Kingdom) who ruled from 1238–1251. He sent Kao Ho to fight the Mongols; in the battle the latter lost his life.

[44] Lin-t'ao was in Kan-su, and identical with Ti-tao 狄道 which lately was renamed Lin-t'ao 臨洮.

[45] Ch'a-han-chang is the Chinese transcription of the Mongol Chagh'an jang and means White Jang or Mo so. The first word *Chagh'an* is Mongol, the second *Jang* is Tibetan and is their term for the Mo-so.

Kowalewski in his *Dictionaire Mongol-Russe-Français* Vol. III: 2081a, under *tsaghan* states that the word means white, and that it is also a mourning dress or a white dress, also a white hemp sash or girdle. The Na-khi to this day still wear trousers and coats of white hemp, also white girdles of the same material (homespun). It may be that on account of their dress the Mongols called them Chagh'an jang or White Jang. Pelliot suggests that the word Jang is perhaps identical with the Chinese Ts'uan of which there were two tribes the White and Black, the former lived to the west of Yün-nan fu and were not classed as Lo-lo, the latter lived in the region of Yün-nan fu and to the east of it; these the Mongols called Kara jang and were classed by the Chinese as Lo-lo. However both the Lo-lo and Mo-so (Na-khi) are called Wu-man or Black barbarians by the Chinese.

The word *jang* is often pronounced *jung* and may have some relation to the Chinese Jung 戎 under which term the wild tribes of the west were understood. In the *Dictionaire thibétain-latin-français par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet*, p. 351, it states that the hJangs, or Jang as the word is pronounced, are a tribe living in the north-western part of the province

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(1271), the office of Ch'a-han-chang was changed into that of Li-chiang Hsüan-wei-ssu 麗江宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Li-chiang). 173

In the 13th year of the same reign (1276) the office was changed to the Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang Lu — Li-chiang Circuit).

In the 22nd year of the same reign (1285) the magistracy of the fu-city was abolished, and there was established the office of the Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (a title given to chieftains of the Western Frontier), which controlled 1,000 Mo-so households (麼些千戶), and ruled over one fu-city, namely Pei-sheng 北勝 (the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝, recently known as Yung-pei 永北 and four stages east of Li-chiang), and seven chou-cities, namely: Shun chou 順州 (east of Li-chiang and also known as Niu-t'an 牛潭); Lang-ch'ü 浪穹 (east of Li-chiang district between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng [Yung-pei]); Yung-ning 永寧, the ancient name of which was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭潭 (north of Lang-ch'ü and south of Mu-li 木裏, Hsi-k'ang, separated from the Li-chiang district by the Yangtze); T'ung-an 通安 (east of Li-chiang city on the eastern part of the Li-chiang plain, now obsolete); Lan chou 蘭州 (west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川 and east of the Mekong); Chü-chin 巨津 (north-west of Li-chiang, on the Yangtze, north of Shih-ku 石鼓 and near the present Chü-tien 巨甸, but now obsolete); and Pao-shan 寶山 (the present-day La-pao 剌寶, within the Yangtze loop, north of Li-chiang). Also one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi 臨西, west of the ancient Chü-chin chou, to which it belonged; west of Lin-hsi was the land of the T'u-fan. Later the city belonged to Wei-hsi; it was 460 li west of Li-chiang and was set up in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), but is now obsolete.

Under the Ming dynasty. — In the autumn of the 14th year of Ming Hung-wu (1381), Fu Yu-te 傅友德,[46] marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川, was appointed by the Emperor as Cheng-nan chiang-chün 征南將軍 (General of the Southern Expedition); Lan Yü 藍玉, marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平, were both appointed as Fu-tsung-ping 副總兵 (Vice-Generals) to attack Yün-nan.

In the spring of the 15th year (1382), Ta li was conquered, and the troops

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of Yün-nan, whose principal city is Sa-tham (Li-chiang). Their Chinese name is Mo-so and they call themselves Nashi (Na-khi). Sa-tham is the Tibetan name of Li-chiang and is also the name of a king with whom the famous Ge-sar fought battles. The former was the King of Jang — written in Tibetan, Byang (The North). It would seem that *byang* (read *jang*) is in all probability the correct rendering and explanation of the word. (*See* p. 192).

Since this was penned I have learned from Mr. Rolf Stein who is occupied with the translating of Ge sar legends, that he found in a manuscript of the Ge-sar saga the King Sa-tham styled as "Byang Sa-tham rgyal-po," *i.e.* Sa-tham King of the North.

[46] Fu Yu-te's ancestors were natives of Su chou 宿州 in An-hui 安徽. Later they settled in Tang-shan 碭山 in Chiang su 江蘇 (Kiangsu). Assisted by Mu Ying, who was also a native of An-hui and who in 1384 became governor of Yün-nan, and Lan Yü, another An-hui man, Fu Yu te attacked Yün-nan with 300,000 infantry and cavalry. He came by way of Kuei-chou 貴州 where the Miao 苗 tribes made their submission. A great battle was fought at Ch'ü-ching 曲靖 and on the Pai-shih Chiang 白石江 which flows to the north of Ch'ü-ching. All the barbarians of Tung-ch'uan 東川 and Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung 昭通, submitted. Over 30,000 Wu-sa 烏撒, tribespeople who lived in the west-north-west of Kuei-chou and who had revolted, were decapitated. Wu-sa was a district adjoining Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and its inhabitants belonged to the Miang tribe 乜種.

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of the victors passing by the different roads of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang, broke through Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone gate Pass).[47]

In the same year the magistracy of the fu-city of Li-chiang was established, and as A-te 阿得 was the first to submit to the conquerors he was appointed magistrate and was given the surname Mu 木.[48] Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, the present-day Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei), was demoted to a chou-city 州, and Yung-ning, Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Lan chou and Shun chou 順州 were placed under the fu city of Ho-ch'ing (south of Li-chiang, 80 li distant).

In the 17th year (1384), Lan chou was again brought under the control of Li-chiang fu; thus the latter controlled, in all, four chou-cities, the aforesaid Lan chou, T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, and Pao-shan 寶山, also one magistracy or hsien city, namely Lin-hsi.

In the 31st year of Hung-wu (1398), Li-chiang fu's name was changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil government of Li-chiang).

Under the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty. — In the 16th year of Shun-chih 順治 of the Ch'ing dynasty (1659), the territory of Yün-nan was annexed to the Chinese Empire. The magistracies of the four chou-cities of T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin were abolished. Only one hsien-city, namely Lin-hsi, remained under the fu-city of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), A-chih-li 阿知立, A-chung-chü 阿仲苴, Ho Jih-chia 和日嘉 and A-pao-t'a 阿寶他[49] of the Mo-so tribe of Li-chiang city, went to the provincial capital and applied for the appointment of Chinese officials. Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, Viceroy of Yün-nan, and Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, the Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Provincial Governor), proposed to the Emperor that a transferable fu-magistrate be established in Li-chiang, and that the hereditary office of native fu-magistrate be demoted to that of T'u T'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native Sub-prefect).

Under the Republic. — To-day magistrates are still appointed by the Commissioner of the Interior, now called Min-cheng-t'ing 民政廳; the office of native sub-prefect still exists, but the present incumbent has neither voice nor power. He controls a few peasants on the land which he still possesses, but his holdings are being gradually reduced. Only recently his former peasants in the region of Nga-tz(u) became subject to the magistrate of Li-chiang and the territory included in the sixth ch'ü (sub-district) of Li-chiang. This sixth ch'ü comprises the northern part of the Yangtze loop, Nga-tz(u) being in Tung-shan li 東山里.

[47] The Shih-men Kuan is a strategic pass on the Yangtze where the river narrows considerably, the trail following the river at the foot of vertical cliffs. It is only a short distance north of Shih-ku 石鼓 where the Yangtze makes a sharp bend, some 85 li to the west of Li-chiang. (*See* Geographical description, p. 285.)

[48] He was the seventh generation of the Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang. His full name was A-chia A-te 阿甲阿得, his official name being Mu Te 木得 (*see* the Historical Genealogies of the Na-khi Chiefs, pp. 99–101).

[49] Their Na-khi (Mo-so) names were: Aw-dzhi-lĕr, Aw-ndo-zo and Aw-bpo-t'a. The Chinese characters are the transcription of the Na-khi sounds. The name Ho Jih-chia is one of Chinese adoption, and not a Na-khi name, save for the family name Ho, which every Na-khi peasant bore. The name A 阿 belonged to the ruling family.

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CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LI-CHIANG

Prior to the time of the San Tai 三代, the three ancient dynasties, Hsia 夏, Shang 商 and Chou 周 (2205–256 B.C.), no references can be found about Li-chiang. The Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡, to which Li-chiang belonged, was established in the reign of Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 (140–87 B.C.). 173

The Chün of Yüeh-sui was also called Chiung-tso K'un-ming 邛莋昆明, and Li-chiang was in Ting-tso hsien 定莋縣. During the Chin 晉, T'ang and Sung dynasties (265–1278), its name was repeatedly changed, but its territory remained occupied by the native chiefs. Although in the Yüan and Ming dynasties (1260–1643) States and magistracies had been established there, and prefects and civil officials sent to rule the territory, the real power remained in the hands of the native chiefs; the Imperial rule was nominal only.

The Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 10b, state that in ancient times Li-chiang was the land of Huang-fu 荒服 whose frontier adjoined the territory of the T'u-fan 吐蕃.[1] In history it is spoken of as the land of Sui K'un-ming 巂昆明.

In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), it belonged to both the States of Yüeh-sui and I chou.

In the Later Han dynasty (25–220), it belonged to the Chün of Yung-ch'ang. In the Shu Han (221–264) (established in Ssu-ch'uan), it belonged to the State of Chien-ning 建寧.

In the Chin 晉 dynasty (265–316), it belonged to Hsi-ning chou 西寧州. In the Sui dynasty (581–617), it belonged to Sui chou. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty (618), its name was changed from Ting-tso 定莋 to K'un-ming, subject to Sui chou. Later it became the land of the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi), (also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國).

During the reign of T'ang Cheng-yüan 貞元 (785–804), Li-chiang was occupied by the Meng family (rulers of the Nan-chao Kingdom), and the office of Li-shui Chieh-tu-shih 麗水節度使 (Imperial Commissioner of Li-shui district) was established.

In the Sung dynasty (960–1126), it was occupied by Ts'u-ts'u 酋酋, leader of the Mo-so-man whom the Tuan family could not control. (The Tuan family ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom from 937–1094.) In the third year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), when the Imperial troops crossed the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (River of Golden Sand, or Yangtze) to attack Ta-li, the Mo-so

[1] In the second volume of The Tribute of Yü, *Yü-kung hsia* 禹貢下, ch. IV, pass. 22, we read: "Wu-pai li Huang-fu, san-pai li man, erh-pai li liu, 五百里荒服, 三百里蠻, 二百里流." This, J. LEGGE in his *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 147, translates "Five hundred li *the most remote*, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred li were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred li by criminals undergoing the greater banishment." The 500-li Huang-fu are the last of the domains. It was called Huang-fu with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 li in every direction beyond the fourth domain.

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173 tribes, trusting in their defenses, refused to submit. In the fourth year (1254), however, they were conquered, and the office of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil governor of Ch'a-han-chang) was established for them. In the eighth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1271) the office was changed to that of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner). In the 13th year (1276) the name of the district was changed to Li-chiang Lu and a Chün-min tsung-kuan-fu 軍民總管府 (Military and civil governor's Yamen) was established. In the 22nd year (1285) the fu-magistracy was abolished and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 was substituted for it, between the cities of T'ung-an 通安 and Chü-chin 巨津. It controlled one fu-city, seven-chou cities, and one-hsien city.

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the office was changed to Li-chiang fu (prefecture of Li-chiang), and later was again changed to Li-chiang Chün-min fu 麗江軍民府 (Military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang). The control of the various chou-cities was divided: four of them, Shun chou 順州, Pei-sheng 北勝, Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü came under the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing; while T'ung-an, Pao-shan, Lan chou and Chü-chin 巨津, and the hsien-city of Lin-hsi became subject to Li-chiang.

In the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) the fu-magistracy was retained, but the four chou-cities were abolished and became merged in the magistracy of Li-chiang.

In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), Li-chiang was brought under direct control of the Yün-nan Pu-cheng-ssu 雲南布政司 (Yün-nan Provincial treasurer).

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LI-CHIANG

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 1, fols. 26b–27b, while giving much the same historical data as found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and other geographical works by Chinese authors, yet contains certain statements which are of more than passing interest, and these I append here.

The Tien Commentary (*Tien-hsi*) states that Li-chiang was the southern border of the State of Liang (Liang chou 梁州), one of the nine chou or great divisions of the Empire instituted by Yü Kung 禹貢 (2205 B.C.), which comprised Ssu-ch'uan, parts of Shensi, Kan-su and Hu-pei.

During the Later Han dynasty (25–220), Li-chiang belonged to the State of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and its ancient name was Pai-lang ti 白狼地 (Land of Pai-lang, or of the White Wolf). In the 17th year of Yung-p'ing 永平 (A.D. 74), the King of Pai-lang[1] composed a poem of three verses in which he extolled the merits and virtues of the Han dynasty.

[1] During the period Yung-p'ing 永平 (58–75), Chu Fu 朱輔, Governor of I chou, proclaimed the virtues of the Han, whereupon Pai-lang Wang 白狼王 (King of the Pai-lang), whose tribe, like the P'an-mu, Lou-po 僂薄 and T'ang-tsou 唐菆, dwelled west of Wen Shan 汶山, came with over 100 others to pay tribute. They were considered barbarians from outside the borders of the Mao-niu-i 旄牛夷 (Yak barbarians). The latter dwelled north-west of Li-chou so 黎州所 (Sub-military station of Li chou), which was in the magistracy of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The P'an-mu Kuo 盤木國 (Kingdom of the P'an-mu tribe) was west of Mou chou 茂州. The Pai-lang Kingdom comprised apparently the region of the present Mu-li 木里 Lama State, as well as the Wu-so 五所 territory (*see* p. 453). In ancient days Yung-ning, north-east of Li-chiang, which was under the Mo-so chiefs of Li-

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The *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 4, fol. 3b, says that "when in the 17th year of Yung-p'ing (A.D. 74), the Pai-lang-i 白狼夷 (White wolf barbarians) came to pay tribute, they composed a poem extolling the merit and virtues of the Han dynasty. Governor Chu Fu 朱輔 of I chou translated it and offered it to the Throne. Pai-lang was then the territory of present-day Li-chiang." 193

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states: "For many generations the Pai-lang, P'an-mu and other tribes were not under the control of the Empire, and therefore offered no tribute to the court of Han. Later, however, these tribes, as well as others, came to report to the governor of I chou, and said they would offer tribute. Afterwards all these countries were absorbed by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) tribe."

The reason for the Pai-lang and other tribes submitting to the Later Han dynasty, offering to pay tribute, and even composing three stanzas of a song extolling the virtues of the dynasty, is to be found in Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 statement: "The Governor of I chou was kind, and had a reputation of uprightness, and treated the Man justly."

The Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路, of the Yüan dynasty, was the western border of the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 in the Han, Sui 隋 and T'ang dynasties. To the north dwelled the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi).

These two States were inhabited by Wu-man (Black savages). — *Tien-hsi*, Vol. 1, fol. 27a.[3]

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chiang, controlled also the territory of the present-day Mu-li, to within two stages south of Li-t'ang. It is this territory which according to Chinese geographers was known as Pai-lang Kuo in the Later Han dynasty.

[3] It is interesting to note that the Mo-so who belong to the Wu-man call themselves Na-khi, as the Lo-lo call themselves No-su, both of which terms would indicate "Black-People"; yet *black people* in Na-khi is *khi-na*, as the adjective follows the noun it qualifies. The word *Na* is here a noun and not an adjective and must stand for the name of the tribe. In that sense it is equivalent to the Chinese *Wu man*. They also speak of themselves as *Na-so* or the Sons of Na, while they call the Tibetans *P'ĕr-zo* or the Sons of P'ĕr (the sons of the White). In my paper on the Na-khi Hä-zhi-p'i in *B.E.F.E.-O.*, *T.* XXXVII: 1937, p. 48, n. 4, I have suggested that the name Na-khi may be derived from their having been black tent dwellers in contradistinction to their neighbors either the Hor, or the people of Ling of whom Ge-sar was king, who are said to have lived in white tents. Ge-sar fought many battles with the Mo-so King Sa-tham. *See* also p. 4 and note 6, pp. 180-81. [101]

The word *wu* in Na-khi means a slave, and a derogatory term for a slave is *wu-yi*. This is transcribed in Chinese as *wu-i* 無弋. In Na-khi *yi* means to be covered with sores, or itch — to be unclean. The name of one of the ancestors of the Ch'iang tribes was Ch'iang Wu-i Yüan-chien 羌無弋爰劍. He had been captured and made a slave by the small feudal State of Ch'in 秦 (909–247 B.C.) during the reign of Duke Ch'in Li 秦厲公 (475–440 B.C.). Because of this, the Ch'iang called him Wu-yi (*Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* 古今圖書集成, *Ch'iang-pu* 羌部, ch. 47, § 1, fol. 5b). According to the *Shih Chi*, ch. 5, fols. 16a–b, it states that Tao Kung 悼公, the father of Li-kung Kung 厲共公, died in the 14th year of his reign, which would be equivalent to 478 B.C. The death of Li-kung Kung falls in the 34th year of his reign which would be our 444 B.C. M. Tchang, S.J., in his *Synchronismes chinois*, makes Tao Kung die in the 20th year of his reign (472) and Li-kung Kung in the 28th year of his reign (444). The figures I have given are according to J. Legge. A. Tschepe, S.J., in his *Histoire du Royaume de Ts'in* gives the reigning dates of Tao Kung as 491–477 B.C., and Li-kung Kung as 476–443 B.C.

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CHAPTER IV

The Genealogical Chronicles of the Mu Family 木氏

173 *Chang Chih-shun's Introduction to the First Chronicle.* — The history of Li-chiang is intimately connected with that of its ruling chiefs and therefore a genealogical chronicle of the latter, full of historical information, much of which is not found in print, is here given in translation from a Chinese manuscript dating from the year 1516, and still in the possession of the descendants of the old Na-khi Kings or Chiefs, the Mu family of Li-chiang. The introduction to the work, written by Chang Chih-shun 張志淳,[1] a native of Yung-ch'ang and scholar of the degree of Doctor, consists mainly of eulogies of the Mu family and especially of Mu Kung 木公, who was the eldest son of Mu Ting 木定, native prefect of Li-chiang.

Mu Kung was the 14th generation counting from Yeh-yeh. He was born in 1494, took office in 1527, and died in 1553; he started the family chronicle, to which Chang Chih-shun wrote a preface, on December 27th, 1516. That is the first and complete genealogical chronicle, but it is not illustrated; we shall presently speak of another.

Chang Chih-shun's literary name was Chin-chih 進之. The *Yung-ch'ang fu chih*, ch. 42, fol. 3a, tells us that he was a native of the sub-district of Chin-ch'ih (Chin-ch'ih ssu 金齒司).[2] He graduated as *chin shih* in the year 1484. Because he wrote two books, called *Nan-yüan-chi* 南園集 and *Nan-yüan man-lu* 南園漫錄, he is known as Chang Nan-yüan. He died at the age of 81.

In his introduction to the official chronicle of the Mu family, he states that Mu Kung had a good friend by the name of Kao 高, a native of Ho-ch'ing, who was the younger brother of an official who hailed from an old and honorable official family.[3] They helped each other in securing all the ancient records about the customs of their native place, and encouraged each other in literary pursuits and in the building up of moral character.

The official record was completed up to the rule of Mu Ting 木定, father of the author who, with his friend Kao, had compiled it by the year 1516, for

[1] Chang Chih-shun was magistrate of Yung-ch'ang, of which he was a native. His given name was Nan-yüan 南園; his official designation was Hu-pu Shih-lang 戶部侍郎 (Vice-president of the Board of Revenue). He wrote four books: *Man-lu* 漫錄; *Hsü-lu* 續錄; *Yung-ch'ang Erh-fang chi* 永昌二方記; and *Ming-shih fu-chiao fang-chuan* 明史附焦芳傳.

[2] As regards Chin-ch'ih (District of Golden teeth) the *Yung-ch'ang fu chih* states that it was not Yung-ch'ang. Chin-ch'ih was 2,000 li outside the borders of Yung-ch'ang. It was the Yin-sheng tien 銀生甸 of the ancient Meng-lo Shan 雲樂山 (this is the present-day Wu-liang Shan 無量山, 90 li north of Ching-tung 景東 and 10 stages south of Ta-li). The *Kang-mu* 綱目 states that it adjoined Pa-pai hsi-fu 八百媳婦 (the present-day Chieng-mai in northern Siam). In the Yüan dynasty there was established Chin-ch'ih 金齒, and Pai-i 百夷; all these circuits and Yung-ch'ang were then subject to the Ta-li circuit.

[3] Members of the Kao family, originally natives of Ho-ch'ing, settled in Li-chiang, or rather T'ung-an chou, during the reign of Mu Shen 木泰 (1434-41). They became hereditary native sub-magistrates of T'ung-an 通安.

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the Yung-ch'ang magistrate says in his preface that he had read it, and that it was compiled by Mu Kung personally. 173

The magistrate states that "He learned that the first ancestor of Mu Kung was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. That from the latter to the period of Shang-yüan 上元 of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗 (674), there were six generations to his descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became Governor of San-tien (Li-chiang), or the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管.

"From Ch'iu-yang to his descendant Meng-wang 爰汪E, who bore the official title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit), there were four generations; from Meng-wang to Mu Kung there were 24 generations.

"Throughout these generations, many dynasties such as the T'ang, Wu-tai 五代, Sung, and Yüan, had succeeded each other, but the changes could neither influence nor impede the growth of the Mu family in which some were dukes, some marquises, others generals and commanders-in-chief."

The magistrate continues: "In the Ming dynasty, in the year when the Imperial court sent its Pacification Commissioners to the frontier lands of Yün-nan, this family exhibited such hospitality and loyalty to them that His Majesty the Emperor (in 1382) conferred on them the surname Mu, renewed their official letters patent and ordered them to rule their people with hereditary official authority. Mu Kung's grandfather, by name Mu T'ai 木泰, laid special stress on moral character, and for that reason had no concubines, and thus set a good example to the later generations. He encouraged his people to study, and abolished official corruption."

He defines the genealogical chronicle as, "A historical work, a complete narrative of their military achievements, official appointments, ranks, traditions, etc."

He then tells us of the Imperial policy in regard to outlying regions. "Owing to bad communications and natural barriers, this land (Li-chiang) is separated far from Imperial rule. Thus it is advisable to make the native leader of this people their ruler. He is given an official seal by the Emperor and also the hereditary right to control the land and its people. His political principles would have to suit the customs of his people. Such privileges are not accorded simply as a reward for merit acquired, but form part of a special policy of the government applied to suit the circumstances of the people. This means that their manners and customs are so different from ours, that the Emperor is obliged to allow the native rulers to maintain their hereditary right."

He concludes his introductory remarks by saying: "Descendants can never be dependent on their hereditary rights only, in order to keep their official positions and rule their States and people. There must be something more important than this. I therefore hope that Mu Kung, besides his honorable attempt to write this official record for the enlightenment of his family, will try to perform other and more significant works, and improve the people's lot, so that the descendants of his family will thereby be enabled to multiply and prosper for ever."

The abbreviated and illustrated or Second Chronicle.— In the *T'oung-pao*, 1912: XIII, p. 555, under the title *Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang*, Ed. Chavannes published a translation of a genealogical

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173 chronicle of the Mo-so (Na-khi) chiefs whose capital was at Li-chiang in western Yün-nan. This chronicle, which is written in Chinese and illustrated with the portraits of these chiefs, is in the possession of their descendants, who still bear the family name, Mu. M. Jaques Bacot, during his two journeys to Li-chiang in 1907 and 1909, saw this illustrated chronicle and had it copied. He also employed a Na-khi artist, a relative of the Mu family, to copy the portraits accompanying the text. These copies of the portraits he published in his work *Les Mo-So* (Leide, 1913) and not photographs of the actual paintings which accompany the manuscript. Bacot published 26 portraits, while the genealogy when I saw it in 1931 contained 30 portraits, representing 29 Na-khi chiefs. The 28th generation was figured twice, representing Mu Han 木漢 in his youth and then again later in life, his face showing pock-marks.

No text accompanies the four last portraits.

This chronicle commences with Yeh-yeh 爺爺, as the first generation, who arrived at the Li-chiang snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). At the end of the chronicle of the first generation, or Yeh-yeh's, there is a sentence which states that besides this record there exists another, carefully prepared and complete. Bacot, apparently unable to read Chinese, was unaware of the existence of this second and more complete chronicle of the Na-khi chiefs.

The same sentence is repeated at the end of the biography of the second generation, or Nien-pao A-tsung's 年保阿宗. The introduction to the illustrated chronicle was written by Yang Shen 楊慎, who is better known by his surname Sheng-an 升菴. He was banished to Yün-nan in the year 1524. He died of dissipation in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (August 3rd–September 1st, 1559). The introduction, dated November 9th, 1545, was not translated by Chavannes, but discussed in his paper. Bacot, in his work *Les Mo-so*, reprinted Chavannes' discussion.

The complete or First Chronicle. — During my sojourn in Li-chiang in the year 1931–1932, I repeatedly visited the Mu family at their official residence and was gladly shown the second chronicle of their illustrious ancestors, the same chronicle which had been shown to Bacot. I photographed both the text and the portraits (which are here reproduced), and further had the same artist who made copies for Bacot to paint copies of the portraits in the original size for me. This copy of the illustrated chronicle, carefully bound and certified by the present Tu-t'ung-p'an, is now in the Library of Congress in Washington. On closely examining the text I found, as previously mentioned, the sentences regarding the existence of a more complete and detailed genealogical chronicle of the Na-khi Kings. When questioned about it, the late Mu Shu 木恕, fourth son of the late Na-khi chief, Mu Yin 木蔭 (style, Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭), who administered the affairs of the family and its estate, very willingly brought for my inspection from the ancestral shrine, this earlier chronicle which antedates the illustrated one by 29 years. He also kindly allowed me to have it copied.

The introduction to this chronicle by Chang Chih-shun has already been given at the beginning of this chapter. Chang also wrote the introduction to the illustrated genealogical chronicle (Bacot's) and sent it on to Yang Shen, who added a preface. In the illustrated chronicle his *hao* is wrongly given as

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Nan-kuo, an error copied by Chavannes; it is Nan-yüan, as explained on page 66. 193

Chang's introduction is dated the 11th year of Cheng-te 正德, the 5th of the twelfth moon (December 27, 1516).

Chavannes in his introduction states that Yang Shen ascribes the origin of the Mu family to a much earlier date than does the chronicle copied by Bacot. He further says that Yang believed that the Mu family could trace their ancestors to a certain Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te 武德 (618–626) of the T'ang dynasty, after which he enumerates 20 generations to Mu Te 木得, who was the first chief of Li-chiang to bear the family name Mu.

Chavannes was surprised to find in Yang Shen's introduction the mention of these 20 generations before Mu Te, and he further says, "Why do these 16 generations not figure in the chronicle?" In the one seen by Bacot, Mu Te figures as the seventh generation, while the third generation corresponds to the 18th in Yang Shen's list in the introduction.

This mystery of the 20 generations preceding Mu Te is now cleared up by the appearance of the more complete non-illustrated chronicle, which from now on I shall designate as the First Chronicle, and the abridged illustrated one as the Second Chronicle.

The Na-khi manuscripts. — In the First Chronicle appear not only the 20 generations mentioned in Yang Shen's introduction, but also 15 earlier generations which are more or less legendary. These legendary ancestors and their wives are fully described in several Na-khi manuscripts written in their pictographic script. The names of the male ancestors appear in a manuscript called *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw*, which is recited during the ceremony called *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping of Heaven), performed in a place especially set aside for that purpose and called by them *Muan-bpö d'a*. They also appear in another manuscript called *Wua-bpa-ts'u*, chanted at the Wua-bpa-ts'u ceremony. The names of the female ancestors are given in a manuscript called *K'wuo-shou* of the Ssu-dsu (marriage ceremony).

The names of the early ancestors enumerated in Chinese in the chronicle must have been copied from these Na-khi manuscripts. I have numerous manuscripts of *Ts'o-mbĕr ssaw* and *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u*[4] and also others in which these ancestors and their wives are enumerated, but the names of the females are not always the same, and in each of the manuscripts they have a different ancestor as their spouse. Some ancestors had apparently more than one wife, as the names of other females appear as their wives, though not more than one name at a time. It is possible that each wife possessed more than one name. The wife of Ō Gkaw-lä, for instance, is always given as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi, instead of Gyi-ssu-mun-lu as appears in the chronicle.

The present descendants of the Mu family of Li-chiang could not explain

[4] The former relates to the period preceding the flood, and is the story of creation in which the egg, as in the ancient Bön stories, plays a great part; the latter is the story of the flood and the regeneration of the Na-khi race through their ancestor, Ts'o-dze-llü-ghügh, and his wife, Ts'ä-khü-bu-bu-mi. [See my article: "The Story of the Flood in the Literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi) tribe" in *Journal West China Border Research Society*, Vol. VII (1935), 64–80.]

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173 the meaning of the Chinese characters, especially of the introductory part of the legendary ancestors, the Chinese text being unintelligible. Not until I began translating with my Na-khi sorcerers the *K'uuo-shou* manuscript, and that called *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw* of the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, did I realize that the particular Chinese text of the chronicle followed the Na-khi words and represented part of the story related in these books (manuscripts). In some instances the phonetic value of the Chinese characters render Na-khi words only, and their ideographic value had to be discarded, while in others the meaning of the character had to be read in Na-khi and the phonetic value rejected. The reason for this mixture of phonetic and translation rendering is the phonetic paucity of Chinese. Where the sound complex of a word could not be rendered it was translated. The story the Chinese text thus told was the same as in the *Muan-bpö* book, *Ts'o-mbèr ssaw*.

Stone-tablet in the Mu family cemetery at Si-li-wùa. — At a place called Si-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦), south-east of Li-chiang about 10 li distant, there is a large *pei*, or stone-tablet, at the end of a row of graves pointing east. This is one of the burial grounds of the Mu family. The larger one is at Tung-kuan 東關, 30 li from Li-chiang. There, certain chiefs are buried, beginning with the 24th generation, Mu Chung 木鐘, who died on September 6th, 1725. All the predecessors of Mu Chung were cremated and their graves do not exist, although the bones and ashes were supposed to have been interred near the village of Boa-shi. On the stone-tablet, about six feet by three, which stands at Si-li-wùa among the graves of the minor members of the Mu family, there is engraved an abridged copy of the First Chronicle. It begins with the legendary ancestors and their origin and states: "Since nothing is known of Yeh-ku-nien, we respectfully call Ch'iu-yang 秋陽 our first ancestor."

Thus Ch'iu-yang appears also in the First Chronicle as the first ancestor after Yeh-ku-nien. In the center of the stone-tablet there is engraved in large characters: "Yang-po-na 陽伯那[5] at the foot of the exalted[6] Yü-lung Shan. The first ancestor of the Mu family [was] Ch'iu-yang; his true wife [was] Mi-chün Hsi-shu 彌鈞西叔. In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, K'un-ming (which was then Li-chiang) became merged with Sui chou and during the reign of T'ang Kao Tsung 高宗, Shang-yüan 上元, (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-chün-kuan 三甸總軍管 (Military Governor of San-tien district)." This same legend appears under Ch'iu-yang in the Chronicle, but with the omission of the word 軍, military.

[5] DEVERIA in his work, *La frontière sino-annamite*, states in a footnote on p. 101 that "the word *pa-na* according to a Chinese and Pa-yi vocabulary, signified *residence* or *lit* 里." This would coincide with the title of the Chronicle, the words *po* 伯, *pa* 八, or *par* 巴 being simply the Chinese transcription of native words. The words *pai* 白, *pa* 八, *po* 伯, *pai* 白, *po* 伯, *pai* 白 are interchangeable phonetically and are used in transcribing the names of tribes and places in Chinese. It is possible that the word Po-na being of Shan or Min-chia 民家 origin was in usage among the Na-khi in the past. Yang 陽 stands for the name of the first ancestor; the foot of the Li-chiang snow range (Yü-lung Shan) was his residence. In fact, an ancient residence existed at the foot of the snow range a short distance north of the last village on the Li-chiang plain, called Nv-lv-k'ö. The place is now known as Kwuâ-d'a (Kwuâ-d'a gko-lo) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 219).

[6] On the stele it is written 仜 (exalted, great). In the First Chronicle the character *ling* 靈 (spiritual, divine) is used instead.

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While the First Chronicle counts Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿宗 as the second generation, the inscription on the stone tablet counts Yang-yin-tu-ku 陽音都谷.[7] 193

On the stone-tablet the name of the first ancestor, Ch'iu-yang, is placed in the center, the names of the even numbered generations to the left of it and the uneven to the right.

The tablet is dated Tao-kuang 道光, 22nd year, the first moon, 17th day (February 26th, 1842).

The first generation of the Second Chronicle, namely Yeh-yeh, is omitted entirely both in the First Chronicle and on the stone-tablet. The probable reason was that Yeh-yeh was an outsider, a stranger from Mongolia, who was said to have floated down the Chin River on a log. When he arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 (in Na-khi, Bā-lā-ts'o)[8] a chief by the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku 美陶阿古 of the village of Pai-sha 白沙 (Boa-shi in Na-khi),[9] saw that his features were not those of an ordinary man and so he gave him his daughter in marriage. There were five village chiefs who put Yeh-yeh at their head. At that time, a certain Nien-lo Nien-pao 年羅年保 (it should read Mou 牟 instead of Nien 年), who had given himself the title of General-in-Chief, adopted the son of Yeh-yeh as his successor.

In the First Chronicle it is stated that Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟羅牟保 and Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和[10] of the Later Ta-li 後大理 Kingdom were called Generals-in-Chief.

The First Chronicle is silent as regards Yeh-yeh, while the Second Chronicle speaks of Yeh-yeh's son having been adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao; the son took the name of his adopted father and thus appears in the First Chronicle as the second generation under the name Mou-pao A-tsung, and Nien-pao A-tsung in the Second Chronicle.

Oral traditions of Li-chiang. — It is strange indeed that the First Chronicle ignores Yeh-yeh entirely and names Ch'iu-yang the first generation and Mou-pao A-tsung the second generation, although there are 14 generations between them. As regards Yeh-yeh there are several traditions current in Li-chiang, and these are probably nearer the truth than the more or less legendary figure of the Second Chronicle.

[7] In the First Chronicle Yang-yin-tu-ku follows Ch'iu-yang, but Mu-pao A-tsung is nevertheless marked as second generation, although 14 other generations are intermediate.

[8] This is the Bā-lā-ts'ər or Bā-lə-ts'o of the Na-khi; the village is situated in the district of A-khi (A-lsi 阿喜). CHAVANNES translates this "the Northern Lan-ts'ang or Mekong," the Chinese characters, Pei-lang-ts'ang, being simply a phonetic rendering of the Na-khi name of the village Bā-lā-ts'o, in ancient days called Bā-lā-ts'ər. BACOT in his book, *Le Tibet révolté*, p. 306, makes the same mistake, for he says: "Le Fleuve Bleu n'a peut-être pas toujours eu son cours actuel. L'histoire fabuleuse du premier roi Moso de Likiang laisserait supposer qu'il communiquait autrefois avec le Mekong."

[9] CHAVANNES uses Pai-sha as part of the name of the chief. It is a village situated half-way between the Li-chiang snow range and Li-chiang proper. The Chinese Pai-sha is a phonetic rendering of Boa-shi (Dead Hsi-fan) (*see* Geographical Part, p. 222).

[10] Under Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和, Ho Yü 和譽 must be understood here, who was the son of Tuan Cheng-shun 段正純. Ho was the second king of the Later Ta-li dynasty which ruled the Nan-chao Kingdom. He ascended the throne in 1108, and ruled 39 years.

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173 The following stories about Yeh-yeh's origin are told in Li-chiang: —

When Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan)[11] marched with his troops through Yün-nan down the Yangtze to attack the Burmese, he encountered heavy snow in northwest Yün-nan and was thus delayed for three months. He stayed with the headman of a village who had a very beautiful daughter who always remained at home. He wanted her to become his wife and told her that when he had fought and conquered the Burmese he would come back and claim her. A long time elapsed, and the girl was still waiting for her lover to return. In the meantime she had given birth to a son. As her lover did not return to claim her, she tied her child to a piece of wood and sent it floating down the river (Yangtze), while she drowned herself.

Later Hu-pi-lieh returned and enquired about his love. He was then informed that she had drowned herself and that her son had been picked up at a place called Bä-lä-tsěr (now Bä-lä-ts'o). The village of Bä-lä-ts'o is in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The meaning of the name is: *Bä* from *Bä-tsi-zi* = man, *lä* = come, *tsěr* = to take something out of the water. As it was there that the child was fished out of the water, the fact was commemorated by giving the particular village nearby the above name; Pei-lang-ts'ang 北浪滄 is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name.

Thereupon, it is said, Hu-pi-lieh conferred on the child a hereditary title and made him Prince of the Na-khi. He thus became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings. This would also explain his Mongol origin. In the Second Chronicle nothing is said of Yeh-yeh's mother, only that his son was adopted by Mou-lo Mou-pao, and that he himself came from Mongolia floating down on a juniper log, and that when he reached a certain place he was picked up, the place being afterwards known as Bä-lä-ts'o.

[11] MARCO POLO, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Yule, Vol. 2, ch. 52, p. 101, describes the battles fought by the Great Khan against the King of Mien 緬. He mentions the Mohammedan general and calls him Nescradin. He was the Commander-in-Chief of the capital of Karajang. His name was Nazir-ed-din; his father was the first to introduce coffins into Yün-nan, and also go-betweens at betrothals. He caused reservoirs to be built against drought. He built the first Wen Miao 文廟 (Confucian Temple) in Yün-nan. His name was Sai-tien-ch'ih-shan-ssu-ting 賽典赤瞻思丁 (Sai-yin-o-te-ch'i 賽音阿德赤, in *Yün-nan T'ung-chih kao*), he was a native of Bokhara and died at the age of 69, in the 16th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1279) after having been in Yün-nan six years, where he was governor. His son, Nazir-ed-din, died in the 29th year of Chih-yüan (1292) in Yün-nan, leaving 12 sons (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 125, fol. 1a–4a).

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE, in his book, *The Beginnings of Writing*, p. 182, § 268, states: "Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277."

Regarding the wars fought by Kublai Khan with the Burmese, the Mongol History (*Yüan Shih*, ch. 210, fol. 1a) has the following to say: "Mien Kuo 緬國 is the land of the Hsi-nan-i (barbarians of the South-west). In the eighth year of Chih-yüan (1271) the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai fu 宣慰司都元帥府 the Yamen of the Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capitals of Ta-li, Shan-shan (the present K'un-ming; Shan-shan was established during the T'ang dynasty) and other circuits sent Ch'i-t'a-t'e-t'o-yin 奇塔特托音 and other envoys to Mien 緬 (Burma) to proclaim an edict to their king that he should become tributary to the Empire."

In the 14th year (1277) in the tenth moon (November), Yün-nan fu sent the local Provincial Pacification Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the capital, Ni-ya-ssu-la-ting 尼雅斯拉丁 (Nazir-ed-din) to lead an army composed of Mongols, Ts'uan (Lo-lo), P'o (Shan) and Mo-so (Na-khi) — over 3,440 men — to attack Mien.

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Another story relates how a Na-khi girl, by the name of Nda-lä-wua-ssaw-mi, 173
had an illegitimate child which she tied to a piece of wood and threw into the Yangtze. The boy was fished out of the river at Bä-lä-ts'o in the district of A-khi and became the first ancestor of the Na-khi Kings.

Bacot in his work, p. 118, relates another legend taken from a Na-khi manuscript. The village he mentions is not Bache, but Boa-shi, as previously explained. To complete the biography I add herewith that part of the Second Chronicle which deals with Yeh-yeh.

Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor according to the Second Chronicle. — The founder and first ancestor of the Mu family listed in the Second Chronicle was called Yeh-yeh 爺爺 (Plate 9). "He arrived at the snow range during the reign of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). He was originally a Mongol from the Western Region. At first he arranged a niche in a rock cliff in the K'un-lùn Mountains 崑崙山 and there delighted in the rules of the East and in the Buddhist religion, and the entire day remained seated in deep meditation. Suddenly there arose a Chiao-lung 蛟龍 [dragon — a roaring torrent of water and mud is supposed to be caused by a Chiao-lung] [12] accompanied by thunder and rain; at that moment he mounted a large fragrant tree (washed down with the rocks and debris) and floated away into the Chin Chiang 金江 (Yangtze). He arrived at Pei-lang-ts'ang. When the barbarians saw him from a distance they marvelled, and called all their people together from afar to meet him. He then mounted the river bank. At that time there was a certain Hsien-t'ao A-ku from Pai-sha [13] who was the head or chief of the barbarians. He saw signs of nobility on the face and in the bearing of Yeh-yeh; he also noticed his calmness and imperturbability [retiring attitude] and marvelled greatly in his heart. Thereupon he gave him his daughter in marriage. The common people rose to invite the stranger to select a place in their midst for worship. But it was their intention that he should dwell apart. At that time there were five village chiefs, one called Kan-lo-mu-tu 干羅睦督, (*see*: p. 96), a second Tien-ch'i-hsüan 甸起選, a third A-niang-hui 阿娘揮 [this is a Chinese rendering of the Na-khi-name, A-nyu-ḳhü], a fourth La-wan 剌宛, and a fifth Wa-chün 瓦均.[14] A [-ku] intended to make Yeh-yeh their chief. At that time Nien-lo

[12] The Dragon in China and Japan by Dr. M. W. De Visser in *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch. te Amsterdam* N. R. Deel XIII, no. 2.

The Kiao lung 蛟龍 pp. 76–79. De Visser states on page 79 that "The *Kiao* belongs to the same kind as the *lung*. Its shape resembles that of a snake and yet it has four legs and a thin neck. Around its neck it has a white necklace. The big *kiao* are several spans thick. They are born from eggs. Their eyebrows are united (交) reason why they are called *kiao* 蛟." In the *Shan Hai Ching*, sect. Nan shan Ching 南山經, ch. 1, p. 11a, it says that they live in special mountain rivulets.

[13] Pai-sha 白沙 is the name of a li 里 (commune), also of a village 20 li north of Li-chiang which used to be the seat of the Na-khi Kings before they moved to Li-chiang. In Na-khi it is called Boa-shi (Dead Boa or Hsi-fan). BACOT calls it Bache; it is thus not part of the name of the man Hsien-t'ao A-ku 羨陶阿古, but the village whence he hailed from.

[14] CHAVANNES here uses the word *yün* 云 as part of the name of the second and third chiefs, and adds the word 阿 on to the name of the fifth, viz: 云甸起選 Yun-tien-k'i-siuan, 云阿娘揮 Yun-a-niang-houei, 剌苑 La-wan, 瓦均阿 Wa-kiun-a, the original text reads: 一云干羅睦督, 二云甸起選, 三云阿娘揮, 四云剌苑, 五云瓦均, 阿乃願崇爺爺爲五家之長. The character 阿 refers to A-ku (Hsien-t'ao A-ku).

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173 Nien-pao 年保 年保 called himself by the title General-in-Chief. To Yeh-yeh was born a son who was given the name A-tsung 阿宗.[a] When he was born he was superior to other people. Nien-lo Nien-pao saw that he was not like others. He protected him and made him his successor and hereditary General-in-Chief. He thought that when the root was deep the tree would be strong, and that a deep spring will flow to a great distance [will be inexhaustible]. Those who wish to examine and trace the affairs of the founder and of each of the ancient and present-day generations of the clan, can find them in this [chronicle]. His true wife was A-shih 阿氏 [in Na-khi, O-shi]."

The last sentence reads: "In the text information is provided in part. A detailed account of the remainder is in another Genealogy." (The first one is here meant.)

The three memorial stones at the Mu ancestral seat at Li-chiang. — In addition to the two chronicles cited, there is extant a separate biography of Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was the father of the most famous of all the Na-khi Kings (Mu Sheng-pai 木生(1). He was born in 1569 and died in 1507, at 28 years of age. This biography was written at the request of his son Mu Tseng, better known as Mu Sheng-pai, by a Han-lin scholar, Chang P'ang-chi 張邦紀 by name, in the period Wan-li, and engraved on a large stone-tablet; the latter was erected by his son Mu Tseng in the 40th year of Wan-li (1612). This memorial stone is set into the garden wall of the official residence of the Mu family in Li-chiang. Mu Ch'ing's *hao* 號, both in the First Chronicle and in the one engraved on the stele, is Sung-ho 松鶴 and not Ho-sung as given in the Second Chronicle and so recorded by Chavannes.

This particular tablet simply extols the virtue, ability, and merit of Mu Ch'ing, but adds nothing of historical value. The writer of the Biography was a Han-lin scholar who lived 10,000 li from Li-chiang, and had been requested by messenger to write it for Mu Tseng.

The second tablet is a biography of Mu Kung 木公 whose surname was Wan-sung 萬松; he was born in 1494 and died in 1553. It was written by his son Mu Kao 木高, engraved on a stele, and erected first in the ancestral temple of the Mu family in the 33rd year of Ming Chia-ching (1554), but is now set in the garden wall of the family residence. Like the first tablet it is a eulogy only and adds nothing of historical value. Mu Kao calls himself here the 35th generation of the Mu family.

The third tablet is a biography of Mu Tung 木東 of the 16th generation, written by his son Mu Wang 木旺. It was erected in the Mu family ancestral hall of military merit by his son in the eighth year of Ming Wan-li in the first moon (1580).

Printed records: The "Huang-Ming En-lün-lu" at Pai-sha-kai. — Besides the two manuscript copies of the genealogical chronicles kept by the Mu

[a] Apparently the entire story of the arrival of Yeh-yeh is a myth. He probably never existed. The *Li-chiang fu chih luch* states that Mai-tsung 麥宗, which is the equivalent to A-tsung, arrived in Li-chiang at the end of the Sung dynasty, that is, at the end of the reign of Emperor Li Tsung 理宗, about 1253. It also states that he was a native of Hsi Yü 西域 (Central Asia), and that the natives of Li-chiang elected him as their chief. Thus he could not have been the son of Yeh-yeh. In another place in the same record it is said that he was Yeh-yeh's son and when seven years old could read, etc.

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family in their Li-chiang residence, the yamen of their ancestors, there has 173
recently come to light a printed record of the letters patent of the Mu family.

There exists a branch of the Mu family of Li-chiang which does not reside in that city but in a village 20 li to the north of it, namely, in the lower part of the mart Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街); the village is known as Mbe-lü in Na-khi, and Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 in Chinese. The owner of this printed copy of the Mu family letters patent is a certain Mu Wen-lan 木文瀾, a descendant of Aw-dzhi-lĕr (A-chih-li 阿知立), who was a member of the same Mu family which furnished the native magistrates of Li-chiang. It was this Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged a complaint against the Mu chiefs of Li-chiang with the viceroy of Yün-nan, and thus caused the chiefs to be demoted to a much inferior position, and their land to be taken over. This naturally created a family feud, and although it happened 223 years ago the wound is not yet healed.

The Li-chiang Mu family, who must have been aware of the existence of this printed record, never breathed a word to me about it, until I came accidentally to know of it. The book is called *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* 皇明恩綸錄 (Records of the gracious words of the Imperial Ming). It was printed in the winter of the second year of Ming Lung-wu (1646). This Emperor was a fugitive and was killed in the eighth moon of 1646. The Records commence with the native T'u-kuan A-te 阿得 (Li-chiang native official A-te), who ruled from 1383 to November 11th, 1390, as fu-magistrate of Li-chiang, although prior to the advent of the Ming dynasty he was a Chih-chou 知州 (chou-magistrate) of T'ung-an 通安, east of Li-chiang. The book gives the official letters received during the reign of each incumbent, that is the gracious words sent to them by the ruling Emperors. It ends with the military and civil magistrate of Li-chiang, Mu I 木懿, who ruled from 1624 to 1673. The last entries relate to the two wives of Mu I. The final date on the last page is Ts'ung-cheng 崇禎, the 12th year, which corresponds to our 1639. The book is really a printed record of all the letters patent received by the Na-khi chiefs from the various Emperors, the first one being dated the 15th year of Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖, period Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) and the last 1639, covering a period of 257 years. The record is complementary to the two chronicles, as it gives verbatim the text of the various letters patent. There are certain differences between the printed Ming letters patent and those in the genealogical chronicle. Attention to these differences is called in their respective places.

The scrolls in the Mu reception hall at Li-chiang. — There is also extant a biography of the six most important Na-khi chiefs, Mu Kung, Mu Kao, Mu Tung, Mu Wang, Mu Ch'ing and Mu Tseng. It is written on red scrolls and is displayed on the walls of the reception hall in the Mu family residence. It is of a eulogistic nature only, and was written by Feng Shih-k'o 馮時可, though no date is given. The biography was inscribed on the scrolls by the descendant Mu K'un 木坤, as told by Mu Yin 木懿, in the 27th year of Kuang-hsü (1901). All these I had copied and translated, but as they do not add much of historical value, only the First and most complete genealogical Chronicle is here translated.

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CHAPTER V

THE FIRST CHRONICLE

(Translated from the Chinese with the aid of the Na-khi manuscripts and sorcerers)

1. THE DESCENT OF MAN

173 The first two pages after the introduction deal with entirely legendary ancestors who are mentioned in the Na-khi pictographic manuscripts used in their various ceremonies. Those in which the names of the ancestors occur belong to the *Muan-bpö* (Worshipping Heaven) and to the *Ssu dsu* (Marriage) ceremonies. One ancestor, Tsu-dgyu Dgyu-dze by name, who appears in the genealogy, is, however, always missing in these manuscripts which jump immediately from Tsu-yu Tsu-dgyu to Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze.

It was the custom to place the father's name in front of the son's, hence the apparent double name.

The names of the wives of these legendary ancestors are not always the same — with the exception of one or two, as in the case of the important, what might be called post-flood ancestor, Tso-dze Llü-ghügh, about whom there exist a number of stories.

The title of the chronicle reads: *Yü-lung shan ling-chio Yang po-ma* 玉龍山靈脚陽伯媽 (The residence of Yang at the divine foot of the Jade dragon Mountain).

The sub-title reads: *Mu-shih hsien tzu-sun ta-tzu kuan-p'u* 木氏賢子孫大族官譜 (Official Chronicle of the great clan, worthy sons and grandsons of the Mu family).

Now follow 11 sentences of five characters each, which if translated literally would make no sense. As already remarked, these are Na-khi sentences partly translated into Chinese, while some of the characters must be read as phonetic transcriptions of Na-khi words.

These sentences, although not in the same sequence, appear in the pictographic manuscript, *Ts'o-mbêr ssaw*, which literally means "To invite the Ancestors." *Ts'o* stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, but *ts'o* also means man, *mbêr* the descent, and *ssaw* to invite, so the title can be translated as "Inviting the descendants or generations of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh." The book really gives the descent of man. It is chanted when the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon.

773 173 764 It would appear that the Descent of man (*Ts'o-mbêr ssaw*), or the Creation of man as it might also be called, was in ancient time recited by men in the form of question and answer, during the propitiation of Heaven ceremony. There are many such songs and some of them are impromptu. For example, it is the custom on the eve of the funeral of an old man, for his relatives to gather in the village square around a huge log fire, and there recite the deeds of the deceased. The men form a circle holding hands much like children do when at play. The leader at the beginning of the recitation takes a step for-

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PLATE XX — THE TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION, MU YAO

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PLATE 34.—THE TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. MU HSING

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PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONSTELLATION, MAO CHUNG

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PLATE 36. — THE INSCRIPTION AT HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

玉龍山雪宮村碧圖

The inscription commemorates the nationalisation in 1723 of the land of the Na-khi hereditary prefect into a Chinese prefecture. The large characters were written by Yang Pi, the first magistrate appointed. The limestone cliff is back of the village of Hsüeh-sung-ts'un at Gkwus-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain or Li-chiang snow range).

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PLATE 33.—THE TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION, MU TE

[p. 76 E]

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PLATE 38. — THE TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. MU HSIU

本 傳 二 十 六 世 考

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PLATE 35.—THE TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. MU JUH

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PLATE 40.—THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. MU HAN

本 圖 二 十 八 世 考

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PLATE 41. — THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. MU CHING

* 第 二 十 九 世 祖

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PLATE 42. — THE THIRTIETH GENERATION. MU YIN

本圖用十字考

[p.76 J]

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PLATE 41.—THE THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. MU CH'IUNG.

本 [illegible] 中 [illegible]

The present T'u T'ung-p'an, central figure. The child in his arms is his son, the 33rd generation, his name is Mu Sung-k'uei. Mu Ch'iung was the son of Mu Piao. The man on the right of the central figure is his uncle, the other three are cousins.

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PLATE 44. — MU TSENG AS A BUDDHIST MONK

木增（生白）蕃僧風之存

Mu Tseng was a devout Buddhist who welcomed the Karma-pa sect of Lamaism to the Li-chiang district. The scroll illustrated here is beautifully painted in sombre tones; it shows Mu Tseng with a rosary in his hands and above his head the image of Amitabha. This large scroll is in the possession of the Mu family of Li-chiang. Mu Tseng was an excellent calligraphist, besides being a poet and author.

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PLATE 45. — SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

本 生 自 手 物 謝 慕

談空客喜花含笑 When the guests are delighted at my discussions of all unreality, the blossoms seem to smile;

說法僧聞鳥亂啼 While the monks are listening to my preaching of the doctrine, the birds warble confusingly outside. The small character to left is Tseng 啼.

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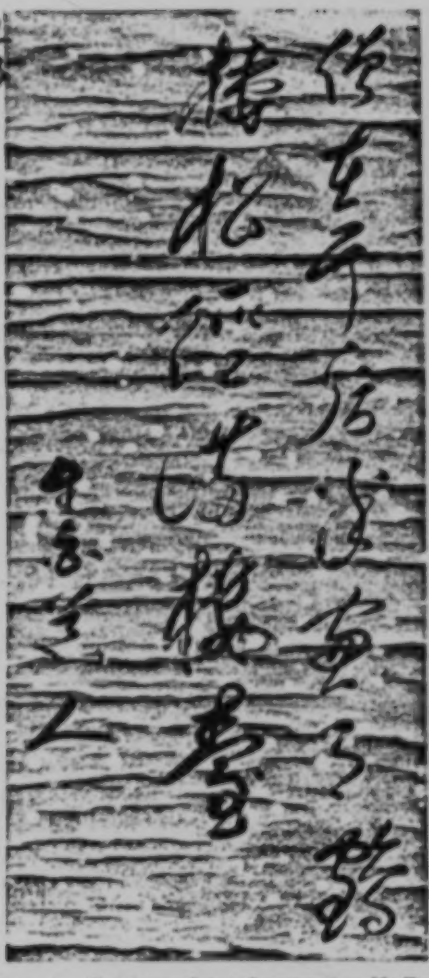

PLATE 46.—THE SECOND SCROLL INSCRIPTION BY MU TSENG

僧在竹窗半露月 The priest meditates in his bamboo hut whose screen is half bathed in the moonlight;

鶴歸松徑獨留樓 When the cranes have gone to roost the various lofts and towers alone relieve the sombreness of the pine tree glade.

The four characters to the left are Sheng-pai Tao-jen (Buddhist).

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PLATE 47. — SHRINE OF MAO AND YANG

Adjoining the Temple of P'u-hsien, overlooking the Lake of K'un-ming, from the West.

[p. 76-0]

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PLATE 48.—THE STATUE OF YANG SHEN

In the Shrine of Mao Yü and Yang Shen adjoining P'u-hsien Sen, across the lake, west of K'un-ming.

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ward and then one backward, while all the rest in the ring will follow suit. The leader then would chant a question which would be answered by someone in the ring blessed with a good voice. The song is apt to begin with: "Where did the wealthy Tibetan die?" The answer would be: "He died within the earth house!" "What clothes will he be dressed in?" "In a *p'u-lu* [woollen] garment he will be dressed!" — etc.

The sentences which here follow are undoubtedly those of a song once sung in the Muan-bpö d'a, or place especially set aside for the propitiation of Heaven, and during its performance. The actual word "Who" initiating the question is omitted in these sentences. But we can readily see that each sentence is divided into question and answer. The first sentence should therefore be translated thus: "Who laid man's egg?" "Heaven laid it!" Second sentence: "Who hatched man's egg?" "Earth hatched it!" Third sentence: "What was the egg of Ts'o-nä like?" "It was like the conch-shell!" — and so forth.

First sentence. — The sentence in Chinese is as follows: 草古天能古 *Ts'ao-ku-t'ien-neng-ku* This translated literally would be: "Grass old heaven able old," which, of course, would have no meaning. It must be read in Na-khi: *Ts'o-gv-muan nnü-ghv*. It can readily be seen that the Chinese characters *Ts'ao-ku* stand for *Ts'o-gv*, the third character *t'ien* (heaven) is a translation of the Na-khi *muan*, which means heaven, there being no such sound as *muan* in Chinese. The character *neng* is the nearest approach to the Na-khi *nnü*, and the last character *ku* is here read in Na-khi *ghv*. The literal translation of the sentence is: "Man egg heaven it laid." This same sentence written in pictographs appears in the book called *Ts'o-mbbv ssaw* (Plate 10) thus:

The uppermost symbol represents the vault of heaven (read *muan*), below it is the head of an elephant (read *ts'o*), below the trunk of the elephant the symbol *gv* for egg, and the last conventional sign for head is read *ghv*. Abstract ideas cannot be written with pictographs, therefore symbols representing concrete ideas are employed or borrowed, which have the same tone value and sound complex as the abstract word which is to be conveyed. The word *nnü* is not written. In Na-khi an elephant is called *ts'o*, and when the name of Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh is written, either an elephant's head is used, or the figure of a man with an elephant's head. On the top of the elephant head is however the Na-khi no-bu = pearl, (Tibetan nor-bü), which would actually indicate that Ts'o-dze Lü-ghügh is meant as the father of the Na-khi race was also the father of the Nāga or Serpent spirits who stole the pearl from the Lake Muan-llü-ndaw-gyi (Khu). *See*: Note 1, of p. 82. By stating that the egg whence man originated was laid by Heaven, the Na-khi mean to indicate that man's fate was decreed by Heaven and that he is thus identified with Heaven.

Second sentence. — 草佛地能佛 *Ts'ao-feng-ti-neng-feng*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-bbu-dü-nnü-bbu*. The second character *feng* is ill-selected. It should be 男 *fu*, which would be nearest to the Na-khi *bbu* and would also express the Na-khi

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912 meaning, which is "to hatch, to transform." *Ts'o* = man (egg is here omitted, but man's egg is meant) [who] hatched man's [egg] — the earth hatched it. The Chinese character *ti* = earth is the Na-khi *dü* = earth; *nnü* is expressed again in Chinese by *neng*. In the manuscripts this sentence is written thus:

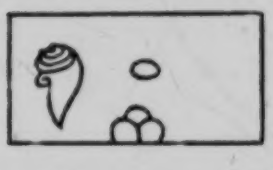
We have again the elephant for *ts'o* = man, below it an egg wrapped or covered and below it again the land (*dä* = the earth); the symbol to the right is read *bbu* and represents a pot (borrowed for its phonetic value to express *bbu* = to hatch, to incubate). It is interesting to note the selection of the character 枫 *feng*, a much more common one than *fu* 鬥, for the Na-khi *bbu*. *Feng* is read *fung* by the Yün-nan Chinese, but as the Na-khi are unable to pronounce a final consonant such as *n* or *ng*, their rendering of *feng* would be *fu*.

Third sentence. — 𝌆𝌕𝌗𝌘𝌗 *Ts'ao-hsien-ku-fu-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ts'o-zä-gv-fu* gv. Literally translated it says: *Ts'o-zä*, "egg conch-shell become," or the egg of Ts'o-zä was like the conch-shell (white).

The meaning of *ts'o-zä* is somewhat obscure. Zä is a spirit which controls all births, of both man and animals. If people are desirous of children, the granting of long life, or increase in flocks, they have the ceremony called *Za-mä* performed; *mä*, meaning to wish, to want, to be desirous of. *Gv* stands again for egg, and *fu* in Na-khi is a conch-shell; the last gv means to become, to succeed, to be like. The phrase appears in the books very much abbreviated thus:

Ts'o is written but not *zä*, which nevertheless is read, *gv* is the egg, and the last pictograph is a conch-shell. Some books use more abbreviations than others. Na-khi priests memorize these books, the symbols or pictures acting as prompters only.

Fourth sentence. — 𝌗𝌘𝌗𝌙𝌗 *Ku-fu-ku-lü-ku*, in Na-khi: *Gv-fu-gv-lv-gv*. The meaning is: "The conch-shell-like egg hot became" or, the egg which was like the conch-shell became hot. The character *lü* 𝌙 represents the Na-khi word *lv*, hot; the last character 𝌗 is the Na-khi gv = to become, to change into, to succeed, etc. It is represented thus (Plate 11):



The first pictograph is read *fu*, the conch shell; the second upper is *gv*, the egg, which is read three times, the last *lv* represent rocks. As *hot* is an abstract idea it cannot be written, therefore the symbol for rock, of the same phonetic value, is borrowed.

Fifth sentence. — 𝌗𝌙𝌚𝌙𝌗 *Ku-lü-ch'i-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Gv-lv-ssaw-lv-gv*. The literal translation is: "Egg hot breath hot succeeded," or from the hot

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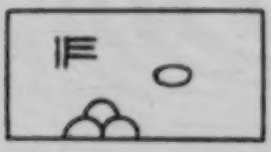
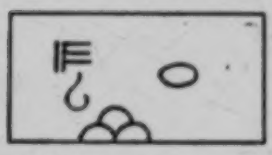
egg came forth hot breath (vapor). The first two characters serve as phonetics only and so do the two last; the third character *ch'i*, meaning "vapor, breath, steam," represents the Na-khi word *ssaw*. In the pictographic books it is written thus:



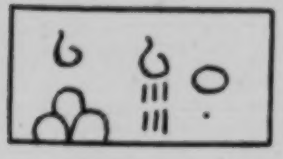
The first upper symbol is read *ssaw* and represents breath, vapor; the symbol *lv* (rocks) is borrowed for *lv* = hot, and *gv* stands for egg, this last character being read twice — once as *gv* = egg and the second time as *gv* = to succeed, to become, to come forth.

Sixth sentence. — 氣呂蒸呂出 *Ch'i-lü-lu-lü-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ssaw-lv-ndshêr-lv-gv*. The literal meaning is: "Vapor hot dew hot succeed [came forth]," or from the hot vapor came forth hot dew. The first character is translated as in the previous sentence, i.e. *ssaw* = vapor; the second *lü* for *lv* = hot; the third character translates the Na-khi word *ndshêr*, which means dew; the fourth stands again for the phonetic *lv* = hot; and *ku* for *gv* = to come forth, etc. In pictographs it appears thus:



The first upper symbol is *ssaw* = vapor; the next below is read *ndshêr*, represented by a dewdrop; the lowest character *lv* = rock stands for hot, and the last *gv* = egg for "to succeed," the phonetic value of "egg" being borrowed.

Seventh sentence. — 露呂陸點出 *Lu-lü-liu-tien-ku*; in Na-khi: *Ndshêr-lv-ch'ua-t'o-gv*. Literally it means: "Dew hot six drops came forth," or from the hot dew came forth six drops. In the Chinese sentence three characters, the first, third and fourth, are translations of Na-khi words, while the second and fifth are Chinese phonetic renderings. *Lu* = *ndshêr* = dew; *lü* = *lv* = hot; *liu* = *ch'ua* = six; *tien* = *t'o* = a dot, a drop; and *ku* = *gv* = to come forth. In the pictographic text it appears thus:



The first upper symbol represents a drop, the second, rock, again for hot; the next upper again a drop represented by the dewdrop sign below it six dots for the number six; the last, egg = to come forth, succeed, etc.

Eighth sentence. — 一點海釀聽 *I-tien-hai-niang-ting*; in Na-khi: *Ddu-t'o-khu-nyu-ndêr*. Literal meaning: "One drop lake inside," or one drop fell into the sea (or lake). The first three characters represent translations from the Na-khi, while the two last are Chinese phonetic renderings of Na-khi words. Here again characters have been selected for Na-khi words simply for the reason that to the Chinese ear they sound similar to *nyu* and *ndêr* of the Na-khi who would read the character *niang* as *nya*, and the character *ting* as *ti*, being

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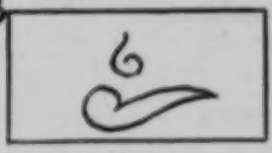
212 173 unable to pronounce final consonants; *ti* .*g* = *ti* coming closest to their word *ndĕr*. In pictographs it is written:



The meaning is here indicated by two symbols only, the upper *ndshĕr*, dewdrop, the lower *ɬhū*, lake, sea.

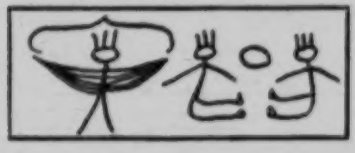
Ninth sentence. — 海失海美古 *Hai-shih-hai-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *K̡hū-shi-ɬhū-zā-gv*. Literally: "Lake golden *K̡hū-zā* came forth," or from the golden lake was born K̡hū-zā. Apparently the first human being was called K̡hū-zā. It is intimated that when one of the dewdrops fell into the lake it changed to a golden color, and from that golden lake K̡hū-zā, the first being was born. The second, fourth and fifth characters, were selected for their phonetic value, while the first and third were selected for their ideographic meaning. The Na-khi word for gold, *ha-shi* (*ha* = gold, *shi* = yellow) has been rendered phonetically by the character *shih* In the pictographic symbols the sentence is written:

The first upper symbol is read *shi* and represents a lump of gold from which bright rays are emitted, the lower one is *ɬhū* = lake, and the upper winged being is the spirit Zā which here is, however, a phonetic only, *ɬhū* = lake being read twice, the second time as a phonetic. It is part of the name of the first being K̡hū-zā. *Gv* = egg stands here for *gv* = to come forth, to succeed.

Tenth sentence. — 海美剌美古 *Hai-hsien-la-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi: *K̡hū-zā-la-zā-gv*, which means literally: "From K̡hū-zā La-zā succeeded (was born)." The five characters stand for Na-khi phonetics. This is written in pictographs:

The first pictograph represents a tiger, read *la*, and serves, like the next *zā*, as a phonetic only; the egg stands for *gv*, to come forth. *K̡hū-zā* is not written, as it appears in the preceding rubric.

Eleventh sentence. — 剌美天美古 *La-hsien-t'ien-hsien-ku*; in Na-khi, *La-zā-muaṉ-zā-gv*. Literal meaning: "La-zā Muaṉ-zā came forth," or, La-zā was succeeded by Muaṉ-zā. All the characters, with the exception of the third one, serve as phonetics only. *T'ien* = heaven is Chinese for the Na-khi *muaṉ* = heaven, and is given here although the word *muaṉ* is part of the name Muaṉ-zā. In the script it appears thus:



The first part of the phrase reads *muaṉ-zā*, the upper sign representing the vault of heaven, *muaṉ*. Below is the spirit *Zā* taken here for the name only. The next, two demons (*ts'u* in Na-khi) in a sitting

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position with feet nearly touching, is read *ts'u-ts'u* and means to kick, being part of the name of the next generation: Muaṇ-zā Ts'u-ts'u. Ts'u-ts'u was the son of Muaṇ-zā, the father's name always preceding the son's.

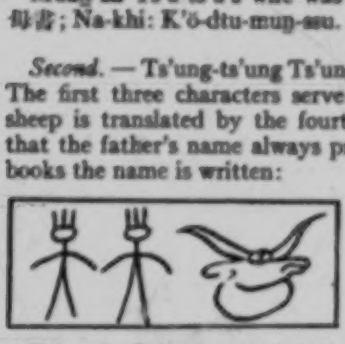
From here on commences the genealogy, giving the names of the men and of the women they married. There follow now 12 families (generations) until we come to Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, who became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 during the reign of Kao Tsung, Shang-yüan 高宗上元 (674–675)

2. THE TWELVE LEGENDARY GENERATIONS

First. — T'ien-hsien Ts'ung-ts'ung 天僊從從; Na-khi: Muaṇ-zā Ts'u-ts'u. The Na-khi word *muaṇ* = heaven is translated into Chinese, while *ts'u-ts'u* is rendered by the Chinese as *ts'ung-ts'ung*. This generation is included in the previous, eleventh, rubric.

Muaṇ-zā Ts'u-ts'u's wife was the celestial woman, K'uei-tu-mu-shu 魁都母書; Na-khi: K'ö-dtu-muṇ-ssu.

Second. — Ts'ung-ts'ung Ts'ung-yang 從從從羊; Na-khi: Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü. The first three characters serve as phonetics only, while the Na-khi *yü* = sheep is translated by the fourth character, *yang* = sheep. It can be seen that the father's name always precedes that of the son. In the pictographic books the name is written:



The first two symbols represent demons and are read *ts'u-ts'u*, the third is a sheep and is read *yü*. One of the *ts'u* symbols is read twice.

Ts'u-ts'u Ts'u-yü married the celestial Tang-ch'ing-ch'ing-shu 當青青書; Nakhi: Dta-ts'ā-ts'ā-ssu.

Third. — Ts'ung-yang Ts'ung-chiao 從羊從交; Na-khi: Ts'u-yü Ts'u-dgyu; written in pictographs thus:

The first symbol is a demon (read *ts'u*), the second a sheep (read *yü*), the third again a demon (read *ts'u*), and the fourth a donkey (read *gkyü*, also pronounced *dgyu*).

Ts'u-yü Tsu-dgyu married the celestial woman, Chi-li-chi-shu 集里集書; Na-khi: Ndzi-llü-ndzi ssu.

Fourth. — Ts'ung-chiao Chiao-hsien 從交交僊; Na-khi: Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze. He married the celestial woman, A-chün-ngai-shu 阿均岩書; Na-khi: A-dzi-ssā-ssu.

The introduction of the character *ngai* (cliff) in the name of this woman is of interest. The Na-khi *ssä*, the third syllable of her name, means a goral (*Naemorhedus griseus*), called in Chinese *ngai-yang* 岩羊 (cliff sheep). The

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first character *ngoi* has thus been used to indicate that the word is to be read *ssä*. This is, of course, only intelligible to those Na-khi who understand Chinese. These often write letters in the Na-khi language, but using Chinese characters to transcribe their sound complexes, the method employed being similar to that of transcribing these names.

This particular generation, Ts'u-dgyu Dgyu-dze, is strangely missing in all Na-khi manuscripts dealing with their ancestors, and nowhere does the name appear except in the genealogy, written in Chinese.

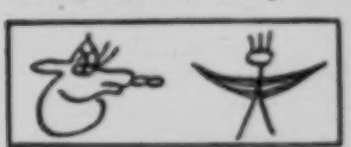
Fifth. — Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien 交漢比漢; Na-khi: Dgyu-dze Dzi-dze. In the manuscripts the name appears thus:

Kgyü (*dgyu*) is a donkey, *sä* a spirit, *dzi* a jackal, the third symbol again the winged spirit *sä*. In the spoken language a jackal is called *p'a*, but in the literary language it is called *dzi*. The symbol also stands for "man," or better, "people," that is, peasants not of the descent of Ts'o, which is "man" written with an elephant's head. In most cases the word *dzi* is employed for non-Na-khi people.

Chiao-hsien Pi-hsien married the celestial woman, K'uan-tu-mu-shu 寬都木書; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-ssu. Her name is written in the books thus:

The first symbol *k'wua* is a hoof; *dtu* is the symbol for the numeral 1,000; *mbĕr* is a yak; and the last symbol is read *ssu* and represents a die.

Sixth. — Pi-hsien Ts'ao-hsien 比漢草漢; Na-khi: Dzi-dze Ts'o-dze. All these characters serve as phonetics only. Written in Na-khi thus:



The first part of the name is taken from the previous rubric giving the name of his father, the second half, his own name, is represented by *ts'o*, a conventional elephant's head which when thus written stands for Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, whom the Na-khi consider their foremost ancestor. On the top of the head is a *no-bu* (pearl), to indicate the ancestry of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He had a common origin with the *llü-muŋ* (serpent spirits), which carry a pearl on their heads — they had the same father, but different mothers.[1] The symbol is that of a *llü-muŋ* (serpent spirit). Note the head-dress representing a *no-bu* (pearl).

[1] In a manuscript entitled *K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr-mä* belonging to the *Ssu-gv* ceremony (propitiation of the serpents), we are told that the Llü-muŋ (Nāga) and the Na-khi had a common father, but that the mother of the Llü-muŋ was called K'ö-ddu-gv-ssu-mä and the mother of the Na-khi K'ö-ddu-gv-lĕr mä. The name of the father is not given.

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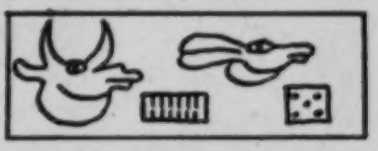
The character *sä* is here read *dse*.

Dzi-dse Ts'o-dze married the celestial woman, Wei-hui-lai-shu 威揮來書; Na-khi: Ghügh-ḳhü-lä-ssu. Her name appears in the manuscripts thus: 212 173



Ghügh is an ox in Na-khi, *ḳhü* the teeth — the symbol represents a mouth showing the teeth; *lä* is a rabbit, and *ssu* is a die.

Seventh. — Ts'ao-hsien Li-wei-wei 草衮里威威; Na-khi: Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. The genealogy adds an additional *wei* = *ghügh*. All characters serve as phonetics only. The volume entitled *Ts'o-mbĕr t'u* (Origin of the Generation of Ts'o) deals entirely with this ancestor, his brothers, and the flood which destroyed them because they practised incest; Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh, who abstained, alone surviving; then with his marriage to a celestial woman, and finally with the story of his offspring, who became ill and could not be cured until certain Na-khi books were secured from the goddess P'ĕr-ndzi-ssaw-mä. This story is related in a book called *Bpö-p'a gko-shu* and is chanted at many ceremonies performed by the priests.[2]

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh's name is written thus:

The ring in front of the mouth represents the trunk of the elephant, the two lines near the eye the tusks, the hood on top of the head the *no-bu* (pearl), to show, as already remarked, that he and the serpent spirits, who always appear crowned by pearls, had a common father.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh was married to the celestial woman, Ch'ing-hui-p'u-p'u 青揮蒲蒲; Na-khi: Ts'ä-ḳhü-bu-bu (mi). The characters serve as phonetics only. In manuscripts her name is not written out, but the figure of a woman is sketched with the outlines of a leaf (read *ts'ä*), and the symbol for fire, representing three flames. The symbol for fire is read *mi*, but in the third tone, *mi* = woman. The word *mi* is usually added to names of females. In the genealogy it is omitted.

To them were born three sons, who divided (later) into three clans, and lived 1,700 years.

Eighth. — Li-wei No-yü 里威褥于; Na-khi: Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ö. The characters serve as phonetics only. This ancestor is commonly referred to in the manuscripts as Ghügh-hö-noṉ. It is strange that in spite of the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a definite final consonant, they will in certain cases add a final nasal, *n*, which I transcribe as an underlined *n* according to usage. They will say for *no* 褥, as in this instance, *noṉ* instead of a clear *no*. Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ö married the woman (the word celestial is now omitted) Wu-nü-wu-chung 吳女吳種; Na-khi: Wu-mi-wu-dsu. The first and two last characters serve as phonetics, the second character *nü* =

[2] (*See* "The Origin of the Tso-la books, or books of divination of the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe," J. F. Rock, in *Journ. West China Board. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VIII, 39–52 [1936].)

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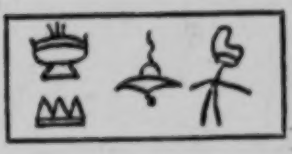
woman is translated into Na-khi and reads *mi* = woman. They lived 1,500 years.



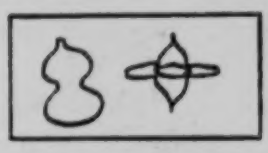
The wife's name is written thus in Na-khi: The first upper symbol is read *wu* = a slave, the second *mi* = fire, but read in the third tone = woman. The third is read *dzu* and represents a bell, the fourth is a figure of a woman, to indicate that it represents a female name.

Ninth. — No-yü Nan-pan-p'u 糯于南仲普; Na-khi: Noṇ-ō Na-lă-p'ö. All five characters serve as phonetics.

In the books he is called Zo-ts'ü Ō and his wife is called T'o-k'ö-ssă-lv. According to the genealogy he married the woman, Chi-nü-chi-t'a-la-lu 敕女敕他利鲁; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-t'a-la-lv. Her name appears thus in the books:

The first upper symbol is read *gyi* = water; the lower *t'a*, representing a pagoda or chhorten (mchhod-rten); the next is a tiger and is read *la*; the last symbol *lv* represents rocks. In the books this woman appears as the wife of Ghügh-hö Noṇ (Llü-ghügh Noṇ-ō of the genealogy).

Tenth. — Pan-p'u Yü 仲普于; Na-khi: Bă-p'ö Ō. The characters serve as phonetics only. The name appears in the manuscripts thus:

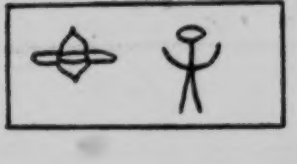


The first symbol is read *Bă-p'ö* and represents a bottle gourd, the second is read *ō*. It represents a turquoise and stands also for the adjectives green and blue.

Bă-p'ö Ō married the woman, K'uan-tu-mu-lu 寬都木鲁; Na-khi: K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. They lived 1,060 years. Her name appears in the books thus:

The first symbol is read *k'wua* and represents a hoof; the second *dtu* represents the numeral 1,000. The third is a yak, read *mbĕr*; and the fourth is read *lv* = rocks.

Eleventh. — Then follows Yü Ko lai 于哥来; Na-khi: Ō Gkaw-lă. His name is written in Na-khi thus:



The first symbol is read Ō and represents a turquoise, hence also blue and green; the second represents a man with his arms stretched upwards (read *Gkaw-lă*). The origin of the meaning has been lost.

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He married the woman, Chi-nū-chi-ssu-mu-lu 敎女敎思母魯; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-ssu-mun-lv. Her name is written: 212 173

The first symbol is read *gyi* and represents water; the second *ssu*, the numeral three; the third is read *mun* and represents the water demon; the fourth, rocks (read *lv*).

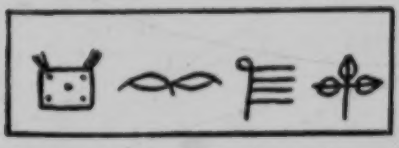
Ō Gkaw-lā figures in many of the Na-khi books, and the great funeral ceremony called *Khi-mv* is based on him. One of his sons, Gkaw-lā Ts'ū, the next generation, figures in the book called *Gkaw-lā Ts'ū ō-sher*, in which the story of his father is related. The meaning of the title of the book is: "Gkaw-lā Ts'ū soul calls," or, he calls the soul of his father, *i.e.*, redeems it. PLATES I and II accompanying the book *Beginnings of Writing in Central and Eastern Asia*, by T. de Lacouperie (1894), represent the book *Gkaw-lā Ts'ū ō-shĕr*. It is the key-book to the *Khi mv* funeral ceremony.

In several other Na-khi manuscripts Ō Gkaw-lā is recorded as married to women bearing other names, as Ō-yu-dtu-nun-mi and K'wua-dtu-mbĕr-lv. The latter is the wife of his father in the genealogy. He and his wife lived 1,700 years.

Twelfth. — Ko-lai Ch'iu 哥來秋; Na-khi: Gkaw-lā Ts'ū. The characters serve as phonetics only.

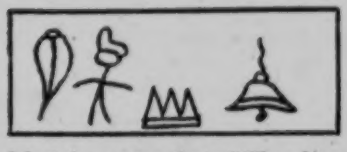
His name is never written, but represented by the symbol to the left which always stands for Gkaw-lā Ts'ū. The plume on the top of the head is the symbol for *ts'ū* or millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and is here used phonetically, indicating the name of Gkaw-lā Ts'ū. He was married to Chi-nū-chi-chung 敎女敎蟲; Na-khi: Gyi-mi-gyi-dsu. To them were born four sons who separated into four clans, the Ssu (卓 Shu), Yu (葉 Yeh), Mā (買 Mai) and Ho (何 Ho). They lived 1,090 years.

The Na-khi clan names just mentioned are written thus:



The first symbol is *ssu* and represents a species of grass, the basic symbol is *ssu* - a die, with the grass-like lines on top it indicates that the grass *ssu* is meant; the second is *yu* and represents wilted leaves; the third *ho*, ribs; the fourth, *mā*, is the name of an unknown tree.

The name of Gkaw-lā Ts'ū's wife is written:



The first symbol is read *gyi* = water; the second *mi* = woman, again indicated by the third symbol for fire, *mi* or three flames at the foot of the figure; and the fourth, *dsu* = a bell.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 6ob, states that: "The clans Shu and Yeh 卓葉 dwelled in the city. The T'u-ssu 土司 (native chief) Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年, ancestor of the Mu family 173

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173 木氏, originated from the Yeh clan. The two other clans, Mä and Ho (Mai 買, Ho 禾), dwelled outside on the mountains and in the Yangtze valley."

In a book belonging to the *Noṉ-bbu*, or *No-bbu* ceremony, the four clans are mentioned: "The Mä clan lived at Mä-ssä-t'a-wua-p'ĕr, the Ho at Ho-dsu-lv-na-wùa, the Ssu at Ssu-bbue-lv-lä-wùa and the Yu at Llü-shwua-yu-gkaw-la."

The family name for the common people was Ho, then and now written 和. This Chinese character was selected for the following reasons: It can be analysed into ノ口木. When the radical *p'ieh* is placed on top of the character *mu* 木 representing the family name of the chiefs, it becomes *ho* 禾 (grain); and by adding *k'ou* 口 (mouth) it becomes *ho* 和, which the peasants explain as feeding the mouths of the Mu family, hence the peasants of the Mu chiefs. Many of the people now calling themselves Ho were originally outsiders who, out of fear of the Na-khi chiefs, called themselves by this name to make believe that they were natives of Li-chiang, as they would otherwise have been driven out or suppressed.

It was during the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), that the Na-khi chiefs were given the family name Mu 木, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 2, fol. 18b. The Mu family did not allow the people who had charge of their affairs, and whose name was Mu by virtue of belonging to their family, to retain that name. If they represented the third generation they could use the name A 阿, the old family name of the Na-khi chiefs. If they represented the fifth generation they were given the name Ho 和. Outsiders coming to Li-chiang to settle had to call themselves Ho 和, therefore all the peasants were so named. After the country came under direct Chinese rule and the native magistrates ceased to exist in 1723, the peasants could readopt their old family names, and new settlers could keep their own names.

Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh and his wife Ts'ä-ḳhü-bu-bu-mi had three sons and, according to Na-khi manuscripts, they were collectively called Ghügh-ḳhü ssu-zo-yi; the first-born became the ancestor of the Tibetans and lived at La-sa-t'o-k'ö-p'ĕr, his wife's name being P'ĕr-mi; the second was the Na-khi ancestor, his wife's name being Wu-mi-wu-dsu. According to the genealogy he was called Llü-ghügh Noṉ-ō and figures as the Na-khi descendant of Ts'o-dze Llü-ghügh. He dwelled at Dzi-yu-lü-gv-ō, that is, the "man born who dwelled in the center." The third son was the ancestor of the Lä-bbu (the Chinese Min-chia 民家). His wife's name was Ssa-mi, and he dwelled at Zhi-zaw-maṉ.

In one of the Na-khi funeral songs, called *Muṉ-ndz(ĕr)-ä-lä-dzhu*, occurs the passage: "Bu-lv zhi-zaw-maṉ, Lä-bbu ä-ssi muṉ," meaning, "At the tail-end of the shepherd's trail the father of the Lä-bbu died." Now the Lä-bbu are the Min-chia of the Ta-li plain and neighborhood. *Zhi-zaw-maṉ* = the end of the road, that is, where the road from the Na-khi highlands ends and that of the plain commences.

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CHAPTER VI

The Historical Generations of the Na-khi

1. YÜEH-SUI CHAO

After the name of Ko-lai Ch'iu (Gkaw-lä Ts'ü of the Na-khi) there appears the following statement in the genealogy: 173

FIRST GENERATION. — The first ancestor was Yeh-ku-nien 葉古年. He was a Mo-so 摩梭 of the T'ang dynasty. Eleven generations previous to Yeh-ku-nien, during the Eastern Han (the land) was made the Yüeh-sui chao 越巂詔, Yüeh-sui Kingdom — *chao* meaning king. Six generations after Yeh-ku-nien it was changed to Tso-kuo chao 作國詔, and Ting-tso-hsien 定作縣 (district of Ting-tso; this included the land of the present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan). It was changed to K'un-ming 昆明 and (the ruler) promoted to K'un-ming Tsung-chün-kuan 昆明總軍官 (Commander-in-Chief of K'un-ming). To the ancestor Yeh-ku-nien in the time of T'ang Wu-te (618–626) and to the descendant Ch'iu-yang 秋陽, there were in all 17 generations.

2. TSO-KUO CHAO

Ch'iu-yang 秋陽: In the beginning of the T'ang dynasty K'un-ming was merged with Sui chou 巂州. During the reign of Kao Tsung 高宗, in the period of Shang-yüan 上元 (674–675), he became the San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 (Governor of San-tien).[1] His wife's name was Mi-chün-hsi-shu 麗均智叔.

[1] According to the introduction written by Yang Shen to the Second Chronicle, Yeh-ku-nien was a military official during the reign of T'ang Wu-te, and Ch'iu-yang took office in the period of Shang-yüan of T'ang Kao Tsung (674–675). His successor Yang-ku took office in the period of T'ien-pao of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 天寶玄宗 (742–755).

It is however stated in the Chronicle, more correctly in the introduction of Chang Chih-shun, that counting from Yeh-ku-nien to Ch'iu-yang, there were six hereditary rulers. The time which elapsed during these six rulers is only about 56 years. If the rulers represented six generations then the time is certainly insufficient. The records do not appear to be authentic; this seems to be confirmed by the statement on the memorial stone in the Mu burial ground that nothing is known about Yeh-ku-nien.

[2] In the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), Yeh-ku-nien is mentioned as Yeh-ku-cha 葉古乍. It states that he conquered the territory east of Li-chiang at the foot of the snow range, anciently called San-t'an 三壇 and which was inhabited by the savages called P'u-hsieh 僕固. The same statement occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* under the now obsolete name of T'ung-an chou 通安州 (*which see*), situated three li east of the present city of Li-chiang. Its former name was San-t'an, the P'u-hsieh-man (here written 僕固蠻) dwelled there, and Yeh-ku-nien of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) conquered the territory. *See:* Addendum page 471.

The name San-t'an is apparently identical with the Tibetan name of Li-chiang, which is Sa-tham (Na-khi, Sa-ddo). The latter is the name of the mountain god of the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Li-chiang snow range), who is also the patron spirit of the Na-khi. San-tien was east of T'ung-an chou. San-tien and San-t'an could not have been far apart and probably the two places are identical.

As to the P'u-hsieh savages mentioned at the beginning of the note the *Yün-nan T'ung-*

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173 *Yang-yin Tu-ku* 陽音都谷:[3] During the reign of Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 in the period of K'ai-yüan 開元 (713–741, actually 730) the Liu chao 六詔 (Six Kingdoms) were united into one which was called the Nan-chao Kingdom 南詔. Yang-yin Tu-ku became the San-tien Tsung-kuan, and hence turned his allegiance to the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the period of T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–755), Ko-lo-feng 閣羅鳳, King of Nan-chao, rebelled against the Imperial rule of T'ang and invaded Sui chou 巂州. Ku commanded the vanguard of the Nan-chao troops. On account of his merit in capturing Cheng Hui 鄭回,[4] district magistrate of Hsi-lu 西瀘 of

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chih, ch. 199, fol. 1a, states that "Wu Wang 武王 [of the Chou 周 dynasty, 1122–1116 B.C.] held a great assembly at Meng-chin 孟津 [in the present-day Huai-ch'ing fu 懷慶府, Ho-nan], at which men of Yung 庸, Shu 蜀, Ch'iang 羌, Mou 髳, Wei 微, Lu 盧, P'eng 彭 and P'u 濮 were present. Among these tribes were three from Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), namely the Mou, Wei and P'u. The P'u alone flourished." Later they became more and more numerous. Meng-chin (the ford of Meng) was on the Yellow river in Ho-nan. (See "The Books of Chou 周," "The Great Declaration 泰誓"; also "The Speech at Mu 牧誓." J. LEGGE, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 281, 301 respectively.) The names of the tribes here enumerated are those of the Hsi-nan-i pa-kuo ming 西南夷八國名, *i.e.*, those of the eight kingdoms of the rude tribes on the west and south.

West of the village or market-place of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai 白沙街 of the Chinese), 20 li north of Li-chiang, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range, there is a village called 'A-k'ŏ (At the foot of the cliff). Its Chinese name is Ngai-chio 岩脚, but it is now more often spoken of as An-chüeh 安覺. On the cliff behind this village, there is an inscription (approachable only with a ladder) in the shape of a seven-character poem, which states that there at the foot of the cliff was the dwelling of the sacred lords (of the Mu family 木氏) of San-tien.

This was the first settlement of the Na-khi Kings. The stone platform where their houses stood and the old pillars of a temple are still visible.

The place is called 'A-k'ŏ d'a. The Mu family had 12 *d'a* (places of residence). There is a song chanted by the old Na-khi peasants which tells of these *d'a* of their ancient chiefs. (*See*: note 155, p. 148.) The Tai words *po-na* 伯那 or *po-na* 八那 have apparently the same meaning as the Na-khi word *d'a*. The headings to the First Chronicle, as well as to the inscription on the memorial stone in the Mu family burial-ground, where the foot of the divine (exalted) Yü-lung Shan is mentioned as the *po-na* (residence) of Yang (Ch'iu-yang — Ch'iu being his father's name, Yang his own), have apparently reference to this first dwelling of the Na-khi chiefs at 'A-k'ŏ d'a, which is literally at the foot of the snow range. Ch'iu-yang, according to the Chronicle was the first ruler of San-tien, and it is very likely that 'A-k'ŏ d'a was his first place of residence.

There are two Chinese inscriptions and one in Tibetan on the cliff. The oldest dates from the 13th year of Ming Chia-ching: "Written by Mu Kao 木高, after carefully bathing and qualified to become hereditary chief of the 38th generation [he was on that date 19 years old], in the Spring, the third moon and 12th day (April 24th, 1534)."

The first sentence tells of the origin of the Mu family in the following words: *Mu-shih yüan-yüan Yüeh Han lai* 木氏淵源越漢來, "The Mu family's origin is from Yüeh [Sui] Han dynasty." (The western part of Ssu-ch'uan during the Han dynasty comprised two *Chün*, I chou 益州 and Yüeh-sui 越巂. It was from the latter that the Mu family hailed according to the inscription above mentioned.)

The second inscription, also in a seven-character poem, was written by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung 木公 of the 37th generation and is dated the 15th day of the first moon of the 15th year of Chia-ching (February 16th, 1536). It tells of the extensive forests on all sides, like evening smoke settling over the landscape. These, alas, have now disappeared.

[3] This is the Yang-ku 陽谷 of the Second Chronicle of Yang Shen's list.

[4] Cheng Hui was a native of Hsiang chou 相州 in the circuit of Ho-pei 河北道 (the present-day Ho-pei Province). He was a scholar, and the magistrate of Hsi-lu in Sui chou 巂州, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan.

After his capture, Ko-lo-feng and his son, Feng-ch'ieh-i 鳳伽異, and his grandson, I-mou-hsün, treated him like a teacher — According to the *Ta-li hsien chih kao*, ch. 11, fol. 27b.

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the T'ang dynasty, he was promoted by the Nan-chao Kingdom to the position of Tsung-tu Yüan-shuai 總督元帥 (Viceroy and Generalissimo). His wife was named A-shih A-hui 阿室阿揮 (in Na-khi, A-shi A-ḳhū). 173

Tu-ku La-chü 都谷剌具: In the 10th year of the period of T'ien-pao (751) of T'ang, the Nan-chao Kingdom defeated the Imperial army at the Hsi-erh River 西洱河, Yün-nan,[5] and invaded the office of the Governor-general of Yün-nan province. It now began to proclaim itself the Ta Meng Kuo 大蒙國 (Great Meng Kingdom). As Chü acquired much merit by joining the punitive expeditions of the Nan-chao, it was approved that he succeed his father as Viceroy and Generalissimo. His wife was named A-shih A-yao 阿室阿堯.

La-chü P'u-meng 剌具普蒙: In the first year of the period of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (785), there was newly established the office of Chieh-tu shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner), to which Meng was appointed by the Emperor in the district of Li-shui 麗水 (the present Li-chiang). His wife was named A-shih T'ieh-nü 阿室僧女.

P'u-meng P'u-wang 普蒙普王: He succeeded his father as Imperial commissioner of Li-shui. In the third year of the period of Cheng-yüan (787), I-mou-hsün 異牟尋, King of Nan-chao, submitted to the Imperial court, but secretly still had connections with the T'u-fan 吐番. The Imperial court suspected this and instructed Wang to put restrictions on them. Meanwhile, a number of T'u-fan chiefs were enticed to attend a great banquet given by Wang in their honor in the temple called the Tien-ts'ang Shan-miao 點蒼山廟[6] of Ta-li. When they were drunk, he killed them all.

In the ninth year of the period Cheng-yüan of T'ang Te Tsung (793), Wang guided the Imperial general Wei Kao 韋皐[7] with borrowed Nan-chao troops against the T'u-fan. The latter were then utterly defeated.

In the 10th year (794) Wang broke down the iron bridge at Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass). In the meantime, he captured 16 cities of the T'u-fan Kingdom and made captive its five princes. On account of the military merit achieved in this expedition, the Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Wu-hsün Kung 武勳公 (Duke of military merit). His wife was named A-shih Chieh-chieh-yü-lu-lu 阿室節節于魯祿.

This might be said to have been the most prosperous age of the Mu family.

[5] The Hsi-erh Ho is the Ta-li Lake as well as the stream entering the lake in the north, and so is the exit of the lake at Hsia-kuan 下關.

[6] This is Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen Tz'u 點蒼山神祠 (Shrine of the Spirit of the Tien-ts'ang Range). It is situated three li west of T'ai-ho hsien in Ta-li district. For a detailed account of the decapitation of the Tibetan envoys see *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, Vol. 1, ch. 3, fol. 17b; also SAINSON's translation, p. 52. It was in the shrine of the Tien-ts'ang Shan-shen (Tz'u) that I-mou-hsün swore allegiance to the T'ang empire.

[7] Wei Kao was a general in the T'ang dynasty who lived between 745–805. He ruled Ssu-ch'uan for 21 years and was constantly at war with the Tibetans. He is said to have killed 480,000 of them in battle, also 1,500 generals, and beheaded 5,000 prisoners. He was a native of Ching-chao 京兆 in Shensi: his literary name was Ch'eng-wu 城武. The *Ch'in-ting chiu T'ang shu* 欽定舊唐書, ch. 140, p. 3, states that he sent a judge by name Ts'ui Tso-shih 崔佐時 to the Nan-chao Kingdom; he reached the Man Kuo 蠻國 (country of the savages) and its capital, Yang-chü-mieh ch'eng 羊苴咩城, the present Ta-li 大理. There he met its king, I-mou-hsün, who begged him to cut off the T'u-fan.

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173 *P'u-wang La-wan* 普王躲完: He inherited his father's title of Duke of military merit; his wife was named A-shih Wei-yu-yü-lü-neng 阿室鳥由于呂能 (in Na-khi, A-shi Ghügh-yu-ō-lv-nnü).

La-wan Hsi-nei 躲完西內: In the reign of Hsien Tsung 憲宗, period Yüan-ho 元和 (806–820), the name of his kingdom was changed to Yüeh-hsi 越析, and he was appointed as its Chün-min Tsung-kuan 軍民總管 (Military and Civil governor). He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Han-nü 阿室漢女.

3. YÜEH-HSI CHAO

Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o 西內西可:[8] In the reign of Wen Tsung 文宗, period T'ai-ho 太和 (827–835), the Nan-chao Kingdom rebelled against the Imperial court, and invaded several districts in the State of Shu 蜀. Thenceforward it had no more connection with the empire. K'o still maintained his throne as King of the Yüeh-hsi chao and the title Chün-min Tsung-kuan. His wife was named A-shih P'u-mi 阿室僕羅.

From now on, it became more and more difficult to control Hsi-nei Hsi-k'o and he was therefore left to himself; the Nan-chao Kingdom merely tried to keep him in restraint.

Hsi-k'o La-t'u 西可躲土:[9] In the fourth year of I Tsung 懿宗, period Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (863), on account of merit acquired by helping the Nan-chao Kingdom to invade Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tonkin, region of Hanoi), he was appointed as Wu-hsün Kung of the Yüeh-hsi Kingdom.

In the fourth year of the period Ch'ien-ning 乾寧, of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (897), owing to the murder of the King of Nan-chao[10] by a man named Yang Teng 楊登, T'u was demoted to be Wu-hsün Hou 武勳侯 (Marquis of military merit) instead of duke.

In the first year of the period Kuang-hua 光化, of Chao Tsung 昭宗 (898), when Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞, son of Lung-shun 隆舜,[11] ascended the throne of Nan-chao, T'u was again promoted to his original position of Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Ko-nü 阿室哥女.

La-t'u O-chün 躲土俄均: In the second year of the period T'ien fu 天復, of Chao Tsung (902), Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣[12] usurped the throne of Nan-

[8] He is the ninth of Yang Shen's list and is there called Nung-k'o 農可.

[9] He is the 10th of Yang Shen's list, where he is called K'o-t'ung 可同.

[10] The King of Nan-chao who was murdered by Yang Teng was Lung-shun 隆舜. His usurped posthumous title was Hsüan Wu Ti 宣武帝. He was the 12th king of the Ta Meng Kuo (Ta Meng dynasty) of the Nan-chao Kingdom. He began his rule in 877 when he was 17 years old and changed the name of his kingdom to Ta-feng-min Kuo 大封民國. He was murdered in Yün-nan fu after ruling for 20 years.

[11] Shun-hua-cheng 舜化貞 of Nan-chao ascended the throne in 897 when he was 21 years old. In the eleventh moon of 899 he killed Yang Teng, murderer of his father, and all his family. He died in 902 leaving a little son eight months old. He was the last ruler of the house of Meng 蒙, there being 13 generations from the founder, Prince Hsi-nu-lo 細奴羅.

[12] Cheng Mai-ssu was a cruel and ambitious man. He killed Shun-hua-cheng's son and exterminated the Meng family and all its relatives. He was a Chinese, and formerly held

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chao, destroyed the Meng royal family and called his kingdom Ta-ch'ang-ho Kuo 大長和國 (Great Ch'ang-ho Kingdom). Thenceforward Chün had no more connection with the Cheng family 鄭氏. He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Hsien-lu 阿室羨魯 and gave birth to six sons, named Mou-chü 牟具, Mou-tao 牟刀, Mou-ku 牟古, Mou-tai 牟歹, Mou-lai 牟來 and Mou-t'ung 牟通. Each of them became the chief of a clan.

O-chün Mou-chü 俄均牟具: He succeeded his father as Duke of military merit. His wife was named A-shih Chü-chung 阿室具中.

Mou-chü Mou-hsi 牟具牟西: In the reign of Sung Cheng Tsung 真宗 (998–1022) his official title was changed to that of Wu-ying Hou 武英侯 (Marquis of military heroism). His wife was named A-shih-chiao 阿室交.

4. MO-SO CHAO

Mou-hsi Mou-ts'o 牟西牟磋: In the period of Chih-ho 至和 of Sung Jen Tsung 仁宗 (1054–1055) he was made the supreme chief of the Mo-so chao 摩娑詔. At that time, though the Tuan family 段氏[13] was becoming very powerful (at Ta-li), it was never able to bring Ts'o to submission. His wife was named A-shih Yü-li 阿室于里.

Mou-ts'o Mou-lo 牟磋牟樂: In the period of Cheng-ho 政和 of Sung Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1111–1117), he succeeded his father as supreme chief. His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌睦.

Mou-lo Mou-pao 牟樂牟保: Together with Tuan Cheng-ho 段正和 he bore the title of General-in-Chief. His wife's name was A-shih-nü 阿室女.

5. FROM THE SECOND TO SIXTH GENERATION

SECOND GENERATION. — *Mou-pao A-tsung* 牟保阿琮 (PLATE 12): At the age of seven he could read Chinese characters without having been taught by a teacher. When he was full-grown, he understood the languages of the different tribes, and could read the Chinese classics written by the ancient philosophers. He was therefore regarded by all his people as a man possessing supernatural powers. In addition to that, he first invented the characters of his own tribal language.[14]

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office in Ssu-ch'uan. On account of his evil deeds, he had to flee to Yün-nan, and there found employment. He secured much power under Shun-hua-cheng and became First Grand Secretary. After exterminating the Meng family (800 members), he made himself King of Nan-chao at the age of 42, in the second year of T'ien-fu in the twelfth moon (actually January, 903). He died in September, 910, after having ruled eight years.

[13] The Tuan family founded the Ta-li Kingdom, which existed from 937 to 1094 under 14 successive rulers.

[14] The Na-khi possess two types of writing, a pictographic and a syllabic (phonetic); the latter consists of more or less simple characters which the *dto-mba* (priests) call *Ggō-ba*. They resemble simple Chinese and also Lo-lo (No-su) characters, and were supposed to have been invented by the disciples of Dto-mba Shi-lo, the founder of Na-khi Shamanism (also the founder of Bön, the ancient pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet). Dto-mba Shi-lo's disciples were called Di-tz Ggō-ba. The first two syllables are of Chinese origin, viz: *ti-tzu*

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173 Once he happened to go to the Yü-lung Shan and there saw a large stone basin full of clear water. He drank of it and heard some birds singing in the clouds. He thus came to understand the language of birds and beasts. All his people were greatly surprised at his wonderful talents, so that his fame reached the ear of Tuan 段, King of Ta-li. The latter did not believe the rumours about him, but sent messengers to him and invited him to his palace. On his arrival, the king requested him earnestly to tell him the meaning of the noise of some crows which were flying about at that moment. Tsung said: "The crows say, 'There is a dead horse lying at the other side of this mountain. Let us go to eat it.'" In another moment two doves were cooing. The king asked him to interpret their meaning. He replied: "One of them said, 'There is much ripe barley growing on that hill-side. Would you like to go and feed on it?' The other replied, 'No, we cannot do so, because there are eagles nesting on the branches of the cypress trees over there.'" The king actually sent men to see whether there were really eagles, and they returned and confirmed that what Tsung had said was true. He tested him repeatedly, but he made not a single mistake, and the king began to respect him and offered him many gifts.

One day it happened that the king destroyed a swallow's nest under the eaves of his palace, and taking the young swallows, put them secretly into one of his sleeves. He pretended to enquire of Tsung why the parent swallows were making so much noise around the eaves. He answered him saying: "The swallows are blaming you, and prophesying that the reign of your royal house will soon draw to an end, and are inquiring why you do not try to build up your character, instead of destroying their nest." On hearing this, the king was displeased. Meanwhile, a certain book dropped from heaven into the sea, out of which a dragon showed its head, presenting the book hanging from one of its horns. Some men fetched the book and offered it to the king. Its contents were unintelligible to him. One of his subjects suggested that they should ask the sage Tsung to explain it. Thus he was again welcomed to the palace, and reading the book through, interpreted it as saying: "Some ten years later, Mongol soldiers will come down to Ta-li, etc." After that prophecy, Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), of the Yüan dynasty, led his troops in person to conquer Ta-li, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the heavenly book.

While Tsung was still alive, the different clans of the Mo-so royal family divided themselves into several small States, and competed with one another for supreme power. Afterwards, however, they were all overcome by his sincerity, fame and virtue, so much so that they united and paid homage to him as their only king. Hence we see Heaven really had a definite purpose in choosing this particular man to lay this foundation for their royal throne, and to hand down blessings to the obedient and virtuous descendants of their families, by first showing them his own faithfulness and benevolence.

(disciple) 弟子, *ggŏ-bɑ* (to rise to the dance). Very few *dio-mbɑ* are able to read the *Ggŏ-bɑ* script, while all can read the pictographs. The latter were invented considerably later than the *Ggŏ-bɑ* script which, it is my belief, was brought by them from their home in the far north, the grasslands of Tibet. Thus their written (syllabic) language has degenerated rather than developed. The pictographic script was developed in their present home, for the symbols used represent birds, insects, wild animals and plants, indigenous to Li-chiang or northwest Yün-nan in general.

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Later two more States, the Shan-shan Kingdom 善聞國 and Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏,[15] also acknowledged Tsung as their prophet and sage. Oh! this proves why the lineage of the Mu family is enabled to maintain its everlasting existence, and again explains to us the old saying: "The princely man can found and hand down an inheritance for hundreds and thousands of generations."

Tsung's wife was named A-shih-ch'iu 阿室秋, and was the noble daughter of the Hsien-t'ao family 萇陶氏.[16] She gave birth to one son named Liang 良, who succeeded to his father's throne.

THIRD GENERATION. — *A-tsung A-liang* 阿琮阿良 (PLATE 13): As the only son of Tsung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the first year of the reign of Li Tsung 理宗, period Pao-yu 寶祐 (1253), of the Southern Sung dynasty, Emperor Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1251–1259), of the Mongols, ordered his royal brother named Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai), later Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of China (1260–1279), to conquer Ta-li in person. Liang went to welcome the soldiers at the mouth of the La-pa River 剌巴江.[17] On account of his kind hospitality and proper courtesy to them, Kublai conferred on Liang the honorary title of Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan 茶罕章管民官 (Civil Governor of the Ch'a-han-chang [White Jang]), gave him two suits of official uniforms, one official hat made of yellow wool with a jade button embedded in gold plate on the top, and two assistants, one to precede and one to follow him. He also received an official girdle and pair of top-boots. These presents were sent to him by two official secretaries who walked in procession along the street in his honor.

[15] Under Shan-shan Kuo, Yün-nan must be understood, for Shan-shan fu was the name of the capital (the present K'un-ming) during the rule of the Nan-chao King Ch'üan-feng-yu 勸豐佑 (824–859).

Wu-ssu-tsang was the Ming dynasty designation for the present Hsi-tsang 西藏 (Tibet), whose capital is Lha-sa.

[16] Hsien-t'ao was the family name of a Mo-so chief of Pai-sha 白沙 (the Na-khi Boa-shi), who gave his daughter in marriage to Yeh-yeh (*which see*).

[17] There are two La-pa Chiang k'ou (Mouth of the La-pa River), one only 80 li distant from Li-chiang, and the other 7 stages from that city, at Yung-ning. The one mentioned in the Chronicle is at the foot of the spur on which Shih-ku 石鼓 is situated and where the La-pa Chiang debouches into the Yangtze, west of Li-chiang. This river is called La-ba gyi in Na-khi (Waters of La-ba) because the river has its source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba), and also because La-ba is the Na-khi name of Shih-ku. Besides being known as La-pa Chiang 剌巴江, the stream is also called Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 (The river which rushes into the Yangtze) by the Chinese. As the Chronicle states that Liang met the Mongol soldiers at the mouth of the La-ba River, and not Kublai Khan himself, it must be taken for granted that he went to the La-ba Stream which enters the Yangtze at Shih-ku, only one day's journey from Li-chiang. To enter Li-chiang territory proper coming from the Yen-tang region, one must cross the La-ba Stream where it debouches into the Yangtze at Shih-ku, and where an iron chain-bridge spans it. It is by this route that Wu-lan-ha-ta led his army corps. Thus it becomes fairly certain that Liang met Wu-lan-ha-ta and his soldiers at Shih-ku, and not Kublai Khan with his cavalry at Yung-ning, where is situated the other La-ba Chiang k'ou. It is not likely that Liang would go seven days from his own district to meet a doubtful foe.

The other La-pa Chiang-k'ou (mouth of the river La-pa) passes at Yung-ning through the meadow La-pa-ddü (Chinese, Jih-yüeh ho 日月和 or Union of the Sun and Moon) where Kublai camped with his army (PLATE 212). It has its source in a grassy, swampy plateau, elevation 11,600 feet, to the south of Yung-ning 永寧. The stream, as with most water-

[see p. 28 M-- Analyst]

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173 Meanwhile, they took the city of Chü-nin chou 巨津州 by storm, and at the walled village of Pan-kung-ho 半空和 he made prisoner the brigand leader A-t'a-la 阿塔剌. On account of this achievement, he was promoted to the position of Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu 茶罕章宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang). He then captured the village of Ta-ko 大各 and also participated in conquering Ta-li, where they made the powerful chief Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智 prisoner. In reward for his splendid military service, he was again promoted by the Mongols to be Vice-Commander-in-Chief of the right wing of the army of Wu-liang-ho-t'ai 兀良合台, the famous Mongol Commander-in-Chief, and was given a battle-axe and a golden tiger-head shield. Later, Wu-liang-ho-t'ai returned to Ta-li to guard that station,

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courses in China, has several names. Its source is called A-ngu; where it enters the forested valley it becomes the Bo-wu-tsu; still further north near the village of Mu-dri it becomes the Bu-llu dji and as such passes through a narrow rocky defile and flows as the La-pa Ho (La-pa dji) through the meadow where Kublai camped with his army. The exit of a stream through a defile is spoken of as a *k'ou* 口 (mouth). The stream beyond the meadow is called the Hli dji (Waters of Hli, the native name of Yung-ning), Hli dü (Land of Hli), and (on Chinese maps) the K'ai-chi Ho, from the village of K'ai-chi 開基, past which the river flows on to the Yung-ning plain. The stream receives many affluents and debouches into the Wo-lo-Ho 臥羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), which in turn flows into the Li-t'ang River 裏塘河 (*see* Geographical Part: Yung-ning).

It is precisely at the meadow of La-pa-ddü, where Kublai camped with his army, that the Yung-ning chiefs will escort visitors, and that lamas starting out on a long journey will camp, although only about two li from the Yung-ning monastery.

As to Kublai Khan's campaign and his march through Mo-so (Na-khi) land, the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History), printed in Chiang-su 江蘇 in the 13th year of T'ung-chih (1874), ch. 4, p. 1b, states that Hsien Tsung 憲宗 ordered the attack on Yün-nan. On the day 丙午 of the seventh moon of the second year (August 30, 1252) the expedition went westwards from Ma-ya 羅牙. In the eighth moon of the 3rd year (1253) the army was dispatched to camp at Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (this is the present Ti-tao on the T'ao River 洮河 in west Kan-su). The officers I-la-chu 伊拉珠 (玉律虎), Wang Chün-hou 王君侯 and Wang Chien 王鑑 were sent in advance to Ta-li (to make known the Imperial command), but they were not successful. On the day 壬寅 of the ninth moon (October 20th, 1253), the army camped at T'a-la 塔拉 (the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 上, fol. 44a, calls it T'e-la 忒剌), and thence they separated, going by three different routes. Wu-lan-ha-ta 烏蘭哈達 (兀良合帶), led the army corps of the west, following the Yen-tang 晏當 road; Prince Ch'a-han-i-chao-erh 察罕伊兆爾 (抄合也只烈) conducted the army of the east by way of the land of the Pai-man 白蠻; the Imperial brother led by the middle route. The Li-chiang Records state, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 35b, that the ancient Yen-tang was outside the western border of Li-chiang in uncontrolled territory. T'e-lieh 忒列 was within the land of the T'u-fan. The land of the Pai-man is the present-day Yao-an fu 姚安府, which is north of Chen-nan 鎮南 and seven and a half stages west of K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

Hu-pi-lieh's cavalry came by Yüeh-sui and crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) in the Pei-sheng 北勝 district (to which Yung-ning belongs).

On the day 乙[illegible] of the ninth moon (October 23rd) the Mongols arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 蠻陀城, where they left their baggage and chariots. On the day 丙午 of the tenth moon (October 24th), they crossed the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河 and marched over mountains and through valleys for over 2,000 li, until they arrived on the Chin-sha Chiang. On inflated skins and rafts they crossed to Mo-so (territory). The chief of the Man came to welcome them and made his submission (their land was north of Ta-li, over 400 li distant). On the day 辛卯 of the eleventh moon (December 8th, 1253) Hu-pi-lieh sent I-la-chu 伊拉珠 and two other envoys to Ta-li. They were killed by Tuan Hsing-chih 段興智, the Nan-chao King. On the day 丁酉 (December 14th), the army arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭寨 in the land of the Pai-man 白蠻, whose military chief came forth to submit. His nephew resisted,

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while Liang went back to the Mo-so Kingdom to rule as its king. Again, His Majesty the Emperor presented him with the following words of praise: *T'ien-mu-cheng-chi* 添睦貞吉 (Increase of peace and happiness). After wards he took by storm the T'ieh ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) and Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.[18]

In the period Chih-yüan 至元 of Yün Shih Tsu 世祖 (1264–1294), the Emperor gave Liang a silver seal weighing 48 taels, which authorized his appointment to the office of T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 (Field-Marshal in command of Armies of all routes). The territories under his control were named Yüeh-hsi Chün 越析郡, Po-hsing fu 伯興府, Yung-ning fu 永寧府, Pei-sheng fu 北勝府, Lang-ch'ü chou 浪渠州, Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯,

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and they captured and killed him, but did not molest the people. On December 17th (1253) they camped at San-tien 三甸 (Li-chiang) (*see* pp. 391–393).

On December 18th the Pai-man brought presents. On the day 丙辰 of the twelfth moon (January 2nd, 1254) the army besieged the city of Ta-li.

The Pai-man mentioned here are in all probability the Mo-so, and Pai-man is a translation of the Mongol Cha-han-chang (White Jang), or, perhaps, the Pai-lan-man (White Wolf savages), after whom the Li-chiang territory was once called. The Pai-man Ta-kuo chai 打郭寨 was in Na-khi territory and is undoubtedly identical with the present-day Ta-ku 打鼓, a group of villages on a small plain on the Yangtze, two days north of Li-chiang. This would also tally with the time it took the Mongol army to reach San-tien. They arrived at Ta-kuo-chai on December 14th, and were camping at San-tien on December 17th, allowing from the 15th to the 17th to reach there. Certainly the Pai-man of Yao-an are not meant here.

As to the place where Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze, the *Yüan Shih*, ch. 61, fol. 7a, has the following to say: "Pao-shan (La-pao) is east of the snow range (Yü-lung Shan); the Li Chiang (Li River = Yangtze) comes from the west and encircles it on three sides (it is within the Yangtze loop) like a girdle. In ancient days the Mo-so-man dwelt there; the first Mo-so came from Lou-t'ou 樓頭 (Lü dü = Yung-ning, *which see*), they had dwelt at Pao-shan for twenty generations (at the time of the Mongol invasion). When Shih Tsu 世祖 was engaged on his expedition against the Ta-li Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭, and passed by Lo-pang 羅邦; he arrived at the villages of Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺闍 and Ta-kuei 大匱. All these places came under the sub-district of Pao-shan 寶山. The headmen of these four places submitted to Kublai Khan, who called their villages Cha-han-hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of [the period] Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) the seven places of Ta-kuei became the Pao-shan hsien 寶山縣 (magistracy of Pao-shan)."

The ancient Pao-shan, according to the Li-chiang Records, was 240 li east of the present city of Li-chiang (north-east is correct). It was in the western part of the Chün of Yüeh-sui of the Han dynasty. In the Latter Han it belonged to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and in the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by the Mo-so-man 麼些蠻. According to the map in the second volume of the Li-chiang Records, ch. 2, fols. 2b–3a, Pao-shan is within the Yangtze loop and comprises the region between the present Feng-k'ou and La-bpu (La-pao 喇寶), colloquially called La-po in Na-khi. According to this, Kublai Khan crossed the Yangtze coming from Yung-ning at the place where the Yangtze is still crossed, namely at what is now called Feng-k'o 俸可 (*see* Geographical Part, p. 238). The name Lo-pang apparently represents the Na-khi La-bpu or La-po; Lo-ssu-wei is probably Lv-tso-lo; and the Pien-t'ou is P'u-dyu, where one crosses from Yung-ning to Feng-k'o, another name for P'u-dyu being Law-k'a-khi-llü. Ta-kuei was a small place where, during the T'ang dynasty, seven brothers of the Mo-so man had settled.

[18] According to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 42b, Hua-ma Kuo, was the district of Chü-chin chou, and it was there that Emperor Shih Tsu (Kublai) had his outposts.

In Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b, the Li-chiang Records speak of a Hua-ma Shan 花馬山. This mountain is situated 350 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern border of the

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173 Pai-lang 白狼, P'an-mu 槃木, I-liao 夷獠, etc. As to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府,[19] it had been brought under the control of his Mo-so Kingdom for many generations beginning with the T'ang dynasty, therefore it is not mentioned here.

Since the 11th year of the Chih-yüan period (1274) Liang had repeatedly received Imperial mandates conferring on him various degrees of honor and the dragon-design medal. His Majesty the Emperor also conferred on him the honorary title of Chin-tzu-kuang-lu ta-fu 金紫光祿大夫 (Minister of the Imperial court in the principal first official rank), and the additional honorary title of T'ung-chün-ssu 統軍司 (Field-Marshal), together with the right to use the same ceremonies as the three chief commissioners of the whole province. His wife was named A-shih Yü-hsien 阿室于先, and was the daughter of Kan-lo-mu-t'u 干羅木土 (perhaps a descendant of Kan-lo-mu-tu, *see* p. 73). On her was conferred the honorary title of Kuo fu-jen 國夫人 (Wife of the official of the principal first rank). She gave birth to three sons, named Hu 胡, Chieh 節 and Nai 耐. The eldest son, A-hu, succeeded to his father's throne.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-liang A-hu* 阿良阿胡 (PLATE 14)[1]: As the eldest son of Liang, he succeeded his father as Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) he was appointed as Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan and assumed the hereditary office of Vice-Commander-in-Chief. In the first year of the period Yüan-cheng 元貞, of the reign of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (1295), the Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor and the distinguished dragon-design medal, together with the honorary titles of Cheng-feng ta-fu 正奉大夫 and Hu-chün Hsüan-wei-ssu 護軍宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of military affairs). His wife was named A-shih La-mu 阿室剌母, the daughter of Ho-hui Ho-mi 和揮和迷 of the Hsien-t'ao family 莧陶氏

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ancient Chü-chin chou. On the cliff there is a rock of variegated colors in the shape of a horse. Anciently the Mo-so Kingdom called itself Hua-ma Kuo from the piebald stone on the cliff. In the First Chronicle it is called 華 Hua-ma Kuo. The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih*, Vol. 上, fol. 1b, column 2 relates that Yüeh-hsi chao was established by Po-ch'ung 波衝 and was also called Mo-so chao and Hua-ma Kuo. This was during the reign of T'ang Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (713–755). Po-ch'ung must have been the predecessor of Yang-yin Tu-ku 陽晉都谷, for the latter was the first San-tien Tsung-kuan 三甸總管 in the Six kingdoms (Liu chao 六詔), and the six chao were only united after the murder of Po-ch'ung by the violent chieftain Chang Hsün-ch'iu 張尋求; this was in 738, the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元. There is still in existence a village called T'a-dza in Na-khi and T'a-ch'eng 塔城 in Chinese, both meaning "pagoda city." This T'a-dza was the walled city (*dzo* = a wall) of Hua-ma Kuo.

[19] Of the above-mentioned places, Yüeh-hsi is Li-chiang; at the end of the period of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (755) it was captured by the Tibetans. Afterwards it belonged to Nan-chao. During the Mongol dynasty (1277) it became Yen-ching 鹽井 (Salt-well) of Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in south-west Ssu-ch'uan. Po-hsing fu, also written 柏興 and 柏興府, where the Mo-so once dwelled, was the Ting-tso hsien 定作縣 of the Han dynasty, governed by Yüeh-sui. Yung-ning is north-east of Li-chiang to the north-east of the Yangtze loop; Pei-sheng fu is the district and city of Yung-pei 永北, now called Yung-sheng 永勝; Lang-ch'ü chou is between Yung-sheng and Yung-ning, a territory still ruled by a Mo-so (Na-khi) chief. Lo-lo-ssu was ruled by a military commissioner, and was in Chien-ch'ang 建昌 (Hsi-ch'ang) in Ssu-ch'uan; the Pai-lang and P'an-mu were tribes who were later ruled by the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang), the Pai-lang belonging with their land to Li-chiang territory according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 下, ch. 5, fol. 6oa; while the P'an-mu dwelled west of Mou chou 茂州 in north-west Ssu-ch'uan. Ho-ch'ing is a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang. 1 [see p. 28 N-- Analyst]

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(local chiefs of Pai-sha). On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen 郡夫人. She gave birth to one son, named A-lieh 阿烈, who succeeded to his father's throne. His second wife gave birth to one son named A-chi 阿吉. 173

FIFTH GENERATION. — *A-hu A-lieh* 阿胡阿烈 (PLATE 15): As the elder son of Hu, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 13th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347)[20] there was established in his kingdom the new office of Li-chiang Lu Chün-min Tsung-kuan fu 麗江路軍民總管府. Under this authority he controlled one fu-city called Pei-sheng 北勝; seven chou cities called T'ung-an 通安, Chü-chin 巨津, Pao-shan 寶山,[21] Lan chou 蘭州,[22] Yung-ning 永寧, Lang-ch'ü 蒗蕖 and Shun chou 順州;[23] and one hsien city called Lin-hsi 臨西.[24]

In the 15th year of the same emperor (1349) (actually 8th year of the period Chih-cheng 至正), he appointed his brother A-chi 阿吉 as Chü-tien Chün-min kuan min-kuan 巨甸軍民管民官 and An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Governor of military and civil affairs, and Chieftain of the frontier lands) of the place called Chü-tien 巨甸.

On Lieh the Emperor conferred various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, and the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 and Ch'ing ch'e tu-yü Tsung-kuan-fu 輕車都尉總管府 (Governor of the fu-magistracy of the sixth order of nobility). His wife was named A-shih Chang-meng-a-chia 阿室丈蒙阿加, daughter of La-pa La-t'u 剌巴剌土. On her was conferred the honorary title of Chün fu-jen. She gave birth to one son named A-chia 阿甲, who succeeded to his father's throne.

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[20] The period Chih-yüan lasted only to 1340, but the succeeding period, Chih-cheng 至正, of the same Emperor, has been ignored and Chih-yüan continued by the writer of the two Chronicles.

[21] Pao-shan was north-east of Li-chiang and north-east of the present Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 (Mba-yi-wùa in Na-khi); it is 240 li from Li-chiang and is the present La-pao. It is a district of many villages, among the mountains of the Yangtze loop and on the west bank of the Yangtze, where a large village is situated called La-bpu 'a-k'o. The village of T'o-k'ŏ-shĕr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese) belongs to the La-pao district — the Na-khi name means "Long foot of the pine," because there is a large pine grove on a high hill; and the Chinese name means "Long pine flat." North of La-pao the Yangtze flows through a terrific gorge, a tremendous rock defile called Gv-ho-gu. In the rock of the cliff west of it which forms the T'ai-tzu Kuan (*q.v.*), the Mu family is said to have carved the following characters, 剌寶太子關手伸摩得天 *La-pao t'ai-tzu kuan shou-shen mo-le t'ien* = [On] the La-pao pass of the heir apparent, the raised hand may feel Heaven.

[22] Lan chou is the present-day Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, west of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, 360 li south-west of Li-chiang.

[23] Shun chou is 120 li west of Yung-sheng 永勝 and east of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty it was a dependency of Ho-ch'ing. It was called Niu-t'an 牛賧 during the T'ang.

[24] The obsolete Lin-hsi was north-west of the secondary prefecture of Chü-chin. The latter was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. On a map published during the Ming dynasty in 1643 Lin-hsi is placed north of the T'ieh ch'iao (Iron bridge), which itself was 130 li north of Chü-chin. Lin-hsi was a hsien-city 460 li from Li-chiang and was inhabited entirely by Na-khi. In the 15th year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1382) Lin hsi was ruled by Li-chiang, and later came under Wei-hsi 維西.

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1173 After careful examination, we learn that when A-tsung A-liang became Ch'a-han-chang Kuan-min-kuan, it was the fourth year of Yüan Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1254). In the fourth year of the period Chung-t'ung 中統 of Emperor Shih Tsu (1263) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-wei-ssu. In the ninth year, period Chih-yüan (1272), the Emperor conferred on him a silver seal, and appointed him T'i-t'iao chu-lu T'ung-chün-ssu 提調諸路統軍司 Field Marshal in command of All Routes of the Armies.

A-liang A-hu became Ch'a-han-chang, and succeeded his father as hereditary Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Vice-Commander-in-Chief), and in the 25th year of the same reign (1288) he became Ch'a-han-chang Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the Ch'a-han-chang).

In the first year of Ch'eng Tsung 成宗, period Ta-te 大德 (1297), the interior of China was in a disturbed condition. At that time Liang Wang 梁王, a prince of the Yüan dynasty, became ruler of Shan-shan 繕嶼 [25] and divided his territory with another ruler named Tuan Kuang 段光.[26] Prince Liang also invaded two other States called Ch'ieh-hsi-t'ai 且西台 and Yao-yüeh-ssu 遙越駟.

During the reign of T'ai Ting Ti 泰定帝 (1324–1328), on account of bad communications and natural barriers, we cannot secure much historical information about A-hu A-lieh. However, we know that in the eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan 至元 (1342), he became Pacification commissioner of the Ch'a-han-chang.

From the ninth year of Shih Tsu 世祖, period Chih-yüan (1272), to the 13th year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1347), were only 67 years,[27] and there had ruled in China ten emperors of the Yüan dynasty, but during that period the Mu family had only descended three generations.

The eighth year of Shun Ti 順帝, period Chih-yüan (1342), was the second year of the period Chih-cheng 至正 (1342). The 13th year of Chih-yüan (1347) was the seventh year of Chih-cheng (1347) (*see* note 20 on p. 97).

With regard to the official ranks mentioned, according to the system of the Yüan dynasty, Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 宣慰使司 (Pacification commissioner) was equal to the secondary second rank. Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 [Chieftain of the (Yün-nan) frontier tribes] and the Vice-Chieftain were each equal to the principal third rank. An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Chieftain of the [Yün-nan] frontier tribes — similar to the above-mentioned Hsüan-fu-ssu) was equal to the same rank. Chu-lu Tsung-kuan-fu 諸路總管府 (fu-governor of the various dis-

[25] Liang Wang was King (*Wang*) of Yün-nan; his full name was Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. He was the descendant of the fifth son of Kublai Khan, who was called Hu-ko-ch'ih 忽哥赤 and was King of Yün-nan. Shan-shan 鄯闡 is the present K'un-ming. The first character for Shan is wrong and so is the one on page 93.

[26] Tuan Kuang was ruler of western Yün-nan. He was the ninth hereditary governor of Ta-li fu. He took office in 1333 and divided his territory with Prince Liang in 1334. The latter attacked him in 1335 at Ting-hsi ling 定西嶺. This is a high mountain pass between Chao chou 趙州 and Hung-ngai 紅崖 on the K'un-ming Ta-li road and was then called K'un-mi Shan 昆彌山. Liang was defeated and afterwards bribed Tuan's cook who poisoned his master in 1345.

[27] The chronicle says 67 years had elapsed between the ninth year of Shih Tsu and the 13th year of Shun Ti, but actually 75 years had elapsed between those two dates.

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tricts) was equal to the secondary third rank. The offices of Chih-chou 知州 and Shang-chou 上州 (Magistrate of a chou-city) were each equal to the secondary fourth rank. The above references are given for clear understanding.

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SIXTH GENERATION. — *A-lieh A-chia* 阿烈阿甲 (PLATE 16): He was also named Yüan Te 元德 and, as the eldest son of Lieh, succeeded to his father's throne. In the 22nd year of Shun Ti (Chih-yüan) (1356) (actually the 16th year of Chih-cheng), the fu-magistracy was abolished, and the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu was established in its stead. It was later changed into the office of the magistracy of T'ung-an chou. The Emperor conferred on him various degrees of honor, the dragon-design medal, the honorary title of Ch'ao-ch'ing ta-fu Ch'i-tu-yü 朝請大夫騎都尉 (Minister of the Imperial audience, and the seventh order of nobility), and appointed him as Chief magistrate of the chou-city, with the addition of the principal third rank. His wife was named A-shih-yüan 阿室圓 (also, Chü-mu 佉母). She was the daughter of A-tu 阿都, Yu-ch'eng 右丞 (Junior deputy) of the Mongol family Hu-i-p'u-tu 胡以普都 of Chien-ch'uan 劍川.[28] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to four sons, named A-te 阿得, A-chü 阿佉, A-ya 阿牙 and A-chien 阿見. His second wife gave birth to three sons, named A-ts'ung 阿從, A-tai 阿歹 and A-ch'ang 阿昌. The eldest son, A-te, succeeded to his father's throne.

[The graves of the different ancestors of the 21 generations mentioned above are all located on the Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山 (Jade dragon Mountain). Twice a year, in the winter and summer, the Mu family still offers sacrifices to them, in accordance with traditional custom. As to the graves of the different ancestors of the following seven generations, it built temples to them, and still regularly offers sacrifices to them.]

6. FROM THE SEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH GENERATION

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-chia A-te* 阿甲阿得 (PLATE 17): He was the magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Te 木得, he was also named Tzu-jan 自然 and Heng-chung 恆忠. He was the eldest son of Chia. In the last reign of the Yüan dynasty, he became Chih-chou 知州 (Magistrate) of the chou-city of T'ung-an and later he was promoted to the position of Li-chiang Hsüan-fu-ssu fu-shih 麗江宣撫司副使 (Vice-Chieftain of the district of Li-chiang).

In the 15th year of Ming Hung-wu (1382) the Celestial army (Chinese army) came to the southern part of China, and conquered Ta-li and many other cities. Te was the first to lead his troops to swear allegiance to Fu Yu-te 傅友德, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern expedition, Ying-kuo Kung 潁國公 (Duke of Ying-kuo), and T'ai-tzu T'ai-shih 太子太師 (Grand preceptor to the Heir Apparent). Fu and other military leaders made a report to the Emperor on behalf of Te. His Majesty was so pleased that he conferred on him the surname Mu 木, and ordered him to work together with Fu at headquarters, waiting for suitable appointments.

[28] Chien-ch'uan 劍川 is a walled city between Ta-li and Li-chiang. It is 210 li from Ta-li.

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1173 I append here the Imperial decree of Hung-wu conferring on A-te the surname Mu, according to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*:

"Through the protection of God, the manifestation of the supernatural forces of the seas and mountains, and the many virtues of my ancestors, fifteen years have peacefully elapsed since my accession to the Throne, and almost all lands of the world have come within the Imperial map. But the different barbarians of the South-west, deceived by Liang Wang [29] of Yün-nan, and relying upon the altitude of their native place and the remoteness of their land from my throne, disobeyed my Imperial orders and instructions. For this reason I especially ordered Fu Yu-te, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern punitive expedition 征南將軍, and marquis of Ying-ch'uan 潁川; Lan Yü 藍玉, Assistant Commander-in-Chief 副將軍, and marquis of Yung-ch'ang 永昌侯; and Mu Ying 沐英, marquis of Hsi-p'ing, to lead 300,000 mail-clad soldiers — the cavalry and infantry advancing all together — to punish them for insubordination. No sooner did the Imperial army reach their land than the chief criminals were captured. As you, A-te, Native official of Li-chiang, were the first to lead his followers to submit as an example to the barbarians, your loyalty to me was clearly established.

"Moreover I appreciate your learning as expressed in the memorial submitted by you through your envoy some time ago. Thus I confer upon you the surname Mu, and order you to listen to General Fu in so far as he may propose to give you an official position, and to lead you in the accomplishing of meritorious acts in the future, so that you may gain glory for yourself.

"Be careful enough not to forget what I have said, forever.

"In the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382)."

In the 16th year of the same period (1383), Fu instructed Mu Te to re-establish Li-chiang as a fu-city, and appointed him as its magistrate. In the second moon of the same year (March, 1383), he joined the army of the Southern expedition, and helped the Commander-in-Chief to conquer the village of Fu-kuang-chai 佛光寨 [30] where the Junior prefect P'u Yen-tu 普顏篤, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, burned himself to death.

In the third moon (April, 1383), the great chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan tribes 西番 intended to lead his troops to capture the region of Pai-lang-ts'ang 白浪滄 [31] in the district of Li-chiang. Te ordered his eldest son, A-ch'u 阿初, to lead his own troops against them, and force them to retreat. In the eighth moon (September), Te attacked Pei-sheng fu 北勝府 and made captive its native chief, the usurping P'ing-chang 平章 (Controller), Kao

[29] The Liang Wang 梁王 was a descendant of the fifth son of Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan), Pa-tsa-la-wa-erh-mi 把匝剌瓦爾密. The Yüan emperors bestowed on him the title King Liang of Yün-nan. When he was pursued by the Ming forces he fled to Chin-ning chou 晉寧州 to the village of Hu-na-chai 忽納寨 where he burnt his Imperial robes and drove his wife and children into the Lake of Yün-nan (Tien Ch'ih 滇池) to die. Liang himself then jumped into the lake. After the prince's death, the senior and junior deputies Ta Ti 達的 and Lü Erh 闾兒 hanged themselves.

[30] Fu-kuang-chai is 30 li north of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川 or 20 li east of Ta-li Lang-k'ung (ch'iung) hsien 大理浪穹縣, the present-day Erh-yüan 洱源.

[31] Pai-lang-ts'ang is the Na-khi Bā-lā-ts'o in the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) under Li-chiang (*vide* origin of Yeh-yeh, p. 71, note 8; p. 72).

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Sheng-hsün 高生尊, descendant of Kao Ta-hui 高大惠.[22] Later Kao Sheng-hsün was killed by the I 夷 (Lo-lo), who offered his head to Te. Pei-sheng fu was thereafter changed into four chou-cities. Again, by joining the army of the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, and under the service of Commander Tung 董指揮, Te succeeded in capturing Shih-men Kuan 石門關 (Stone-gate Pass), T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron bridge city), and many other places. His military exploits on this expedition were made known to the Emperor by a special report. In the ninth moon (September–October) Te was summoned to the Imperial court to an audience with the Emperor, and to pay tribute. Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (Hung-wu) was so pleased with his military services that he conferred on him Imperial letters patent, appointing him as hereditary T'u-kuan chih-fu 土官知府 (Hereditary native magistrate) of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and giving him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫, with orders to safely defend Shih-men Kuan, and to resist the advance of the Fan-ta 番韃 (Nomads). A complete set of official uniforms, made of coloured satin and embroidered with golden flowers, was given him; also a golden-flowered belt with four Chinese characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), engraved on the central badge, six silver ingots, and a silver medal designed with the character *Ling* 令 and weighing 20 taels.

In the 17th year of the same period (1384), Te ordered his son, A-ch'u, to attack and capture the Tao-k'ou 刀寇 (Knife brigands). He was so victorious in this expedition that the Emperor rewarded him with many silver ingots. In the 19th year (1386), A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chü-chin 巨津, rebelled against the Imperial rule by attacking Stone-gate Pass and other villages. Te and A-ch'u led their troops to join the expedition of Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, Marquis of Chi-an 吉安侯, and succeeded in capturing the villages of Stone-gate Pass, as well as the place called Meng-ku-ho 蒙古和. A-nu-ts'ung then fled with his men to the Hsi-fan. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December, 1386–January, 1387), the brigand leader returned to Chü-chin chou. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), he was captured alive, and was brought a prisoner to the headquarters of Commander-in-Chief Fu and there executed.

Te was born in the fourth year of the reign of Yüan Wu Tsung 武宗 (Chih-ta 至大) (1311), and died on the 6th day of the tenth moon of the 23rd year of Ming Hung-wu (November 11th, 1390). His wife was named A-shih-she 阿室社, daughter of Ho Lüeh-ko 和署哥 (the Second Chronicle gives the name Ho Lüeh-k'o 可), Chao-mo 照磨 (Commissary of records) of San-pi-ts'un 三必村. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人. She gave birth to three sons, named Ch'u 初, K'uei 虧 and Ssu 寺. His second wife, A-shih-mi 阿室彌, gave birth to one son, named Ch'i 七. His eldest son, A-ch'u, succeeded to his throne.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *A-te A-ch'u* 阿得阿初 (PLATE 18): Native magistrate of the fu-city. His official name was Mu Ch'u 木初, and he was also named Ch'i-yüan 啓元 and Shih-ch'un 始春. As the eldest son of Te, he suc-

[22] Kao Ta-hui was governor of the commandery Shan-chü 鄯巨郡 which was the later Pei-sheng and the present Yung-sheng 永勝.

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173 ceeded to his father's throne. Before his succession to the throne, in the 16th year of Ming Hung-wu (1383), on account of his merit in defeating Chief Pu-chieh 卜刼 of the Hsi-fan, Commander-in-Chief Fu, Duke of Ying-kuo, proposed to the emperor to appoint him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men. In the second tenth moon (November–December) of the 17th year of the same period (1384), the proposal was approved by the Imperial Board of Civil Office, which issued a dispatch bearing the character *Chung* 忠, No. 3, appointing him as Assistant-leader of 1,000 men, together with the additional duty of Leader of 100 families, as a test. In the eleventh moon (December, 1384–January, 1385) he entered on his duties.

In the twelfth moon (January, 1385), the native magistrate of Pao-shan chou 寶山州 became recalcitrant. Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station, and settled the trouble by means of skilful strategem, capturing many stockaded villages in the mountains of that district, and restoring the people to their peaceful pursuits. Later in the same year, La-mi-ju-chi 剌密如吉, the native magistrate, again occupied the mountain districts, starting a new rebellion. Ch'u led his troops thither to attack them and the aforesaid districts were again recovered. The captives taken and the brigands killed in that fight numbered more than 20. In the 20th year of the same period (1387), Yang-nu 楊奴, native magistrate of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川, and others were guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u hastened there with government troops to punish them, and made them all prisoners. In the eighth moon (September–October) of the same year, the usurping Commander-in-Chief, Pao-chu 保朱 [33] of Chien-ch'uan, was also guilty of misdeeds. Ch'u proceeded with the Military governor Cheng Hsiang 鄭祥 of Ta-li military station, succeeded in capturing Pao-chu, and then put him to death.

In the third moon of the 21st year of Hung-wu (April, 1388), Ch'u led his native troops to join the army of the Commander-in-Chief Mu Chao-ching Ying 沐昭靖英,[34] Prince of Ch'ien-ning 黔寧王 and Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯, and attacked the two cities of Ching-tung 景東 [35] and Ting-pien hsien 定邊縣.[36] He then captured these two cities, killed the powerful leaders of the Po-i savages 伯夷蠻,[37] took and executed many prisoners, such as Tao Ssu-lang 刀斯浪, etc.

In the 24th year of Hung-wu (1391), Ch'u received an official dispatch bearing the character *Ting* 定, No. 504, from the office of the Military governor

[33] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the name is written Chu-pao 朱保. He usurped the rank of Yüan-shuai 元帥.

[34] This is the Mu Ying who was given the posthumous title of King of Ch'ien-ning and the appellation of Chao-ching 昭靖 (Glorious and peaceful). As the titles given were retroactive they are used here as if he bore them while alive.

[35] Ching-tung is a town on the Black River the upper part of which is known as the Chung-ch'uan Ho (*q.v.*), 10 stages south of Hsia-kuan and Ta-li, in south central Yün-nan.

[36] Ting-pien hsien is south of Meng-hua 蒙化 and is the present Nan-chien 南澗. It is situated at the confluence of the Meng-hua and Nan-chien Streams, the Meng-hua Ho 蒙化河 being the Red River. Nan-chien is really situated on the north bank of the Nan-chien Ho. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of the P'u-lo-man 濮落蠻.

[37] The Pa-i, Shan or Tai, who inhabit southern Yün-nan, are meant here.

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of the Right army 右軍都督, informing him that his hereditary right had been confirmed and duly approved by the Emperor. On the 18th day of the fifth moon (June 20th) he assumed his official position, succeeding his father. In the eleventh moon (November–December), he went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the second moon of the 25th year of the same period (February 23rd–March 23rd, 1392), he was given Imperial letters patent bearing the character *Chia* 甲, No. 697, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy. He was then rewarded by the Emperor with many rich gifts and sent back in honor. 173

In the ninth moon (September 17th–October 16th) of the same year, by serving under the Military governor Feng Ch'eng 馮勝, he captured Yung-ning chou 永寧州[38] and took by storm Pai-chiao 白交[39] and other villages adjacent to the border of Lang-ch'ü 浪渠.[40] He then forced the brigands to retreat, captured their leader, Pu-pa-ju-chia 卜八如甲, and forced the headman La-t'a 剌塔 of the village of Shui-chai 水寨 to submit with his people. In the 26th year of the same period (1393), Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 of the La-ma family 剌馬氏,[41] native magistrate of the Salt-well Sub-military station of Tso-so 左所 in Ssu-ch'uan, conspired to start a rebellion. Ch'u and the Military Governor Ho Fu 何福,[42] Marquis of Ning-yüan 寧遠侯, were both in reserve to help the government troops. In the first moon of the 27th year of the same period (February, 1394), the rebel Chia-ha-la of Tso-so invaded the two cities of Pei-sheng and Lang-ch'ü. Ch'u helped Mu Ch'un 沐春,[43] Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, by leading his troops thither, and recovered these two cities. They then established the Lan-ts'ang military

[38] Yung-ning is the present semi-independent magistracy north-east of Li-chiang and the Yangtze.

[39] Pai-chiao is the present Pai-chiao pa 白交壩, or Pai-chio pa 白角壩, which adjoins Yung-ning territory.

[40] Lang-ch'ü chou is south of Yung-ning and west of the Wo-lo Ho (River) about half-way between Yung-ning and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei 永北). It is the Ning-lang 寧蒗 of to-day; *see* Chap. VII, p. 429.

[41] La is the family name of the present ruling T'u-ssu 土司 (chief) of the Tso-so 左所 country east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan. The La family is of the Mo-so tribe but most of its subjects are Lo-lo. Tso-so land is separated from Yung-ning territory partly by the Yung-ning Lake, known to the Na-khi as La-t'a Ḳhū. The main village of Tso-so, where the chief's yamen is situated, is called To-shi (To-she-chai 多舍寨). La-t'a was a native of Tso-so territory and its headman. He had a son called La-ma-fei 喇馬非 who paid tribute, whereupon he was given the title of Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶 (Assistant chiliarch). According to the *Ming-Shih* Chia-ha-la's territory was Po-hsing 柏興, the present Yen-yüan hsien; he was the native chief of the Mo-so tung or cave (dwelling) Mo-so. (*See* also Part VI, Ch. II. 6, Tso-so, page 463.)

[42] Ho Fu was a native of Feng-yang 鳳陽 in An-hui. He came, together with Fu Yu-te, to attack Yün-nan.

[43] He was the son of Mu Ying who died in the 25th year of Hung-wu, the sixth moon and *ting-mao* 丁卯 day (July 7th, 1392). Mu Ch'un 沐春 inherited the rank of Chen-shou 鎮守 (Guardian) of Yün-nan. (*Chen-shou* was the title of a Tartar General). He ruled the *Chen* (Principality) for seven years and died at the age of 36.

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113 station 瀾滄衛 for the purposes of defence In the same year, Ch'u joined the military expedition of the Military governor Ch'ü Neng 瞿能, and succeeded in pacifying the rebels. Later he transported military provisions to the Salt-well military station.[44] In the eleventh moon (December) of the same year, Pa-t'a-kan 八塔干, Ho-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-headman)[45] of Lan chou 蘭州, became recalcitrant and unruly. Ch'u led his own troops to fight him; he captured and killed more than 100 brigands, and restored the tribes to their peaceful pursuits.

In the ninth moon of the 30th year of Hung-wu (September 22nd–October 20th, 1397), Ch'u went with General Li of Ta-li military station to attack Ko-shih 革石,[46] A-nao-wa 阿惱瓦, and a few other villages. They captured the rebel bandits and made the pretending P'ing-chang 平章, Chia-ha-la, prisoner. In the eleventh moon (November–December), there was newly established the Government of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang, to which an official seal, character *I* 以, No. 87, was issued by the Imperial court. This government was intended by the Imperial order to safeguard the village of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, to check the advance of the Hsi-fan, to arrange all things to fit the circumstances, and to embody all matters in one unit, in order that national prestige might be enhanced. In the ninth moon of the 31st year of the same period (October, 1398), Ch'u helped the Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'un 沐春, General of punitive expeditions, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing 西平侯 and Duke of Hui-hsiang 惠襄公, to attack the Po-i 伯夷. They besieged the city of Lu-ch'uan 瀘川,[47] and made the brigand leader Tao-kan-meng 刀幹孟 prisoner [a native chief of Lu-ch'uan and P'ing-mien 平緬 who had rebelled and ousted Ssu-lün-fa 思倫發, the Hsüan-wei-shih of Lu-ch'uan. His territory was in P'iao-t'an 麃睒 (name for the eastern part of Burma)]. When he returned from this expedition, he was given many silver ingots and other rich gifts by the provincial authorities. In the 35th year of the same period (1402)-[48] he sent his eldest son, A-t'u 阿土, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor, who gave him also many silver ingots and sent him back honored.

In the second year of Ming Yung-lo (1404) Ch'u led his troops to Chü-chin

[44] Yen-ching wei 鹽井衛 (Salt-well military station) corresponds to the sub-prefecture of Yen-yüan 鹽源, which in turn is dependent on the prefecture of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan) in Ssu-ch'uan.

[45] A *Ho-t'ou* is a small village official, lower than a headman. The name *ho-t'ou*, which actually means a scullion, has also reference to his entertaining any official who may come to the village.

[46] The name of the village is Ko-shih, not Tsin-ko-che as CHAVANNES gives the name in the translation of the Second Chronicle. The word *tsin* (*chin* 進) here means to advance (they advanced on Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Na-khi A-na-wùa). These villages are in Tso-so and Mu-li 木裏 territories respectively.

[47] Lu-ch'uan is the present-day Lung-ch'uan 隴川, 140 li south-west of T'eng-yüeh 騰越, the present T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝. It is called Mong-wan in Shan, and is situated on the Nam-wan River; in Chinese its name is Nan-wan Ho 南畹河. According to the *Ta-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 498, fol. 2b, Lung-ch'uan belonged to Burma during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619), and later reverted to China. The Pai-man 白蠻 (Pa-i or Shan) dwell there.

[48] This should read the fourth year of Chien-wen 建文 of Hui Ti 惠帝 (1402), for T'ai Tsu (Hung-wu) died on the 24 of June, 1398.

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chou 巨津州 and relieved A-chi 阿哉, native magistrate of that city, from the siege of the Hsi-fan brigands, whose chief, A-niang-yün 阿娘匀, was forced to retreat with his men. Many other officials and people who had been taken captive by these brigands were thus released. In the fourth moon of the third year of the same period (May, 1405), he ordered his brother, A-ssu 阿寺,[49] to accompany the Imperial messenger and Eunuch Yang Lin 欽差內監楊麟, together with the pacified Hsi-fan representatives, to the Imperial capital to pay tribute to the Emperor. In the tenth moon (October-November) he himself prepared presents consisting of horses and native products, and went with some of his subordinates to the capital to pay tribute. His Majesty gave him many silver ingots and sent him back much honored. In the fifth moon of the fourth year of the same period (May–June, 1406), he received a dispatch from Commander-in-Chief Mu 沐, instructing him to accompany Chu Ch'eng 朱程 the Chih-hui-shih 指揮使 of the Chen-fu-ssu 鎮撫司 of Chin-i wei 錦衣衛 (the military station of Chin-i) to the land of the Hsi-fan, to establish two An-fu-ssu 安撫司 (Pacification officers) in the *tao* 道 of Yang-t'ang-chen 楊塘鎮, the Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何場, and the Chang-kuan-ssu of Ni-na[50] for the purpose of urging the I-fan (Wild tribes) to go and pay tribute to the Imperial court, news of which was reported to the Emperor on Ch'u's behalf. He was then given Imperial dispatches instructing him to safeguard the land. The Emperor also conferred upon him a golden shield with an inscription of four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), in reward for his military exploits in Chü-chin 巨津, Lin-hsi 臨西, Mao-niu-chai 毛牛寨, Pao-shan chou 寶山州, Lan chou 蘭州, the Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江 (Mekong), etc.

In the fifth year of Ming Yung-lo (1407) His Majesty conferred on Ch'u the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 中憲大夫 (Minister of the principal fourth rank) and the hereditary right of the native fu-magistracy, by an Imperial order, containing dispatches: *I* 義, No. 76, and *Chia* 甲, No. 809. In the tenth moon (November) of the same year, Ch'u ordered his eldest son, A-t'u, to search for a golden shield in the household of A-chi 阿吉, a native official and An-fu-ssu, appointed by the Yüan dynasty, and forward it directly to the Yünnan Provincial Treasurer.

In the fifth moon of the eighth year of the same period (June, 1410), he went himself to Pao-shan chou 寶山州, and to the villages of Pai-ti 白的[51] and Yüan-shih-wa 元始瓦 and many other places, and succeeded in persuading the village headman, A-yung-mu 阿容目, to furnish a number of laborers each year to serve the government, commencing from that year. He then sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court; the Emperor gave him an Imperial receipt, and sent them back with many gifts and highly honored. In the fourth moon of the 10th year of the same period (May–June, 1412), he prepared tribute consisting of horses and many native products, and requested his official secretary,

[49] He was Ch'u's second younger brother and was called Mu Sheng 木笙.

[50] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na and the Tibetan Ni-nag — the district of Wei-hsi 維西, northwest of Li-chiang and east of the Mekong.

[51] The Chinese Pai-ti is the Na-khi district of Bbĕr-ddĕr west of the Yangtze loop; Bacot's Be-djri should read Mbe-ddü, "Village large," or large village; one of the eight villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr is meant. (*See*: p. 262.)

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173 A-t'a 阿他, to offer them to the Emperor, who conferred on Ch'u's father, A-te 阿得, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, on his mother the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen 太恭人, and on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the respective Imperial orders. *Chia* 甲, No. 997; *Chia* 甲, No. 998; and *Chia* 甲, No. 999. When these orders were delivered to their official residence, they all expressed their hearty thanks, kneeling down in the direction of the Imperial throne.

Meanwhile, on account of his military merit gained by helping Mu Ch'un in his expedition to settle the affairs of the cities of Ching-tung 景東, Yung-ning 永寧 and Lang-ch'ü 浪穹, etc., and by helping the Military governor Ho Ch'ü 何鞏 in his expedition to attack the Salt-well military station of Ssu-ch'uan, and to capture the rebels La-ma-jen-tsu 剌馬仁祖 and Chia-ha-la alive, after taking the villages of Ko-shih and A-nao-wa, the Emperor issued him a decree *I* 乙, No. 119, promoting him one rank higher, and conferring on him a golden girdle with the four characters, *Ch'eng Hsin Pao Kuo* 誠心報國 (Loyalty to the Nation), together with many other gifts listed in detail in the book of the Hereditary rights of the Mu family [the *Huang-Ming En-lun-lu*]. In the 14th year of the same period (1416), after he had been promoted in rank by the Emperor's special grace, he was permitted to retire, and transferred his official seal to his heir, Mu T'u 木土, to preserve the hereditary right.

Ch'u was born in the fifth year of Yüan Chih-cheng 至正 (1345) and died in the twelfth moon of the first year of Ming Hung-hsi (January, 1426). His wife was named A-shih A-mu-hsiang 阿室阿木相 (her official name was A-shih-sa 阿室撒), daughter of A-mu 阿木 (Mu-hsien 木仙), who was native leader of 1,000 households of T'ung-an chou. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named T'u 土, Niang 娘, Chi 戟, Chia 迦, Chün 均, Hsing 興 and Hui 惠.

His second wife was named A-shih-lo 阿室羅, daughter of the Chang-kuan-ssu of La-ho-ch'ang 剌何塲. She gave birth to one son, named Mu 目. His third wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里. She gave birth to one son, named Pao 保. His fourth wife was named A-shih-yang 阿室羊. She gave birth to two sons, named Tu 都 and Hsi 希.

His eldest son, A t'u 阿土, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Ming Cheng t'ung (1440), the Emperor conferred on Ch'u, on account of the military merit of his grandson, two more posthumous honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 767, and on his wife, A-shih-sa, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen 淑人 by the Imperial order, *Wu* 戊, No. 768.

NINTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'u A-t'u* 阿初阿土 (PLATE 19): His official name was Mu T'u 木土; he was also named Yang-min 養民 (Yü-min 育民). As the eldest son of Ch'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 17th year of Yung-lo (1419) he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and went to the Imperial capital to pay tribute. He lodged at the Board of Civil Office. In the tenth moon (October–November) of the same year, the aforesaid Board applied for him to the Emperor, who sanctioned his hereditary right in due time, and presented him with many silver ingots and satin garments and sent him back highly honored. He also received Imperial letters

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patent *Wen* 文, No. 5708, whereupon he assumed his official duties in the first moon (January 15th–February 13th) of the 18th year of the same period (1420). In the following year (1421), His Majesty, yielding to popular opinion, conferred on him Imperial letters patent, stating that thereafter he was only to be ordered to proclaim the Imperial will, but not to be transferred on any occasion. In the 21st year of the same period (1423), he ordered his official secretary, Mu Mi 木彌, and the sergeant Yang Chung-li 楊仲禮 and many others to pay tribute at the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for (new) letters patent. He was then given the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 115. On his wife, A-hu 阿護, was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Ping* 丙, No. 116.

In the third year of Ming Hsüan-te (1428), owing to the frequent inroads by A-k'uei-chang 阿魁丈 at Shih-men Kuan (Stone-gate Pass), T'u led his men to attack and capture him. The country was then taken, and many new roads and ferries were built by him to facilitate communications. In the first moon (January 21st–February 19th) of the eighth year of the same period (1433), he assembled his troops, and in the second moon (February 20th–March 20th) captured the village of Lüeh-shao 掠艄, which then acknowledged its allegiance. Again, in the third moon (March 21st–April 19th), the Yung-ning Fan brigands 番賊 carried off magistrate A-jih 阿日 of Pao-shan chou 寶山州. T'u led his troops himself, and recovered him from the hands of the brigands through many stratagems.

T'u was born in the 24th year of Yüan Shun Ti 順帝 (Chih-cheng 至正) (1364), and died on the 24th day of the fourth moon in the 8th year of Ming Hsüan-te (May 13th, 1433). His wife was named A-shih-fu 阿室甫 (her official name was Kao Shih-hu 高氏護), daughter of Kao Chung 高仲, native magistrate of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶.[52] On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to seven sons, named Ti 地, Chung 仲, I 義, Ch'ang 昌, Shu 恕 Chü 苴 and Hui 揮. His eldest son, A-ti, succeeded to his father's throne.

In the fifth year of Cheng-t'ung (1440), on account of the military merit of his son A-ti, the Emperor conferred on T'u the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial order *Wu* 戊, No. 769 and *Wu* 戊, No. 770, respectively.

While T'u was still living, he published a proclamation to the district of Pai-sha li 白沙里, forbidding the officials to graze their cattle on the people's crops. Once cattle belonging to officials were eating the peasants' crops. Those who witnessed this wondered why the officials did not remove their cattle. T'u learned of this, and immediately ordered the buffaloes or cows to be killed and offered as a solemn sacrifice in the Pei-yo Temple 北嶽神祠 (*see* Sa-ddo *or* Pei-yo). The whole of the beef was divided among the people for food. Thus all his subjects were made obedient to his laws and regulations. Henceforth, it became their custom every year to make contributions to the Pai-yo Temple out of the sales of their cattle, for the purpose of offering regularly a similar sacrifice.

[52] Ho-ch'ing, a commercial town 80 li south of Li-chiang, formerly belonged to the Li-chiang district under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs. Its inhabitants are mostly Lä-bbu (Min-chia

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113 TENTH GENERATION. — *A-t'u A-ti* 阿土阿地 (PLATE 20): His official name was Mu Shen 木森. He was also named Sheng-jung 升榮 and Ta-lin 大林. As the eldest son of T'u, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the ninth year of Ming Hsüan-te (1434) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed by the Imperial decree *Wen* 文, No. 154, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 13th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 17th, 1434), he assumed his official duties. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), he led his troops with Commander-in-Chief Mu Chung 沐忠 (Mu Ching-sheng 沐敬晟),[53] Prince of Ting-yüan 定遠王, to settle the trouble at Lu-ch'uan 瀘川 caused by Burmese brigands. During the expedition, the armies from the various sections of the country were anything but brave, and many deserted, except the Li-chiang troops who proved their valor by first venturing across the river and then burning seven of the enemy's camps, capturing one leader alive, and chopping off 16 heads. They captured two elephants, and decapitated 24 prisoners in another lot. Ti was thereupon rewarded by the Imperial court with a silver bowl, a flower-design shield, many pieces of silk and satin, etc.

In the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1439), he again joined the government troops and decapitated 20 of the enemy. This time he was similarly rewarded, and, in addition, Mu Chung, Prince of Ting-yüan of the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou government, gave him a farmstead in the village of Sha-ch'iao 沙橋.[54] In the fifth moon of the fifth year of the same period (June, 1440), on account of his merit gained by conquering Lu-ch'uan, the General historiographer Wang Chung-i kung-i 王忠毅公驥,[55] Marquis of Ching-yüan 靖遠侯, made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then rewarded him with several pieces of colored satin and many other gifts.

In the ninth moon (October 26th–November 25th), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and requested some of his servants to offer them as tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of applying for an Imperial patent. After certain investigations were made by the Board about his merit, the Emperor granted his request, and gave him the letters patent *Wu* 戊, No. 771, conferring on him the honorary titles of T'ai-chung ta-fu, Tzu-chih-shao-yin 資治少尹 (Assistant junior intendant of a circuit), and Yün-nan Pu-cheng-shih-ssu Ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司參政 (Counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer). His ancestors, two generations before him, received various posthumous honors from the Emperor. He assumed his official duties in the capital of Yün-nan. Although he had returned to his native place,

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民家) tribespeople, only a few Na-khi being among its population. It is not 350 li southeast of Li-chiang as CHAVANNES states without giving his source of information.

[53] The title *Chung-ching* 忠敬 was a posthumous one. After returning with his troops from Lu-ch'uan to Ch'u-hsiung he died in 1439. Of the Mu 沐 family, 16 generations ruled in Yün-nan, the first one being Mu Ying 沐英. They were military governors of Yün-nan and ruled that province like a feudal fief.

[54] Sha-ch'iao is eight stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road, and a distance of 575 li from the provincial capital.

[55] His name was Wang I 王驥 and his appellation Shang-te 尚德. He was a native of Shu-lu 東鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Chih-li. He was of tall stature and imposing appearance. He died at the age of 83. The title *Chung-i* 忠毅 was a posthumous one.

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PLATE 49.—THE ANCESTRAL TABLET OF YANG SHEN

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PLATE 50.—THE TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

麗江

Looking east over the city from a hill called Lion Mountain or Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, in Na-khi, Wu-gkv-mbu. The Na-khi name of the city is Ngu-khi, though it is also known as Yi-gv.

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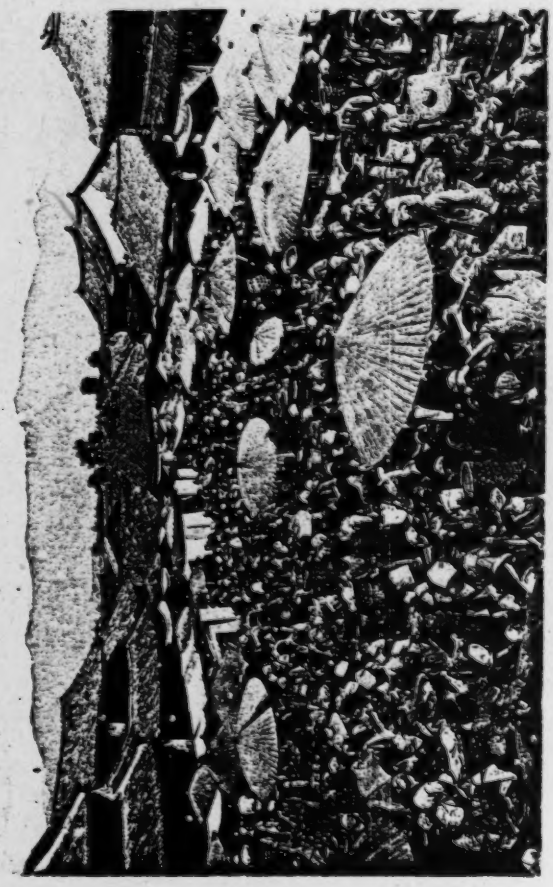

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 31.—THE LI-CHIANG MARKET ON SHU-FANG KAI

麗江四方街

Looking east. Everyday is market day between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. Na-khi women are the traders.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 52. — THE NORTH-WESTERN PART OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

麗江壩白沙鄉

The Hsiang or Commune of Pai-sha, looking south-east from the trail to Hăr-lĕr-gkv. Lower left, the village of Dü-gkv or Yü-lung-ts'un; the building embowered in the grove of tall trees to the right of village is the Pei-yo Miao. See Plate 61.

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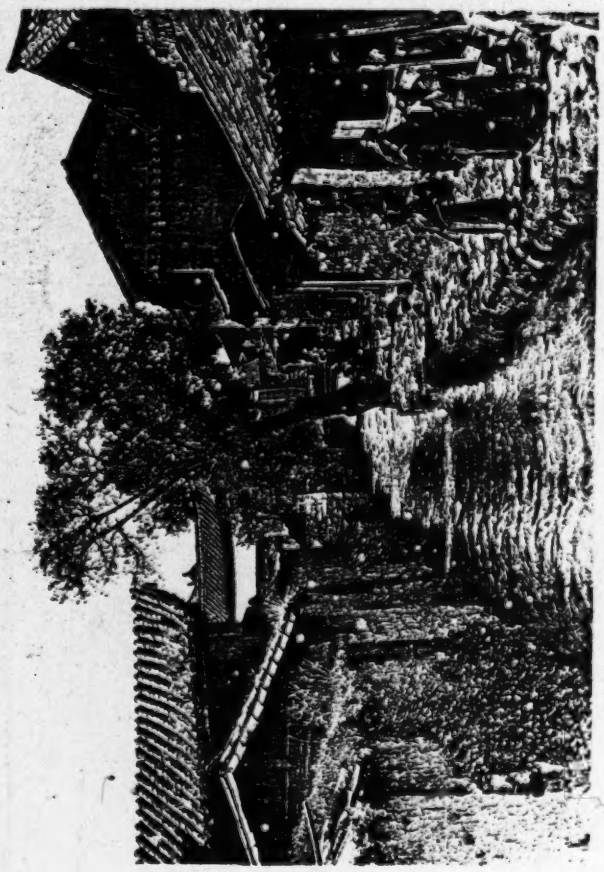

PLATE 53.—A TYPICAL STREET OF LI-CHIANG

麗江城中典型街景

Crystal clear streams flow through the town in various directions. The city is divided by the Na-khi into small villages each of which has its name. This part of the city through which the Yü Ho 玉河 or Ngu-lu gri flows is called Gyi-ddü-p'u.

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PLATE 34.—THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN OR JADE-DRAGON MOUNTAIN

玉龍山上望玉龍山

As seen from Shih-tzu Shan west of Li-chiang, looking north. Shan-tzu-tou the highest peak is visible. The fields and villages in the foreground are in Ta-yen li and the center of the plain is in Pai-sha li. Hsiang Shan (Elephant Mountain) in center, right; part of Shih-tzu Shan lower right.

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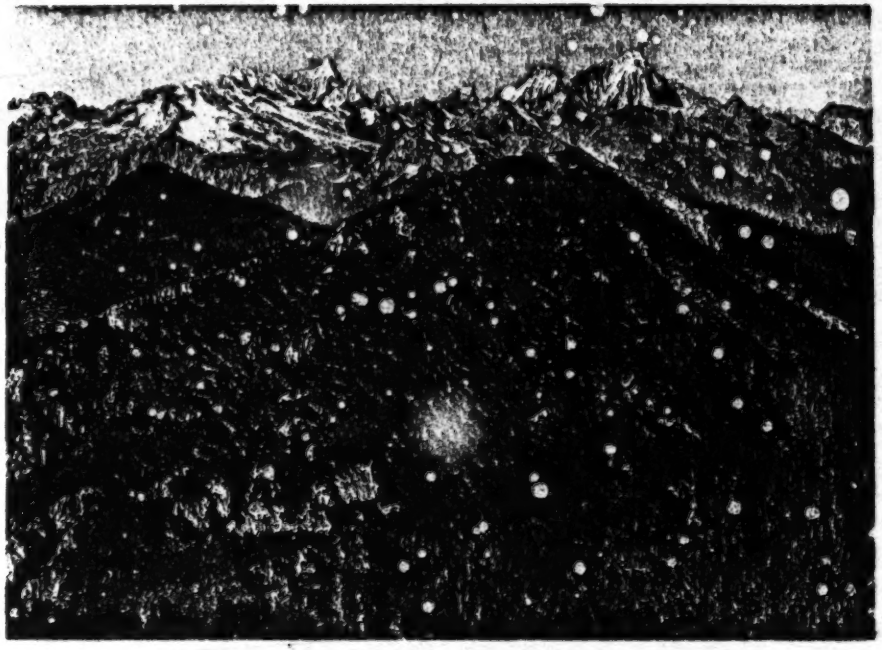

PLATE 55.—THE THREE PROTECTING LORDS, THE GANGKAR-LING SNOW PEAKS

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The Gangkar Risum gompo, the Three Protectors. The three peaks rise from a plateau 17,000 feet in height. From left to right they are: Jambyang, Chenresig, Chhana-dorje. Photographed from an elevation of 14,900 feet west of Mt. Nu-tsi-ga, in Mu-li; Hsi-k'ang. See also Plates 56, 57, 58, 59.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 56. — MOUNT CHHANA-DORJE, THE HOLDER OF THE THUNDERBOLT OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢噶嶺金剛手(神)山

As seen from a ridge near Dra-go-tse, elevation 15,350 ft. Approximately 21,000 ft. in height.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 57. — MOUNT JAMYANG, THE GOD OF LEARNING OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢嘎嶺系文殊山

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. Approximately 21,000 feet in height.

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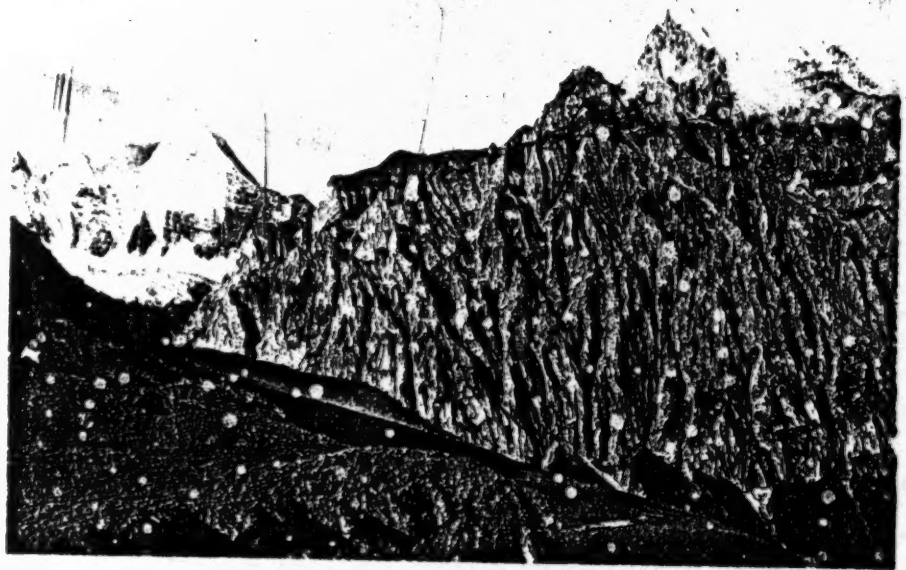

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 58.—JAMBYANG AND CHENREZIG OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

貢嘎嶺文殊山與觀音山

Photographed from Bayu Camp, elevation 15,800 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 59. — MOUNT CHENREZIG OR KUAN-YIN, THE GODDESS OF MERCY OF THE GANGKAR-LING SYSTEM

Photographed from Bayu Camp with front lens removed, elevation 15,800 ft. The deeply eroded cliff is porphyry and is not part of the main peak, a deep gorge separates the mountain from the cliff. It is the highest of the three peaks and probably 21,500 feet in height.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 60. — MINYA GANGKAR, THE MINYA SNOW PEAK

康定明雅貢嘎大雪山

The highest peak of the Minya Gangkar Snow range, altitude 24,900 feet. Photographed from a ridge overlooking Bü Chhu Lung-pa east of Yü-lung-shih from an elevation of 16,500 feet.

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PLATE 61. — THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO MIAO

玉龍村北嶺廟

Centuries-old maples and cypresses surround the temple. Over the entrance to the temple are four large tablets bearing the Chinese characters 恩溥三多 En P'u San To = Gracious all pervading San-to (Sa-ddo).

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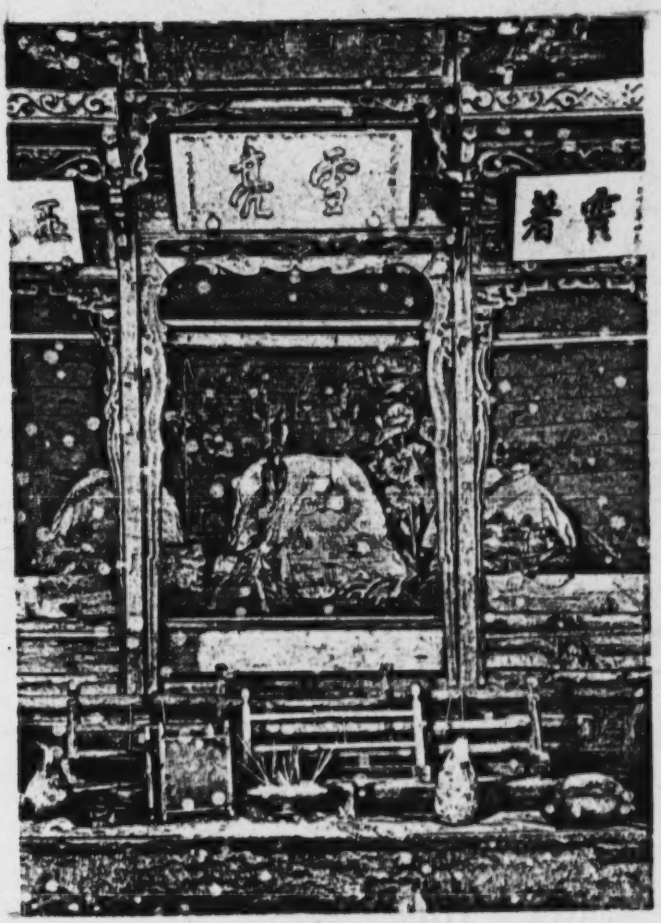

PLATE 6J. — MAIN SHRINE OF SA-DDO OR PEI-YO

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The central figure is Sa-ddo (Pei-yo); to his left sits his wife Gkyi-chi-ndzër-dto, and to his right his concubine Gkyi-chi-ndzër-mug. When prayers are offered to Sa-ddo their names are also mentioned. He, himself, is addressed as P'u-la Sa-ddo hä ddü, the god Sa-ddo, the great god.

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PLATE 63. — CHHOS-KYI-HBYUNG-GNAS

The Guru Karma-pa who visited Li-chiang. After a painting from the Yü-feng Sou (Jade-peak Lamasery) at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan.

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PLATE 64.—THE CHIEH-TO-LIN LAMASERY

The lamasery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan the Khyu-t'o-lih Nyyu of the Na-khi. The trees in foreground are mainly *Pinus yunnanensis*.

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173 his official seat was reserved in the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer. On his wife, A-shih-li 阿室里, was conferred by separate Imperial letters patent, *Wu* 戊, No. 772, the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the same year, the office of Governor of Yün-nan was first established, and was filled by the Yün-nan Tu-yü-shih 雲南都御史丁 (Imperial grand censor) Ting who wrote an inscription for him in praise of his past merit and to encourage him in future service. In the sixth year of the same period (1441), he led his troops to assist Commander-in-Chief Wang Chung-i kung-i, Marquis of Ching-yüan, on his expedition against Lu-ch'uan. Ti gained considerable merit by taking 16 prisoners, capturing one elephant, and attacking Ssu-jen-fa 思任發,[56] headman of the village of Cha (chai) 柵寨.

He was born in the 34th year of Hung-wu (1401),[57] and died in the twelfth moon of the 6th year of the reign of Ming Cheng-t'ung (January 12th–February 10th, 1442). His wife was named A-shih-li 阿室里, and was the daughter of A-su 阿俗, Hsün-chien 巡檢 (Sub-district deputy magistrate) of Mu-pao 木保.[58] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named Hsi 智, Na 那 and T'a 他. His second wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, gave birth to one son, named Jih 日. His third wife gave birth to one son, named A-nü 阿女.

A-hsi succeeded his father.

ELEVENTH GENERATION. — *A-li A-hsi* 阿地阿智 (PLATE 21): His official name was Mu Ch'in 木嶔. He was also named Wei-kao 惟高 and Chün-ch'iao 峻喬. As the eldest son of Ti, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the seventh year of Cheng-t'ung (1442) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed, and he received official letters patent issued by the Imperial court through the office of the Yün-nan Viceroy 總督, Wang 王, Grand historiographer of the Board of military affairs and Ta-li ssu-ch'ing 大理寺卿, Director of the Grand Court of Revision. On the 10th day of the third moon of the same year (April 20th, 1442), Hsi assumed his official duties. In the second year of Ching-t'ai (1451), when the Hsi-fan brigands 西番 invaded Chü-chin chou 巨津州, he personally led his troops against them. On this expedition he decapitated 42 brigands and took 26 prisoners.

In the sixth moon of the 3rd year of the same period (June 17th–July 16th, 1452), Lo Wen-k'ai 羅文凱, hereditary magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, was murdered by brigands. Hsi was instructed by the government to devise plans to capture them. He succeeded in taking ten of them prisoner, including their leader Lo-hao 羅好.

A-yung-t'a 阿容他, leader of another group of brigands, led over 300 men to plunder the people. Hsi took his own troops to attack them and captured 18 brigands, including their leader Ho-cha 和札; at another time he took 12 prisoners. In the sixth year (1455), Pao-shan chou, Pai-ti, and a few other

[56] Ssu-jen-fa was the native chief of Lu-ch'uan who had revolted. After the attack on Lu-ch'uan, he escaped. Cha-chai was his stockaded village.

[57] This should read the third year of Chien-wen (1401), as Hung-wu's reign ended with his 31st year.

[58] Mu-pao li is a commune consisting of several villages about 20 li south-west of Li-chiang. The leading village is Muan-shwua-wùa.

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173 places were looted by the Fan brigands under the command of their leader Tao-jih-pu-t'a 刀日卜他 and his son A-su 阿俗. Hsi personally led his troops and made four prisoners, killing eight other brigands. Thus A-su surrendered, and Hsi arranged to find him and his men a place to live in. In the second year of T'ien-shun (1458), Yen-chung-chang 鹽仲丈, chief of the Hsi-fan brigands, cruelly plundered some of the frontier districts, whither Hsi sent his troops to pursue them. Five brigands were killed, and four were made prisoners. In the fourth year (1460), A-su again occupied Pao-shan chou with his men. Hsi sent his troops thither and killed 23 of his remaining followers. In the same year, Hsi sent men to pay tribute to the Emperor, and in the following year, the latter conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, by Imperial letters patent *Hsin* 信, No. 23. On his wife, Kao-shih-shan 高氏善, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen.

In the sixth year of T'ien-shun (1462), he conquered the villages of La-pao 剌寶,[59] Lu-p'u-wa-chai 魯普瓦寨, Shu-lo 鼠羅,[60] Ni-lo 你羅 and Chan-p'u-wa 占普瓦. In the eighth year (1464), he conquered the villages of Shu-lo 鼠羅, La-lo 剌羅, Ai-na-wa 岩那瓦, Li-feng 里俸, Chien-neng-wa 見能瓦 and Mei-shih-wa 梅矢瓦.

In the fourth year of Ch'eng-hua (1468), he conquered the villages of Ni-na 你那,[61] Mu-lai-ko 母來各, Tang-wa 當瓦, Pen-tu-wa 本都瓦 and Ai-tien 岩甸. In the sixth year (1470), he conquered the villages of Ni-na, Wei-hsi, Hsia-chieh 下接, Chü-chia-wa 具加瓦, Hsiang-pi-wa 相必瓦, La-mu-wa 剌木瓦 and La-ho-ch'ang 剌何塲. In the 18th year (1482), he conquered the villages of Chao-k'o 照可, Ch'i-tsung 其宗,[62] La-p'u 剌普,[62] Chün-li-ch'ang 均里塲, Ch'i-li-ch'ü-ting 其立佉丁, etc. In the 19th year (1483), he con-

[59] La-pao is identical with the ancient Pao-shan, three stages north of Li-chiang. Lu-p'u-wa-chai (stockaded village of Lu-p'u-wa), is the Na-khi (Lv) Lu-p'ĕr-wùa to the north of La-bpu mbu, a peak overlooking the Yangtze (*which see*). *Wùa* is a Na-khi term for a group of houses or hamlet, the Chinese *wa* 瓦 is its phonetic equivalent.

[60] Shu-lo is the name of a region and village which the Hsi-fan call Shen-dzong; it is in Mu-li territory, in south-west Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang). An iron chain bridge once spanned the Shu Gyi (Iron River) at that particular spot; the name Shen-dzong means "iron bridge" in Hsi-fan. The river is called Zho Chhu in Hsi-fan (KINGDON WARD calls it Shu-lo Ho [*Shu-lo* is Na-khi for "iron valley" and *ho* is the Chinese for river] and HANDEL-MAZZETTI, Dou tschu). This latter is a misnomer, he apparently confounds it with the Tong Chhu, an affluent of the Zho Chhu which has its source in the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 (Mt. Jambyang [hJam-dbyangs]) peaks. The Zho Chhu has its source at Na-wu (called Nabu by MAJOR DAVIES), 10 days to the north of Shen-dzong, and not in the Kung-ka-ling peaks, as heretofore believed.

The valley of the central Zho Chhu is inhabited by a tribe called the Shu-khin (Iron people), named after the river; they speak a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan, but their language is understood neither by the Na-khi nor the Hsi-fan. They are said to be descendants of soldiers placed there as guards by the Na-khi chiefs — like the inhabitants of the village of O-yü on the same river further south, who, however, still speak pure Na-khi.

The lower stretch of the Zho Chhu is inhabited by a related tribe called the Zhĕr-khin — see my article on the Zhĕr-khin tribe in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. III, 1938; pp. 171–188.

[61] Ni-na is the Na-khi Nyi-na, or the Chinese prefectural city of Wei-hsi. The other names apparently are those of villages in Nyi-na (Wei-hsi) district.

[62-62] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u are two villages, called in Na-khi Gyi-dzu and La-p'o; the former is situated on the west bank of the Yangtze at the confluence of the La-p'u Ho, which has its source north of the Li-ti-p'ing — the Yangtze-Mekong divide. La-p'o is situated on the south bank of the stream, about 20 li from Ch'i-tsung.

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quered the villages of Chung-tien 忠甸 and Tsao-wa 早瓦. In the 20th year (1484), the villages of Chung-tien and Tsan-lo 僭羅 surrendered of their own accord.

Hsi was born in the fourth year of Hsüan-te, *chi-yu* 己酉 (1429), and died on the 24th day of the eighth moon in the 21st year of Ming Ch'eng-hua (October 2nd, 1485). His wife was named A-shih-shun 阿室順, and her official name was Kuan-yin-shan 觀音善, daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of Ho-ch'ing. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named Ya 牙, Ti 的, Chu 住 and Pao 寶. His second wife, Kuan-yin-fu-cheng 觀音福珍, daughter of the Kao family, gave birth to two sons, named Tz'u 束 and Su 俗. His third wife, A-shih-niang 阿室娘, daughter of the Sub-district deputy magistrate of Mu-pao 木保, gave birth to five sons, named Chi 吉, Sha 沙, Lu 祿, T'a 他 and Chien 見. His fourth wife, A-shih-kuei 阿室桂, daughter of the Yang family 楊氏 of Shun-t'ang 順塘, gave birth to two sons, named Lo 樂 and Ti 的. In all he had 13 sons. His eldest son, A-ya, succeeded him.

TWELFTH GENERATION.—*A-hsi A-ya* 阿習阿牙 (PLATE 22): His official name was Mu T'ai 木泰. He was also named Pen-an 本安 and Kai-sheng 介聖. As the eldest son of Mu Ch'in, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 21st year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) A-chia-nan-pa 阿加南八, leader of the Fan brigands, invaded Pai-tien 白甸 [64] and many other villages, whither Ya personally led his troops in pursuit; he decapitated five brigands and defeated the rest. In the 22nd year of the same period (1486), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered the village of Chü-kung 苴公 in Shu-lo.

In the 23rd year (1487), the brigands returned with stronger forces. Ya rearranged his troops, and terrible fighting took place in the mountains near the mouth of the Ha-pa Chiang 哈巴江 (Ha-pa River).[65] He decapitated fifteen of the brigands, and took six prisoners. Taking advantage of his victory, he pursued them to the village of K'o-tsung 可琮, where they intended to offer resistance, but he again defeated them and decapitated 72, holding 18 prisoners for trial. Afterwards, the brigands, who hid in the village of Wu-ya 吾牙, scattered out of fear, and those who had been captured by the brigands, were all again restored to their daily pursuits. The two chief officials of Yün-nan, the Provincial Treasurer and the Brigadier-General, gave him many rolls of satin and a flower-design shield as a reward for his meritorious achievements on that expedition.

In the same year, Ya conquered the village of Yü-yang 于楊 in Shu-lo,

[64] Pai-tien is a small town or village south-west of Wei-hsi on the west bank of the Mekong, but situated along the foot-hills. The crest of the range, which here forms the divide between the Mekong and Salween, is, on British maps, the Yün-nan and Burma border, but on the Chinese military map of 1928 the border not only includes the Salween valley but also the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 (eastern branch of the Irrawadi), the latter is correct.

[65] This river descends from Ha-pa Shan (Na-khi, Ha-ba ndshĕr-nv-lv) in Chung-tien 中甸 territory, and flows through the land of a native chief who bears the title of Pa-tsung 把總. His territory is called in Na-khi, Ha-ba and in Chinese Ha-pa. The stream flows through a broad valley past several villages into the Yangtze, but near its confluence is confined in a deep rocky gorge.

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173 while the village of Pieh-tien 別甸 surrend[illegible]d of its own accord. In the 24th year (1488) (actually first year of Hung-[illegible]ih) he included the latter village in Shu-lo territory.

In the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ya conquered the village of Chia-jih 加日 in Chao-k'o 照可, and captured the lower part of Shih-t'ou-k'an 石頭坎 in the same district. In the third year (1490), A-chia-nan-li 阿加南立, leader of the Fan brigands, ruthlessly plundered many villages of the district of Chü-chin 巨津, whither Ya personally led his troops, attacking him three times. He took 89 prisoners, while many brigands drowned themselves in the river. He then conquered the villages of Pa-lo 巴羅, and Ngai-(Yen-)wa 岩瓦 in Ni-na (Wei-hsi district). In the fourth year (1491), he conquered the villages of T'o-san 托散 and Ch'ü-yü 佉玉 of Chung-tien as well as Chün-chi-yü 均集玉.

In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Ya had received official letters patent *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 888, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and on the 2nd day of the second first moon of the same year (February 14th, 1488), he assumed his official duties. In the fifth year (1492), he conquered the villages of K'ung-li-yü 空立玉 in Chung-tien, while Chien-sha-ko 見沙各 and the village of T'o-ch'i-lo 托其羅 in Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the sixth year (1493), he conquered the village of Sheng-hou-yü 生後玉 in Chung-tien. In the same year, Chü-te 具得, leader of the Hsi fan brigands, caused trouble in the neighborhood of the village of Lang-o 崑峨[66] of the city of Pei-sheng chou 北勝州 by secretly conspiring against the government with the wild Fan 野番 brigands, whose abode was on the borders of Ssu-ch'uan. Ya was instructed by the three chief officials of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops to settle that affair. On his arrival, he devised many plans, and at last succeeded in enticing 35 of the Hsi-fan brigands and Kan-t'ieh 干鐵, their leader, to come out of their retreat. He thereupon took them prisoner, and at the same time sent his troops to pursue the rest. Later, three of the above-mentioned prisoners committed murder, and they were compelled to pay an indemnity in accordance with the usual custom. The money thus obtained was used to pay the plundered soldiers and people. Ya then took hand-prints of the aforesaid Fan brigands, and had them carved on wooden blocks for preservation in his office. This case was reported to the two chief officials, the Yün-nan Provincial Treasurer and Brigadier-General; the Imperial Eunuchs gave him many presents of colored satin, a flower-design shield, and many silver ingots. A special official was ordered to send all these things, and he received them. Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, Mu Tsung 沐琮,[67] General of the Southern expedition 征南將軍, Imperial tutor, Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國公 and Duke of Wu-hsi 武僖公, reported on his behalf to the Emperor, who then gave him all the land pertaining to the village of Sha-lan 沙闌村, near the city of Pei-sheng chou (the present Yung-sheng). Henceforth that village was to be called by the new name of Feng-ti-chuang 奉地庄 (Feng-ti farm), and was to be

[66] Lang-o is south-east of Yung-pei 永北 (Yung-sheng), near a little lake called Ts'ao Hai 草海 (Grass Lake); it is directly west of the small town Jen-li 仁里, which is situated on the west bank of a small stream called I-ch'a Ho 矣察河 which flows into the Yangtze.

[67] He was the son of Mu Pin 沐斌, the grandson of Mu Sheng, and the great-grandson of Mu Ying 沐英, who all had governed Yün-nan.

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handed down to his descendants for ever. In the same year, Ya conquered the following villages of Chung-tien: Ch'ieh-tsan 伽僧, Hsi-li-ch'ü 西里佉, Ta-tang 大當 and Hsiang-ko 香各. 113

In the ninth year (1496), he conquered the village of Nien-yü 年玉 of Chung-tien, and established the village of Ai-na-wa. In the 10th year (1497), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent men to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor gave him many silver ingots together with many other gifts, and conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his wife, A-shih-kuei 阿氏貴, the honorary title of Shu-jen by Imperial decree *Yin* 寅, No. 18.

In the 11th year (1498), Ya conquered the villages of Wa-jih-wa 瓦日瓦 of Chung-tien, and Hsi-li-wa 西里瓦, and La-chia-wa 剌甲瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 12th year (1499), he conquered Chung-tien, and established the villages of Ta-nien-yü-wa 大年玉瓦, and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Feng-lu-wa 俸魯瓦 of Ni-na, Ku-p'u-wa 古普瓦 of Shu-lo, Pu-wa 卜瓦, P'ing-k'ou-tien 平口甸, Mu-jo-tien 母若甸, Chia-san-yen-wa 加散岩瓦 and Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦. In the 13th year (1500), he conquered the villages of Mi-la-yen-wa 迷剌岩瓦 and Ch'ü-na-wa 佉納瓦 of Shu-lo. In the 14th year (1501), he conquered the villages of Li-yao-ko 立堯各 of Ni-na, and Yü-la 玉剌. In the same year, the brigands of Shu-lo surrendered of their own accord. In the 15th year (1502), he conquered the villages of Hui-ch'ü 揮佉 of Chung-tien, La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦, Shou-li-wa 手立瓦, and T'o-p'u-wa 托普瓦 of Ni-na.

Ya was born on the 15th day of the sixth moon of the 6th year of Ching-t'ai (July 29th, 1455), and died on the 21st day of the eleventh moon of the 15th year of Hung-chih (December 20th, 1502). His wife was named A-shih-chüan 阿室卷, and her official name was A-shih Shan-kuei 阿室善貴. She was the daughter of magistrate A 阿 of the chou-city of Teng-ch'uan 鄧川.[68] On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to four sons, named A-ch'iu 阿秋, A-chung 阿鍾, A-yü 阿于 and A-lien 阿連. The eldest son, A-ch'iu, succeeded to his father's throne.

For reference, it is said that Mai Tsung 麥琮, one of the ancestors of the Mu family, once accepted an invitation of the King of Ta-li. On his way home, he felt that he had lost his spiritual power. He then went to the Yü-lung Shan, intending to drink some of the spiritual water out of the stone basin (*see* p. 92), but searching everywhere, he could not find it. For a moment he happened to take a rest under a rock. He unconsciously planted his bamboo staff into the ground. Suddenly he found that the earth was becoming softer and softer, while the bamboo staff had grown 11 joints taller than it had been before. In a little while branches and leaves sprouted luxuriantly. He then began to understand and said: "I have not yet lost my spiritual power, but I must have committed a sin. Eleven generations later, I shall be reborn to accomplish my destinies." A few days afterwards he died.

Counting from the time of Mou-pao A-tsung 牟保阿琮 (Mai Tsung) to A-hsi A-ya (Pen-an) exactly eleven generations have passed. Ya was born a genius.

[68] Teng-ch'uan is one stage north of Ta-li, a distance of 90 li.

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123 Without being taught by anybody, he could read the pictographs of the Na-khi language invented by his ancestor Mai Tsung. In addition, he did much to cause our Mu family to prosper by following the virtuous examples of his ancestors. Ya was probably Mai Tsung reborn, and the prophecy made by Tsung in his life was perhaps true. I think this is what Buddha said about "the theory of cause and effect," and about "the theory of transmigration of a man's three lives."

THIRTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ya A-ch'iu* 阿牙阿秋 (PLATE 23): His official name was Mu Ting 木定. He was also named Ching-chih 靜之. As the eldest son of Mu T'ai 木泰, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 16th year of Hung-chih (1503) his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the 17th year (1504), he received his Official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1107, issued by the Board of Civil Office, and in the fifth moon and the 13th day of the same year (June 24th, 1504), he took up the duties of his office. In the third year of Cheng-te (1508), he conquered the villages of Ts'ung-chung 從仲 and T'ien-lung 天龍 of Ni-na. In the fourth year (1509), he conquered Ni-na, A-te-chiu 阿得會 and other places. In the fifth year (1510), he sent horses and native products to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu [the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu* says Chang-shun ta-fu] and the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy, and on his deceased wife, Kao-shih-hsiang 高氏香, the honorary posthumous title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Kao-shih 高氏, also the honorary title of Kung-jen by Imperial decree, *Chih* 智, No. 908.

In the same year, the village of T'ao-mu 陶目 surrendered of its own accord. In the seventh year (1512), the villages of Ping-so-li 幷索立 and Ta-hsiang-tien 大香甸 turned to his allegiance. In the eighth year (1513), he conquered the villages of Na-ku 那古, Ya-lieh-wa 牙烈瓦 and Lu-mi 魯彌 of Shu-lo; in the ninth year (1514), those of Pan-lo-wa 伴羅瓦 and Shih-wa 失瓦; in the 10th year (1515), the villages of Chieh-lo 節落 and Mei-shih-wa 梅失瓦, while the villages of Kuang-shih 光失 and Pan-tien 伴甸 surrendered of their own accord. In the 11th year (1516), he conquered the village of Kan-na-wa 干那瓦 of Chung-tien, and gained a victory over the villages of Li-yu 立由 and Tao-tsai 刀才. In the 12th year (1517), he conquered the villages of Ko-niang 各娘 and La-hung-wa 剌紅瓦 of Ni-na, also Ch'ang-an 長安 of Shu-lo, and in the 14th year (1519), the village of A-t'ao ts'un 阿陶村 of Ni-na. In the 15th year (1520), he conquered the villages of K'uei-tien 虧甸 and Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 of Chung-tien, and in the 16th year (1521), the villages of Ma-wa 麻瓦 of Yung-ning and Hsiang-ko-wa 香各瓦 of Shu-lo.

In the first year of Chia-ching (1522), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Wa-t'o 瓦托 and Chu-ko-wa 處可瓦 of Shu-lo, and also Mu-feng-wa 木俸瓦 of Yung-ning. In the second year (1523), he again conquered the village of Ma-wa of Yung-ning. In the fourth year (1525), he conquered the villages of T'ao-so 陶索 of Ni-na, Yeh-yin 也音 and Mu-sheng 木勝 of Shu-lo. On account of his relieving the siege of the neighbouring district of Yung-ning, the Brigadier-General and the Viceroy of Yün-nan conjointly inscribed a scroll for him in memory of his remarkable deeds, and presented him with a flower-

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design shield. In the same year, he conquered the following villages of Ni-na: Ch'ien-pao 欠保, Wu-ts'un 五村, La-chia 剌加, and Shih-ts'un 失村. In the fifth year (1526), he conquered the upper part of the village of Lo-na-ts'un 羅那村 of Chao-k'o, and the lower part of the village of Li-hsi 立西,[69] also the village of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, and the village of Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching 鹽井.[70]

Ch'iu was born on the 23rd day of the twelfth moon of the 12th year of Ch'eng-hua (January 7th, 1477), and died on the 2nd day of the eighth moon of the 5th year of Chia-ching (September 8th, 1526).

His wife, A-shih-hsiang 阿室香, was a daughter of the Kao family 高氏, her father being-magistrate of Pei-sheng chou. Her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou-miao-hsiang 高氏延壽妙香. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-kung 阿公, A-shan 阿山 and A-tsung 阿琮. His second wife was named A-shih-ching 阿室井, and her official name was Kao-shih Yen-shou 高氏延壽. On her was conferred the same honorary title as that of his first wife. She gave birth to four sons, named A-mu 阿木, A-chü 阿苴, A-chi 阿敍 and A-ts'ung 阿從. His eldest son, A-kung, succeeded to the throne.

FOURTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-ch'iu A-kung* 阿秋阿公 (PLATE 24): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kung 木公,[71] he was also named Shu-ch'ing 恕卿, Hsüeh-shan 雪山 and Wan-sung 萬松. As the eldest son of Mu Ting, he succeeded to his father's throne.

In the sixth year of Chia-ching (1527), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pi-lu-ko 必魯各 of Ni-na, Na-sheng 那勝 of Yen-ching, T'ao-so 陶索, Hsi-yüan 西原 and Ch'ien-tien 欠甸. In the same year, two men, named An 安 of Hsün 尋[72] and Feng 馮, rebelled, and in the seventh year (1528), they invaded the province, and even besieged the provincial capital. Kung gained

[69] The village of Li-hsi, now written 立西, is west of Wei-hsi in the valley of the Salween.

[70] Yen-ching is the present Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, under whose jurisdiction are the Wu-so 五所 and the Mu-li King.

[71] It was Mu Kung who, as a young man, before he became the native magistrate of Li-chiang, compiled this and the Illustrated Chronicle with the help of his friend Kao. He also wrote a collection of poems entitled *Hsüeh-shan Shih-chi* 雪山詩集, (Collection of Poems by Hsüeh-shan, which was Mu Kung's given name). One hundred and fourteen of his poems were printed in a small volume called *Hsüeh-shan Shih-hsüan* 雪山詩選 (Selections of Poems by Hsüeh-shan). A preface was written to these poems by Yang Shen 楊愼, dated Chia-ching 己酉, the 6th month, 24th day (July 18th, 1549). The Li-chiang Records state that Yang Shen chose 114 of the poems and called them a "Selection of Poems" by Hsüeh-shan.

[72] The names of the two rebels were An-ch'üan 安銓 and Feng Ch'ao-wen 馮朝文. The former was a native of Hsün-tien 尋甸, north-east of K'un-ming, in the prefecture of Ch'ü-ching 曲靖, and the latter of Wu-ting 武定, north of K'un-ming. In both places they held positions as hereditary native officials (*t'u-ssu* 土司). The two joined forces and attacked Yün-nan fu (K'un-ming), burning the north-east gate. They took Sung-ming 嵩明, Yang-lin 楊林 and Ma-lung chou 馬龍州.

The *Ma-lung chou chih* 馬龍州志, ch. 2, fol. 24b–25a, states that in the 7th year of Chia-ching (1528) the Wu-ting and Hsün-tien T'u-ch'iu 土酋 (Native chiefs) rebelled. At first the Jen-te fu 仁德府 (Native officials) An-yang 安洋 and An-nai 安迺 continuously rebelled, whereupon a transferable official was placed at Hsün-tien. When the fu-magistrate collected the annual taxes in grain, he undressed and beat the wife and son of An-ch'üan and im-

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great merit by sending his troops to relieve this siege. The Commander-in-Chief, Mu Ming-ching-kung Chao-hsün 沐敏靖公詔勳,[73] General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, reported on his behalf to the Emperor to have his exploits registered for reward.

In the eighth year (1529), Kung conquered and rebuilt the villages of Ta-hai 大海 [74] and Hai-lo 海螺 of Yung-ning. In the ninth year (1530), through application and recommendations made to the Emperor on his behalf by Wu Wen-ting 伍文定, Imperial censor of the Board of Military Office, and by the chief officials of Yün-nan, he received his official letters patent, *Ch'ou* 丑, No. 1056, issued by the Board of Civil Office. In the fourth moon of the same year (April 27th–May 26th, 1530), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he conquered the villages of Tang-ho 當何 and Chüan-na 卷那 of Chao-k'o, and the village of Chia-kuang-ting 加光丁. In the 10th year (1531), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Tang-tsung 當琮, T'ien-sheng 天勝寨, Hsiao-chai 小寨 and Kuang-shih-chai 光世寨 of Shu-lo.

In the 13th year (1534), he selected gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent. In the 15th year (1536), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy by official letters patent, *I* 義, No. 278. An Imperial scroll was also given him, bearing the four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Concord and tranquility of my frontier). He also received many pieces of colored satin and silver ingots. On his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏慕, was conferred the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, and on his second wife, Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶, the same honorary title.

In the 14th year (1535), he conquered the villages of Nien-ko 年各 and Nien-nao 年惱 of Chung-tien, while the village of Chia-kuang-ch'ü-pa 加光佉巴 surrendered of its own accord. In the 15th year (1536), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chu 天柱 of Ni-na, T'ieh-chu 鐵柱 and Hsiang-va 香押 of Shu-lo, and pacified the villages of T'ien-pao 天保, Chin-

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prisoned them. Thereupon An-ch'üan united with the Wu-ting barbarian (*man*) Feng Ch'ao-wen and rebelled. They then killed 13 officials of Hsün-tien and Wu-ting; 20,000 soldiers joined them and they burnt and looted the city (*ch'eng* 城). The city Jen-te (fu) was established under the Yüan dynasty as Jen-ti Wan-hu-fu 仁地萬戶府, but was later changed to Jen-te fu. The old city wall is 5 li east of the Hsün-tien hsien of to-day. Under the Ming dynasty it was changed to Hsün-tien Chün-min fu 尋甸軍民府 (Military and civil magistracy of Hsün-tien). It is now governed by Hsün-tien hsien. The *Sung-ming chih-chih* 嵩明舊志, ch. 3, fol. 11b–12a, says that in the 6th year of Chia-ching (1527) An-ch'üan rebelled. He was killed by Governor Fu Hsi 傅習 of Yün-nan. His men were defeated and went to Sung-ming, which they captured. They killed two majors, Wang Sheng 王昇 and T'ang Kung 唐功. For further reference, *see*: ED. CHAVANNES "Trois inscriptions relevées par M. Charria" (II-Notice sur les chefs aborigènes du district de Wou-ting 武定 in *T'oung-pao* Vol. 7, 1906, pp. 681–689), where the rebellion is described in detail.

[73] Mu Chao-hsün was his proper name. The title of Duke of Ming-ching was conferred on him posthumously. He was the son of K'un 昆 who at the age of 14 became Duke of Ch'ien-kuo 黔國, Kuei-chou province. He died at the age of 40.

[74] This must refer to the villages around the lake of Yung-ning, called La-t'a Khū in Na-khi. Half of the lake is in Yün-nan and half in Ssu-ch'uan. Various villages are grouped along the shores of the lake and the foot of the encircling mountains.

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chu 金柱 and Li-t'o 里托. In the 16th year (1537), he conquered the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 of Chung-tien. In the 19th year (1540), Annam 安南 rebelled against the Imperial rule. Kung assembled his troops, preparing for active service with the government forces. He was instructed by Mao 毛,[75] Imperial censor of the Board of military office, to remain in reserve for the time being, but to select beforehand certain roads for troop movement, and to await mobilization. Meanwhile, His Majesty rewarded him with a silver wine-cup, weighing 10 taels, to be handed down to his descendants as a priceless treasure. 173

In the 24th year (1545), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Sheng-hsin 勝新, also T'ien-pao 天保. In the 26th year (1547), he conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui and Sheng-pao 勝保. In the 27th year (1548), he conquered T'ien-kao 天高 village and Ch'ang-sheng 長勝 of Ni-na. He then ordered his eldest son, A-mu 阿木, to lead his troops to capture Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 [76] and to subdue the villages of Kung-ts'u 鞏粗,[77] Tang-lai 當來 and Lu-ku 魯古. In the 28th year (1549), he ordered A-mu to lead his troops to subdue the villages of Kan-t'ao 干陶 and Ko-pan-pa 各伴巴 of Chung-tien. In the 32nd year (1553), he himself conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-sheng 天生 of Chung-tien.

Kung was born on the 10th day of the seventh moon of the 7th year of Hung-chih (August 10th, 1494), and died on the 10th day of the ninth moon of the 32nd year of Chia-ching (October 16th, 1553). His first wife, A-shih-meng 阿室蒙, was the daughter of magistrate Feng 鳳 of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定,[78] and her official name was Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦. On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen. She gave birth to one son, named A-mu 阿目, who succeeded to the throne. His second wife was named A-shih-yü 阿室于, and her official name was Feng-shih-shao 鳳氏韶. She gave birth to two sons, named A-chia 阿價 and A-t'ui 阿退 respectively. In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), on account of his son's merit, His Majesty conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 and on his wife, Feng-shih-mu 鳳氏睦, the posthumous honorary title of Shu-jen.

7. FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO NINETEENTH GENERATION

FIFTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-kung A-mu* 阿公阿目 (PLATE 25): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Kao 木高.[79] He was also named Shou-kuei 守貴, Tuan-feng 端峯 and Chiu-chiang 九江.

[75] Mao Po-wen 毛伯温 was minister of war and in 1539 headed the troops who were to punish Annam. He was a native of Chi-shui 吉水 of Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi).

[76] Mao-ch'ü-ko belonged to the district of Lin-hsi 臨西.

[77] Kung-tsu 鞏粗 is the way it is written in the inscription on the stone-drum of Shih-ku 石鼓, for the translation of which see p. 283.

[78] Wu-ting is a town three stages north of K'un-ming. Both his wives were daughters of Feng Chao-ming 鳳朝明 whose native name was I-lu 矣祿. He was the second hereditary native prefect bearing the name Feng. The family name of his ancestors was originally A 阿; this was changed to Feng in 1488 by Imperial order. His first ancestor was A-erh 阿爾 who was given the chieftainship of the Lo-wu tribe 羅婁部 by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsing 段智興, during Sung Hsiao Tsung 宋孝宗, period Shun-hsi 淳熙 (1174–1189). — From the *Wu-ting chou chih* ch. 3, fol. 49a.

[79] It was Mu Kao who in 1548 won the victory over the Tibetans which is described on the stone-drum at Shih-ku, engraved in October, 1561. *See* pages 282–285.

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173 As the eldest son he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year he conquered and rebuilt the villages of T'ien-chieh 天接 and Huang-chin-ch'iao 黃金橋 of Ni-na. In the 34th year (1555), the application recommending him as the legal successor to his father's throne of the fu-magistracy of military and civil affairs of Li-chiang was duly sanctioned by the Emperor. In the same year, he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Na-shui 那水 and T'ien-chang 天掌 of Shu-lo, while the village of Li-ko 立各 surrendered of its own accord.

In the 35th year (1556), A-mu received his official letters patent, *Chi* 敕, No. 4946, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 9th day of the second moon of the same year (March 19th, 1556) he assumed his official duties. In the 38th year (1559), numerous brigands, led by a man named Ku-p'u 孤蒲, besieged the village of Kao-sheng 高勝 in Chung-tien. On the receipt of an urgent message, A-mu ordered his elder son, A-tu 阿都, to lead his troops to raise the siege. His son killed many brigands and gained a great victory.

On the 9th day of the sixth moon of the 39th year (July 2nd, 1560), he instructed capable subordinates to prepare a budget for wages of workmen required for certain large constructions. On account of this service, the Department of works of the Yün-nan Viceroy conferred on him the third rank of civil official, and applied on his behalf to the Board of Civil Office for its confirmation and for Imperial letters patent. In accordance with the usual custom, he selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court. To assist him the three chief officials of Yün-nan gave him 10 men's rations out of the provincial granary, and 10 transport horses for the journey to the Imperial capital. On the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 40th year (September 16th, 1561), he himself applied to the Board of Civil Office for the confirmation of his third rank of civil official and for Imperial letters patent.

The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu, together with the following commendatory words, "You have been loyal to your nation; you have honored your parents by cutting off flesh from your own arm, to be used as medicine in curing their illness; you have civilized the frontier lands; you have shown your power by safely defending your State against the Pei-fan 北番 (tribes of the north). Speaking of the fame of your virtue, you are perfect both in loyalty and in filial piety. As to your reputation for knowledge, you are well-learned both in literature and in military science. Now We have the pleasure to confer on you specially the third rank of a civil official, and allow your official degree to be classed in the same order as those of Our nine ministers, and your hereditary right of nobility to be preserved in your Ch'iao-mu 喬木 for ever and ever." On his wife, Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑, was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. The above-mentioned titles were all conferred by the Imperial patent *Hsin*, 信, No. 877. Again, His Majesty gave him four characters, *Ch'iao Mu Shih Chia* 喬木世家 [50] (The ancient,

[50] 喬木世家, of these four characters the first two are from the *Shih Ching* 詩經 (Book of poetry), Book I, 9th ode, stanza 1, 南有喬木 — "In the south there are stately trees." These characters were selected as the family name of the Li-chiang chiefs is Mu 木 (tree) and because they lived in the south of the Empire.

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honorable and exalted Mu family), and permitted him to erect an arch in front of his house with these four Chinese characters carved on it. 173

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 22a–b, in transmitting the official appointments and gifts, the Emperor in his decree wrote as follows:

"Succeeding under Heaven's decree to the throne, We command as follows:

"So far as We know Our Empire, according to the Imperial system is just like a family. For this reason those near and those from afar are treated alike regarding the appointment of officials and the bestowing of titles. This in order to broaden the principle of tranquility throughout Our Empire and to exhibit the law of encouragement.

"Mu Kao, hereditary native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang and Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, if you examine your ancestry, will recall that your forebears were promoted to be prefects. They accomplished many meritorious acts, and as Imperial subjects, from generation to generation, all respectfully performed the duty of defending the Imperial border. By your merit you can make your family as glorious as before, devoting yourself with sincerity to the State. . . . The people on the Imperial border were influenced by your instructions, and the northern barbarians were repressed by your acknowledged power. Speaking about your fame based on your virtue, We believe you to be both loyal and filial. Praising you for your ability, We appreciate that you are versed both in letters and in military affairs.

"Thus We confer upon you an Imperial patent by which you will be promoted to the third official rank, and occupy a seat among the nine ministers, so as to show Our esteem for you. We hope that you will exert yourself to keep the peace of Our State. Defend your native place, and comfort and instruct your people. Reverently receive the Imperial bounty sanctioned with Our Imperial seal, and keep your ancient family noble forever. Be reverent!"

The Emperor again commands as follows:

"According to the State law of recompensing one for merit, if a title is conferred on a husband, a favor must be extended to his wife. This to emphasize the principle of the five human relationships (伍倫) and to strengthen the law of inheritance.

"Tso-shih, wife of Mu Kao . . . , you were endowed with virtue and came from a family of rank and position. As you are diligent in helping your husband, you obtained a reputation of lofty virtue. We especially confer upon you the title of Shu-jen by an Imperial patent. Receive this silken [Imperial] bounty and glorify your sex forever!

"Given in the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561), *Hsin* 信, No. 877."

The Emperor also presented him with three pieces of colored satin and 600 silver ingots, he also sent back 10 men's rations taken from the provincial granary and the 10 transport horses given him by the three chief officials of Yün-nan. All these things arrived safely at the fu-magistracy. On the 7th day of the eighth moon of the same year (September 15th, 1561), when the gifts were delivered to him at his office, he expressed his sincere thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. The complete list, in detail, of the rest of the Imperial gifts may now be found in the book of Hereditary Rights.

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173 In the 43rd year (1564), he ordered his son, A-tu, to relieve the village of Sheng-pao 勝保 and, by sending his troops still farther, he also conquered the villages of Chin-chia-la 金加剌 and Ch'iu-kuang 秋光 of the district of Shu-lo. In the 44th year (1565), he conquered the villages of Ts'o-ko 磋各 and Li-ya-ti 立壓地 of Ni-na. In the fifth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (May 27th–June 26th, 1568), he ordered A-tu to settle the affairs of the rebel Ku-p'u 蛊蒲 by attacking him in his retreat in the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Ko-li 各立. This his son carried out successfully.

Mu was born on the 22nd day of the first moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (February 5th, 1515), and died on the 11th day of the eleventh moon of the 2nd year of Lung-ch'ing (November 29th, 1568). His wife, A-shih-mao 阿室毛, was the daughter of magistrate Tso 左, of the fu-magistracy of Meng-hua 蒙化府,[81] and her official name was Tso-shih-shu 左氏淑. On her was conferred the honorary title of Shu-jen. She gave birth to two sons, A-tu and A-ch'un 阿春 of which the elder succeeded to the throne.

SIXTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-mu-A-tu* 阿目阿都 (PLATE 26): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tung 木東, and he was also named Chen-yang 震陽, Wen-yen 文巖 and Yü-hua 鬱華. As the elder son of Mu Kao 木高, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the third year of Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1569), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. In the same year, he ordered all the people of his different districts to help him kill the brigand leader Ku-p'u 蛊蒲, whose followers were then thoroughly defeated and dispersed. In the fourth year (1570), he sent his troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of Ni-na, where he was victorious. In the same year, he received his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 32, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 18th day of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 13th, 1571), he assumed his official duties, and then conquered and rebuilt the village of T'ien-hsi 天喜 of Ni-na. In the sixth year (1572), Hsiang-tao 相刀,[82] leader of the Tibetan tribes of the village of Li-kan-mao 利干毛 of Ni-na, knelt before him and repented his former crimes.

In the second year of Wan-li (1574), Tu selected horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, to express his thanks to the Emperor for his grace, and to apply for Imperial letters patent. In the same year, he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水 and Lei-sheng 雷勝. In the third year (1575), His Majesty conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu and on his wife, Kao-shih-hsien 高氏賢, the posthumous honorary title of Kung-jen, also on his second wife, Meng-shih-fu 孟氏富, the same honorary title, by the Imperial patent *Chih* 制, No. 104. The Emperor also gave him four Chinese characters, *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (Screen

[81] Her ancestor was a certain Tso-ch'ing-lo 左青羅 who was native associate magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧 in the Yüan dynasty. His descendant Tso-ho 左禾 became the Huo-t'ou 火頭 of nine tribes and the interpreter of Shun-ning chief in the Ming dynasty. He was made a chou-magistrate of Meng-hua 蒙化 in the 3rd year of Yung-lo (1405) because he persuaded a rebel by name Kao Ta-hui 高大惠 to submit. The office then became hereditary — *Meng-hua fu chih* 蒙化府志, ch. 4, fol. 19a.

[82] CHAVANNES gives the name as Hsiang-tao Hu-mu 相刀胡目. The words *Hu-mu* (Eye of the barbarians) refer to his being the leader of the Tibetans of the village of Li kan-mao of the district of Nyi-na (Ni-na). This epithet occurs on the stone-drum inscription at Shih-ku.

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of my north-western frontier), and permitted him to build an arch for his house bearing these four characters. He also presented him with three pieces of colored satin, and 600 silver ingots, and paid his men travelling expenses equal to the salary of two men, provisions for 12 men, and four horses for their journey home. On the 21st day of the tenth moon of the same year (November 22nd, 1575), when the gifts had been delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the same year, he in person led his troops against the village of La-ch'iu-kuang 剌秋光, and ordered his eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, to advance on the villages of Na-ch'i-yin 那其音 and Ni-pao 你保, where they gained a great victory, beheading over 400 brigands and taking over 300 prisoners. In the fifth year (1577), the Fan brigands invaded the border of the village of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各[83] in the Ni-na district, whither he ordered A-sheng to attack them with his troops. The brigands were prepared to resist him, in that they already had mustered several ten thousand men who occupied as their headquarters the villages of A-hsi 阿西 and Chi-chü-ngai (yen) 集直岩 at the mouth of the Tao-na-ting-ssu River 刀那丁思江.

At first A-sheng's army lost the battle, and was forced to retreat from its defensive line. Thus, the brigands became bolder and stronger. A-sheng then ordered his troops to be courageous and divided them into four camps. Meanwhile, they proved their valor by assaulting the two villages of strategic importance, and capturing or killing over 1,000 brigands. All the hidden retreats of the enemy were at last taken. No sooner did his troops advance on Niang-ti 娘的, Kuo-tsung 果宗, Ts'ao-na-mu 草那目, Ch'un-kan 春干, T'ao-ch'i-wei 陶其尾, A-hsi-ni 阿西你 and Wang-lüeh-shao 王略哨, than all these desolate places surrendered of their own accord. In the seventh year (1579), Tu established the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, Sheng-lieh 聖烈 and Feng-yang 俸楊.

Tu was born on the 26th day of the ninth moon of the 13th year, *chia-wu* 甲午, of Chia-ching (November 1st, 1534), and died on the 18th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year, *chi-mao* 己卯, of Wan-li (December 6th, 1579). His wife, A-shih-lu 阿室魯, was the daughter of magistrate Kao 高 of the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou,[84] and her official name was Kao-shih-hsien

[83] Mao-ch'ü-ko was in the district of Lin-hsi, and the latter belonged to Ni-na (Nyi-na), the present Wei-hsi.

[84] Her first ancestor was Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓祥; he was the first native magistrate of Pei-sheng (Pei-sheng T'u-chih-chou 北勝土知州) during the Yüan dynasty. Owing to meritorious services, Yün-nan officials bestowed on him the title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫. He died in the 13th year of Ming Hung-wu (1380). Her father was Kao Te 高德, the ninth hereditary native magistrate of Pei-sheng. He took office in the 33rd year of Chia-ching (1554) — *Yung-pei T'ing chih*, ch. 3, fols. 33b and 34b.

The first native official (magistrate) of Shun-ning, which is 320 li south-south-west of Ta-li, was Meng-hung 猛烘. He was the descendant of Meng-yu 孟獄 who was chief of the P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages), the P'u 濮 of ancient times; *see* note 95. The latter inhabit besides Shun-ning, Ching-tung 景東, P'u-erh 普洱 and neighboring regions. They came under Chinese rule during the Mongol dynasty. When Meng-yu submitted to the Chinese empire in the time of the Mongol dynasty (in the first year of the period T'ien-li of Emperor Ming Tsung, 1329) his name was officially changed to Meng 猛 (Fierce and brave). — *See* also *Shun-ning fu chih*, ed. 1725, ch. 5, fol. 26a. Meng-hung was authorized to rule in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Later his people stopped paying taxes, quarrelled and killed

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173 高氏繼. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. She gave birth to three sons, named A-sheng 阿勝, A-ch'eng 阿成 and A-hsien 阿先. His second wife, A-shih-hui 阿氏揮, was the daughter of magistrate Meng 猛 of the fu-magistracy of Shun-ning 順寧, and her official name was Meng-shih-fu 猛氏富. Tu's eldest son, A-sheng 阿勝, succeeded to the throne.

SEVENTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-tu A-sheng* 阿都阿勝 (PLATE 27): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Wang 木旺. He was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春, Yü-lung 玉龍 and K'un-kang 坤崗.[85] As the eldest son of Mu Tung, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the eighth year of Wan Li (1580), his hereditary right of fu-magistrate was duly recommended and confirmed. In the ninth year (1581), he received his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 58, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 21st day of the third moon of the same year (April 23rd, 1581), he assumed his official duties. In the same year, he established the villages of Li-hsi-ko 立習各 and T'ien-ling 天壘 of Chao-k'o. In the 10th year (1582), the soldiers of the Wu-so 五所[86] of the Yung-ning 永寧 district burned and destroyed 27 small villages of Shu-lo. In the first moon of the same year, he personally led his troops to the attack and forced them to retreat to the interior of Yung-ning. In the eighth moon of the same year, he again led his main troops, and divided them into several battalions, to advance by different routes. On his arrival at the village of Tao-li 刀立 of Shu-lo, the headman of Tso-so 左所 assembled many soldiers to lay siege to his military headquarters. He victoriously raised that siege and defeated them completely. With his triumphant troops, he again attacked and conquered the villages of Hsiang-shui 香水, P'u-la 普剌 and Chia-wa 加瓦. In the 11th year (1583), on account of the rebellion of the Hsi-k'ou 西寇, western robbers, he supplied the government with 1,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. In the same year, he personally led his troops to invade Yung-ning and conquered the villages of A-lo 阿羅 and Kuang-li 光立, where he captured magistrate A-hsiung 阿雄[87] of the fu-magistracy, together with his followers, but did not kill them. In the 12th year (1584), the remaining followers of A-hsiung joined the brigands of the five So (Wu-so) districts, and again besieged the village of Hsiang-shui and also Kuang-shih 光世. Sheng personally raised the siege, and defeated them completely. He then conquered the village of Hsiang-shui-wa 香水瓦 and established the village of T'ien-yu 天佑.

In the same year, a punitive expedition was carried on against Burma 緬, and this time he supplied the government troops with 2,000 taels of silver. In the 13th year (1585), he selected horses and native products, and sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court to thank the Emperor for his grace, and to

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one another. In consequence, a Ta-li military official attacked and conquered them, after which a transferable official was installed.

[85] In the Second Chronicle it is written Shen-kang 神崗.

[86] The Wu-so 五所, who were once under Yung-ning, are the five districts ruled by Na-khi T'u-ssu, or Chiefs, belonging now to south-west Ssu-ch'uan (*see* Wu-so).

[87] A-hsiung was of the eighth generation of the A 阿 family of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu 永寧土司; he took office in the second year of Wan-li (1574), succeeding his brother A-ying 阿英. He died in 1586. (*See* Genealogy of the Yung-ning chiefs, p. 367.)

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apply for Imperial letters patent. His Majesty gave him three valuable gifts, 173 and sent his men back with an official reply.

In the 14th year (1586), he established the village of Hsiang-chu 香柱. After that, he marched with his men to La-t'a 剌他,[88] and captured all the land of the villages of Hsiang-shui, Chi-mai 戟買, Lo-hsiang 羅相 and Chang-ming-yüan 丈明原. In the 15th year (1587), he captured and killed the brigand leaders A-chüan 阿卷 and La-mao-chia 剌毛加 of the Tso-so[89] district. In the 16th year (1588), he conquered and rebuilt the villages of Pu-wa 卜瓦 and Pao-chih 寶之. In the same year, the Hsi-fan tribes of La-t'a conspired with the people of Wu-so to besiege the village of Hsiang-chu. Immediately he led his troops to raise the siege, and gained a great victory over the enemy. In the same year governor Hsiao 蕭 of Yün-nan joined three other chief officials of this province, to submit a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who then conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧, the honorary title of Kung-jen by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 931. In the second moon of the 17th year (March 16th–April 14th, 1589), when the Imperial dispatch was delivered at his office, he expressed his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne.

In the same year, he rebuilt the village of Chün-lu-wa 均魯瓦 of the district of Chao-k'o. In the 19th year (1591), he rebuilt the iron-chain bridge of the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na.[90] In the 20th year (1592), he built the wall of the village of Chao-ts'ang 昭蒼 of the Ni-na district. In the 21st year (1593), he rebuilt the villages of Hsiang-shui and P'u-pao 普保. In the 22nd year (1594), he rebuilt the walls of the villages of Pa-t'o 巴托 and Pu-hsi 卜習. In the same year, Burmese brigands plundered the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰,[91] whither he led his troops to relieve the people, forcing the brigands to retreat. In the 23rd year (1595), he rebuilt the villages of Tsung-che 宗者 and Yin-chu 銀柱寨 of the Ni-na district. In the fourth year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1631), on account of his grandson's military merit, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, together with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor, *see* note 96), and on his wife, Lo-shih 羅氏, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen. [The *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 40a, states that the Emperor gave him, in addition, the posthumous title of Junior treasurer in the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury.]

Sheng was born on the 1st day of the ninth moon of the 30th year of Chia-ching (September 30th, 1551) and died on the 13th day of the fifth moon of the

[88] La-t'a 剌他 is the Na-khi name of the Tso-so district, from the T'u-ssu's family name, which is La 喇.

[89] In the 15th year of Yung-lo, the headman of Tso-so was called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. The name in the Chronicle is written 剌, but it should be 喇.

[90] There is no iron rope or chain-bridge in the Wei-hsi district to-day, unless the district to the south between Lan-p'ing and Yün-lung was included in Ni-na in those days. There are several iron chain-bridges over the Pi Chiang 批江, marked Lo-ma Ho on MAJOR DAVIES' map.

[91] The towns of Yung-ch'ang 永昌 and T'eng-yüeh 騰越 in south-western Yün-nan are here meant.

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173 24th year of Wan-li (June 8th, 1596). His wife, A-shih-neng 阿室能, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅[93] of the magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ning 羅氏寧. She gave birth to three sons, named A-chai 阿宅, A-hsi 阿希 and A-hsiang 阿祥. The eldest, A-chai, succeeded to the throne.

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fol. 35b, the Emperor in his Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 554, states as follows:

"As you, Mu Wang, aimed at pacifying the rebellion, you unfortunately lost your life on the battle-field. Your great fidelity to Us cannot be obliterated from Our memory. You are indeed a pattern of manly honor. For this reason We give you an Imperial patent by which you receive the title of Chung-shun ta-fu and Junior counsellor to the provincial governor of Yün-nan."

All this is not mentioned in the Genealogical Chronicles. It would appear, according to the Emperor's opening sentences, that Mu Wang lost his life on the battle-field while suppressing a rebellion.

EIGHTEENTH GENERATION. — *A-sheng A-chai* 阿勝阿宅 (PLATE 28): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Ch'ing 木青. He was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生, Ch'iao-yo 喬岳 and Sung-ho 松鶴. As the eldest son of Mu Wang, he succeeded to his father's throne. Before his hereditary right was confirmed, in the 20th year of Wan-li (1592), the Li-su 力蘇[95] tribes of Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 plundered some government salt from the office of the Salt magistrate of Wu-ching 五井 (Five Salt-wells). He received a dispatch, issued by Commander-in-Chief Mu Ch'ang-tsu 沐昌祚,[96] Ch'ien-kuo Wu-ch'i-g kung 黔國武靖公, General of the Southern punitive expedition, and Imperial tutor, with the joint signatures of two other chief officials of Yün-nan, instructing him to settle this trouble. He personally led his troops thither and, defeating the enemy, he decapitated 83 of the brigands. Thus, he was honorably rewarded with a flower-design shield and many other gifts.

[93] The first native official of Lan chou was called Lo-k'o 羅克, and was a native of Lan chou. In the Mongol dynasty he was made a Wan-hu 萬戶 (chief of 10,000 families). During the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he made his submission with all his people. On account of military merit he was made a T'u chih-chou 土知州 (native sub-prefect). One of his successors, by name Lo-ts'ai 羅才, in company with Mu Ch'u 木初 (8th generation), attacked the Po-i 伯夷 [chief] Tao-ch'ien-meng 刀千孟 and during this campaign he acquired merit. The office then became hereditary until Lo-ts'an 羅燦, who ruled in the capacity of a T'u-she 土舍 (native resident) but his hereditary right was not recognized — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 143, p. 6a.

[95] The Li-su 栗粟, or 力蘇, are aborigines who inhabit the south-western part of the province of Yün-nan, especially the region around Yün-lung. They do not form any particular agglomeration in Yün-nan, but are distributed over the entire province, some Li-su villages occurring even in Yung-ning territory, north-east of Li-chiang. Yün-lung is a prefectural city situated on the Pi Chiang 批江, also called the Lo-ma Ho 羅馬河, and is north-east of T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝). In the Li-chiang prefecture they dwell at the entrance to the Yangtze gorge of the Yü-lung Shan (Jade dragon Mountain), on the steep cliffs of 'A-ts'an-gko. Near them, at La-muan-dse, dwells another tribe called the Chung-chia 种家. They came originally from Kuang-hsi (Kwangsi).

[96] Mu Ch'ang-tsu was military governor of Yün-nan and hereditary Duke of Knei-chou (Ch'ien-kuo). He was the son of Ch'ao Pi 朝聘, who was dismissed from office in the sixth year of Lung-ch'ing (1572) on account of misconduct.

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In the 24th year (1596), Chai's hereditary right was recommended and confirmed. He then assumed his official duties. In the 25th year (1597) when the towns of Ta-hou chou 大侯州 [95] and Shun-ning 順寧 rebelled, he assisted by supplying 4,000 taels of silver for soldiers' pay. 173

In the 34th year (1606), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, and on his wife, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the posthumous honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen by Imperial patent, *I* 義, No. 284. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627), the Emperor gave permission to his son to build for his mother, Lo-shih, an arch in honor of her chastity. In the fourth year of Ts'ung-cheng (1631), on account of the military merit of his son, the Emperor again conferred on him a posthumous honorary official degree — that of the second rank and honorary title of T'ung-feng ta-fu 通奉大夫, with the additional honorary title of Pu-cheng shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[96] and on his wife, Lo-shih, the posthumous honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent, *Jen* 仁, No. 4.

[It is related of Mu Ch'ing that he was tired of life and committed suicide on the Li-chiang snow range].

According to the *Huang-Ming En-lün-lu*, fols. 27a–b, in transmitting the decree giving Mu Ch'ing his posthumous rank the Emperor wrote as follows:

"Mu Ch'ing, you are the father of Mu Tseng, Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. On account of your son's merit, I confer upon you the posthumous titles of Chung-hsien ta-fu and Native prefect of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. Though you could not keep your body alive, yet you had a good son. You became more renowned because you lost your life. Your spirit may seek to receive this. Receive this blessing and exert your strength in the nether world."

Chai was born on the 8th day of the eighth moon of the 3rd year of Lung-ch'ing (September 18th, 1569), and died on the 15th day of the tenth moon of the 25th year of Wan-li (November 23rd, 1597). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿室加, was the daughter of magistrate Lo 羅, of the chou-magistracy of Lan chou, and her official name was Lo-shih-ch'un. She gave birth to one son, named Ssu 寺, who succeeded to the throne.

NINETEENTH GENERATION. — *A-chai A-ssu* 阿宅阿寺 (PLATE 29): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Tseng 木增. He was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿, Hua-yo 華岳 and Sheng-pai 生白 (pronounced Sen-pe in Yün-nan). As the only son of Mu Chai 木宅, he succeeded to his father's throne. In the 26th year of Wan-li (1598), his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

In the same year, the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao 阿丈剌毛, of the

[95] The ancient Ta-hou chou was 150 li south-east of Shun-ning. In olden days it was the land of the Man-i 蠻夷 (Barbarians). Their chief was called Meng-yu 孟獲 and belonged to the P'u-man 僕蠻 tribe. They submitted during the reign of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260–1263) of the Mongol dynasty.

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597) the name was changed to Yün chou 雲州; to-day it is called Yün hsien 雲縣.

[96] Under the Ming dynasty a Pu-cheng shih was a governor of a province, but now the title refers to a provincial treasurer.

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173 village of Hsiang-shui [97] rebelled. He led a punitive expedition against him, and defeated him thoroughly. In the 27th year (1599), he attacked the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-yao 好堯, where he gained a great victory. In the 28th year (1600), he submitted a report to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned his hereditary right, and presented him with his official letters patent *Chi* 敕, No. 10, issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 10th day of the seventh moon of the same year (August 18th, 1600), he assumed his official duties. He captured the brigand leader Pi-li 畢哩 at the village of T'ao-tien 陶甸 in the district of Chung-tien. In the 29th year (1601), he fell upon the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui, P'u-wa 蒲瓦 and Hao-yao, where he attained a great victory. He then sent troops to the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the district of Ni-na, where he won a great victory. In the same year, he fought the rebels of the village of Shu-lo (west of Mu-li 木裏), and was victorious on that expedition. Again, he charged the rebels of the allied villages of Hsiang-shui, Tso-so and Hao-tien 好甸, where he captured and killed the disobedient resident, Hsi-yüan-chü 西原苴.

In the third moon of the 30th year (April 22nd–May 20th, 1602), he won a great victory at the village of Shun-ta 順大. He carefully examined the merits and demerits of his men on that expedition, and varied their pay accordingly. The Emperor also rewarded him with 20 taels of silver. He then fought the rebels of the villages of Hsiang-shui and Hao-tien at the mouth of the Tang-ting River 當丁江, where he was again victorious. In the 31st year (1603), he repaired the Yung-chen bridge 永鎮橋 of the Ni-na salt-well 你那鹽井.[98] In the same year, Ssu killed the brigand leader P-li 畢哩 in the village of Shu-lo. In the 33rd year (1605), in the district of Hsiang-shui, he decapitated the brigand leader A-chang-la-mao on the bank of the Pa-hu River 把胡江.

In the 34th year (1606), in accordance with the usual official regulations, he sent his envoys to the Imperial court to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then favoured him with a reply through the medium of the Board of Civil Office. In the sixth moon (July 5th–August 3rd) of the same year, the aforesaid Board issued him Imperial letters patent, conferring on his father, Mu Ch'ing, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of magistrate of the fu-magistracy, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'un 羅氏春, the honorary title of T'ai-kung-jen. Again, the Board conferred on him the same honorary title as that of his father, and on his wife, Lu-shih-fan 魯氏繁, the honorary title of Kung-jen, by the Imperial patent *I* 敕, No. 283. In the second moon of the 35th year (February 26th–March 27th, 1607), he expressed

[97] This was in the present-day Tso-so territory east of Yung-ning, and in south-west Ssu-ch'uan.

Under the Nan-chao Kingdom, the Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 of to-day was called Hsiang-ch'eng chün 香城郡, the first part of the name of the village being apparently derived from that district, to which Hsiang-shui belonged.

[98] The river on which the city of Ni-na is situated is called the Yung-ch'ün Ho 永寧河 (River of eternal spring). The salt-well here mentioned as belonging to the Ni-na (Wei-hsi) district, can only be the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 salt-well which, however, is not in the Wei-hsi district, at the present time. La-chi-ming is west of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪, which once belonged to Li-chiang.

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his thanks to the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. 173

In the 37th year (1609), he led his troops in person to the villages of Kan-p'u-wa 干普瓦 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of the Chung-tien district, where the brigand leader Ku-p'u 蔔蒲 with his followers knelt before him. In the 40th year (1612), he ordered his troops to assault the village of Ts'ai-tien 才甸 of the Ni-na district, over which he gained a great victory. In the 41st year (1613), he fought against the brigands of the village of Pa-t'o of the Chao-k'o district, where he was victorious. In the 43rd year (1615), he seized three Ta-tzu 達子 (Tartars), and sent them directly, together with the heads of the brigands and some captured military weapons, to the three chief officials of Yün-nan, to be registered for merit. In the 44th year (1616), he conquered the village of Lu-pa-ting 鲁巴丁 of Shu-lo. In the 45th year (1617), he again ordered his troops to attack the village of Pa-t'o, where he was victorious. In the 46th year (1618), he prepared gifts consisting of horses and native products, and sent them by envoys as tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of celebrating the birthday of the Emperor, who presented him and his wife with many pieces of fine hemp, silk, colored satin, gauze, socks and boots, and authorized him by a special Imperial decree to defend the frontier lands. He received all these things in good condition.

In the same year, as the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 in Feng-t'ien 奉天 was greatly alarmed [on account of Manchus?], he transported directly to the Board of revenue 10,000 taels of silver for the soldiers' pay. The fund was transferred on his behalf to the Board of war for the registration of merit. His Majesty ordered the matter to be carefully printed in a special record, and published as a good example to all the officials in the whole country. At the same time the Board of Civil Office sent him a reply, conferring on him an Imperial official dress of the third rank, and a reward of silver coins worth 30 taels. In the 47th year (1619), he instructed the five divisions of the village of Pa-t'o to supply a certain number of laborers for government work. In the 48th year (1620),[99] he sent 1,200 taels of silver to the Imperial capital to buy cavalry horses for the Imperial military service. His Majesty presented him with two Chinese characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness) (PLATE 30). In the same year, by using persuasion, he brought Jih-yin-a-chün 日音阿均 of Hsiang-shui into submission.

In the same year, when Emperor Kuang Tsung of the Ming dynasty changed the year-title to T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌 succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高氏懋 in the magistracy of Pei-sheng chou, but their official secretary, named Kao Lan 高蘭, conspired to usurp that same magistracy for himself. Ssu was instructed to settle the affair. Thereupon he led his troops to that city and took prisoner the chief culprit Kao Lan and many of his followers. For that service, he was rewarded with a flower-design medal

[99] Shen Tsung (Wan-li) died on the 21st day of the seventh moon in the 48th year of his reign (August 18th, 1620). His son Kuang Tsung, who ascended the throne in the same year, adopting the reign title T'ai-ch'ang 泰昌, died after having reigned for less than six weeks, on the 1st day of the ninth moon (September 26th, 1620). He was followed by his son Hsi Tsung 熹宗, who, in the ninth moon of the same year, ascended the throne, adopting the reign title of T'ien-ch'i. The latter, however, commenced in 1621.

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173 and many other valuable gifts. In the second year of T'ien-ch'i (1622), the tribal chief She 奢[100] of Ssu-ch'uan rebelled against the Imperial rule; Ssu transported a large sum of money to pay the government soldiers for his suppression.

Thus, the governor of Yün-nan rewarded him with a gilt flower-design silver medal and many pieces of colored satin. His Majesty again presented him with a suit of official dress of the third rank, 30 taels of silver, and two (rolls) of hemp and silk. In the same year, Ssu sent envoys to the Imperial capital to offer ten suggestions to the Emperor, and to contribute 1,000 taels of silver to be used on behalf of those who had either sacrificed their lives in the war or had been remarkable for their loyalty or filial piety. The Imperial court praised him as a loyal official. The Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that His Majesty had promoted him to the position of Yün-nan Pu-cheng shih-ssu Yu-ts'an-cheng 雲南布政使司右參政 (Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor). On the 14th day of the third moon of the 3rd year (April 13th, 1623), he respectfully accepted the appointment. In the fourth year (1624), he resigned from official life.

In the fifth year (1625), he contributed to the government, 1,000 taels of silver for soldiers' rations and transported this fund to the provincial treasurer of Yün-nan. At the same time he sent men to the Imperial capital to apply for Imperial letters patent. The Emperor then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu 太中大夫, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, and on his wife, Lu-shih 陸氏, the honorary title of Shu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 555. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honorary titles by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 9th day of the fourth moon of the 6th year (May 4th, 1626), he expressed his thanks for the Emperor's grace by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the same year, he provided many laborers for the government corvée, and taking advantage of this, he applied to the Emperor for an honor to be conferred on his mother for her marital fidelity. In the seventh year (1627), His Majesty permitted him to build an arch in memory of her chastity. In the first year of Ch'ung-cheng (1628), Governor Min 閔[101] of Yün-nan made a report on his behalf to the Emperor for the purpose of recommending and praising his past deeds.

In the same year, he was instructed to lead his troops to the city of Yün-lung,[102] where he took prisoner 13 brigand leaders. He then forwarded to the

[100] This tribal chief's name was She Ch'ung-ming 奢崇明, he was hereditary Hsüan-fu-shih 宣撫使 of Yung-ning, Ssu-ch'uan, and belonged to the Lo-lo tribe 羅羅種. The She family first submitted to Chinese rule during the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398). Ch'ung-ming was only distantly connected with the She family. Yung-ning (not to be confused with the Yung-ning of north-west Yün-nan) belonged previously to Kuei-chou and forms now the sub-prefectural city of Hsü-yung 敘永 in Ssu-ch'uan. (Latitude 28° 08′, longitude 105° 18′. PLAYFAIR). — From the *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a; and *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 2b, and ch. 2, fol. 24b.

[101] The governor's name was Min Meng-te 閔夢得. He ruled over Yün-nan and Kuei-chou.

[102] Yün-lung is situated on the banks of the Pi Chiang 瀰江 (latitude 25° 54′, longitude 99° 36′. PLAYFAIR. MAJOR DAVIES gives latitude 25° 50′, longitude 99° 50′.) It is mainly inhabited by the Min-chia 民家 tribe.

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Yün-nan government many military weapons which he had captured. In the third year (1630), he rebuilt the village of San-pa-ting-ch'ü 三巴丁佉 of Ni-na district and the bridges of Ch'ing-lung 青龍 and Wei-yüan 威遠,[103] and also helped the Imperial capital and Kuei-chou province with considerable funds to pay the soldiers, and transported the money directly to the Board. Thus the Yün-nan Viceroy Chu 朱[104] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, who promoted him to the position of Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury in the fifth moon of the 4th year of Ch'ung-cheng (May 31st–June 28th, 1631), and conferred on him the additional honorary titles of T'ung-feng ta-fu, and Junior treasurer of the Kuang-hsi provincial treasury, and on his wife, Lu-shih, the honorary title of Fu-jen, by the Imperial patent *Jen* 仁, No. 4. On his parents and grandparents were conferred various posthumous honors by two other special Imperial decrees. On the 4th day of the fourth moon of the 5th year (May 22nd, 1632), he expressed his thanks for the grace of the Emperor by kneeling in a northerly direction towards the Imperial throne. In the seventh year (1634) the local scholars of the city of Ho-ch'ing invited him to attend a great feast. 173

In the 10th year (1637), he recovered the village of Yang-li 楊立 of Chao-k'o district. He sent many laborers to work on the Imperial tombs, and transported a contribution of 500 taels of silver to the Imperial court. In the eighth moon of the 13th year of Ch'ung-cheng (September 16th–October 14th, 1640), the Board of Civil Office wrote him a reply, informing him that the Emperor had promoted him to the position of Senior treasurer of the Ssu-ch'uan provincial treasury, and had permitted him to build an arch in the Yün-nan provincial capital in honor of his loyal deeds, as an example and in order to give encouragement to other tribal chiefs of all other provinces. His Majesty then presented him again with flower-design silks, a sheep and wine,[105] which were delivered with the Imperial dispatches to the office of the Yün-nan provincial treasurer, which ordered messengers to take the presents to him, whereupon he reverently received them.

In the same year, Ssu rebuilt the village of Na-ya 那牙 of the Ni-na salt-well. In the 15th year (1642), the Fan-i 番夷 (Hsi-fan and Lo-lo) tribes of Lang-ch'ü 浪穹,[106] Tang-wa 當瓦[107] and Chih-tien 知甸, and the Li-su, tribes of the

[103] Ch'ing-lung is a small town south of Ching-tung, and is near the Black River, (Pa-pien Ho or Pa-pien Chiang 把邊江); Wei-yüan (latitude 23° 30′, longitude 100° 45′) is a town north-west of P'u-erh, situated on the west bank of the Pa-ching Ho 巴敬河, which flows into the Mekong. Wei-yüan is now called Ching-ku 景谷. It is near a salt-well called Hsiang-yen ching 香鹽井 (Fragrant Salt-well).

[104] The Viceroy's name was Chu Hsieh-yüan 朱燮元. He was a native of Shan-yin 山陰 in Che-chiang 浙江 (Chekiang), and received a doctor's degree in 1584. His first appointment was as judge of the administrative court of Ta-li — *Ming Shih*, ch. 249, fol. 1a.

[105] In ancient days it was the custom to give a present of a sheep and a jar of wine.

[106] Lan-ch'ü is the territory of a Na-khi T'u-ssu south of Yung-ning and north of Yung-pei; the latter town is four stages east of Li-chiang.

[107] Probably the Tong-wa Tibetans are meant, who live north of Chung-tien. The Tong-wa to this day still make raids on Chung-tien and on the territory to the south of it. In 1933 they came in large numbers and held Chung-tien for some time, as a base from which to rob

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113 four mountains of Pi-shuo 必勺 surrendered of their own accord. In the 16th year (1643), Li Yung-chen 李永鎮,[108] leader of 100 households of the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan 劍川,[109] and his brothers started a riot and murdered the magistrate of that city. Ssu was instructed to settle this affair, and succeeded in making them all prisoners and sending them to the office of the Yün-nan viceroy. In the 17th year (1644),[110] he contributed labor towards government works, and supported the Imperial court in Nanking with large sums of money to be used for the urgent need of paying the soldiers. His Majesty then conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing 太僕寺正卿 (Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud).

In the first year of Hung-kuang (1645),[111] he was ordered to attack the city of Lang-ch'ü, whither he led his troops and settled the trouble caused by its obstinate rebels. In the same year, he was instructed by an Imperial messenger to recruit Tien 滇 (Yün-nan) soldiers. Meanwhile, on account of his merit in supplying funds for the pay of soldiers, the Imperial censor Ch'en 陳 sent some officials to present him with satin, embroidered with golden flowers and woven with four-clawed dragons, which he accepted with great respect. In the fourth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (May 15th–June 12th, 1646), the Board of Civil Office informed him that the Emperor had sanctioned his promotion to the rank of T'ai-p'u-ssu cheng-ch'ing, and had given him a special note, sending greetings to his whole family.

Ssu was born on the 17th day of the eighth moon of the 15th year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1587), and died on the 1st day of the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Lung-wu (September 9th, 1646). His wife, A-shih-yü 阿室于, was the daughter of magistrate Lu-hua-kao 祿華誥 of Ning chou 寧州,[112] and her

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the neighboring districts. In 1942 over 5,000 Tibetans came and held Chung-tien for a considerable time, till they were driven off by being bombed by Yün-nan military planes.

[108] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 142, fol. 34b, and the *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu*, ch. 109, fol. 21b, both give the name as Yang Yung-chen 楊永鎮 instead of Li 李 Yung-chen.

[109] The city of Chien-ch'uan is two days south of Li-chiang Latitude 26° 29′, longitude 99° 54′. (PLAYFAIR).

[110] This should read the first year of the Ch'ing Emperor Shun-chih 順治 (1644) The Mu family remained loyal to the very last to the House of Ming.

[111] According to the *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 3a–b, Fu Wang 福王 (Prince Fu) assumed the reigning title of Hung-kuang 弘光 in Chiang-nan 江南 (An-hui and Chiang-su [Kiangsu]) in the second year of Shun-chih 順治, in which year he died. He was followed by Prince T'ang 唐王, who ruled in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) as Lung-wu 隆武.

[112] Lu-hua-kao was the native magistrate (T'u-ssu 土司) of Ning chou. His ancestor, P'u-chieh 普傑, during the Mongol dynasty was Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) of Tien-t'ing 甸叮, which was five li north-east of T'ung-hai hsien 通海縣, which in turn was 150 li north-east of Lin-an fu 臨安府. In the Ming dynasty there appears a certain Lung-sheng 弄勝, who with the opening of Yün-nan at the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) acquired merit and was given the family name Lu 祿; he was appointed native sub-magistrate of Ning chou in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). Ning chou was a secondary prefecture north of Lin-an fu, to which it belonged. The name Ning chou dates from the 13th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (Kublai Khan) (1276). At the end of the period of T'ien-pao (about 755), Ning chou was captured by the Man [Savages], when it was called Lang-k'uang 浪穹, though the tribes called it Han-lung 羊龍 in their language. Ning chou is the

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official name was Lu-shih-fan 魯氏蕃. On her was conferred the honorary title of Fu-jen. His second wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-hui 阿室揮, gave birth to his eldest son, named A-ch'un 阿春, who succeeded to his father's throne. His third wife, the virtuous lady A-shih-ko 阿室哥, or A-shih-jung 阿室榮, gave birth to three sons, named A-hsien 阿先, A-pao 阿寶, and A-jen 阿仁. 173

8. FROM THE TWENTIETH TO TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION

TWENTIETH GENERATION. — *A-ssu A-ch'un* 阿寺阿春 (PLATE 31): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy.[113] His official name was Mu I 木懿. He was also named K'un-lun 崑崙 and T'ai-mei 台美. As the eldest son of Mu Tseng, he succeeded to his father's throne. Since his childhood, he had possessed a wonderful intellect. He was a man full of love and respect, and had great courage and wisdom. His father Tseng loved him greatly. In the fourth year of T'ien-ch'i (1624), when his father retired to Chih Shan 芝山 [114] to rest and care for his health, his hereditary right was recommended and confirmed.

Every morning, just when the cock began to crow, he would first comb his hair and wash his face, and would then wait quietly at the door of his father's bedroom to pay his respects. Deferentially he would request his father to advise him in the solving of important problems. He would then beg leave to take his breakfast, and would afterwards carry his father's advice into effect. In the sixth moon of the 9th year of Ch'ung-cheng (July 3rd–July 31st inclusive, 1636) the Pi-li 必哩 [115] Fan-man assembled many brigands, and plundered

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present-day Li hsien 澧縣, the name being revived from the T'ang dynasty (eighth year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 [634]) when it was called Li chou 澧州.

The *T'ung-hai hsien chih*, ch. 3, fol. 14a, says that the ruins of the city of Tien-t'ing of the Han dynasty are north of the city of T'ung-hai. The Meng family established there a Tu-tu fu 都督府. The Tuan family established the office of Chieh-tu-shih and changed the name of the city to Hsiu-shan chün 秀山郡 and then to T'ung-hai chün 通海郡. During the Yüan dynasty a Hsüan-wei-ssu was established.

[113] As already remarked on p. 66, Chang Chih-shun says the Genealogical Chronicle was compiled by Mu Kung before he succeeded to his father, Mu Ting 木定, and was finished by 1516. It will be noted that up to Mu Tseng (Mu Sheng-pai) inclusive, the number of the generation is always given, Mu Tseng being the 19th. Beginning with A-ch'un (Mu I), the number of the generation is omitted. It would appear that up to the end of the 19th generation the Chronicle was considered complete, for a colophon now to be found at the end of the Chronicle which has been extended to include the 24th generation, is dated 1648 and 1650; this colophon must first have been placed at the end of the 19th generation (Mu Tseng, who died in 1646). The compilation of the Chronicle experienced an interruption through the imprisonment of Mu I by Wu San-kuei. The greater part was compiled by Mu Kung, and after him must have been kept up by his son and grandsons, etc. There is no additional colophon to tell us who compiled the rest of the Chronicle.

[114] Chih Shan is on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, west of the village of Pai-sha 白沙, Boa-shi (*see* Geographical Part p. 184).

[115] Pi-li is apparently identical with the Tibetan tribe Pi-lieh 必烈. Hsü Hung-tsu 徐宏祖, who in his travels came to Li-chiang in 1639, states in his work *Hsia-k'o-yu-chi* 霞客遊記, 1929 ed., Shanghai, ch. 12, fols. 20b–21a, that the Pi-lieh and Hu-ku 胡鬼 Tibetans established themselves on the northern border of Li-chiang in the year *chia-hsü* 甲戌 (1634). Previously the aboriginal tribe Ying-ch'üan 麥犬 (hired ruffians), who, subject to the Pi-lieh tribe, was guilty of crimes against the prince of the Pi-lieh, fled and established itself

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173 ruthlessly the frontier of Yün-nan province. Ch'un was instructed by his father to lead his main troops to attack them, and crossing the river (Yangtze), went with his men in a northerly direction. Hearing of his arrival with troops at P'u-wa 普瓦, Pi-li dispersed with his followers to far-away desert places without engaging in fight. Thus Ch'un gained a great victory, and the affair was settled.

In the 10th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1637), Ch'un carefully prepared gifts of horses and native products and, in accordance with the usual custom, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Imperial court, for the purpose of applying for Imperial letters patent.

In the city of Lang-ch'ü at that time, there lived a man by the name of A Yung-nien 阿永年, who failed to secure the position of chou-magistrate of the city, and in revenge murdered his rival, Fen-ju 奔如. So Ch'un was instructed by both the viceroy and the governor of Yün-nan to lead in person his troops in order to punish the usurper, who was then utterly defeated. In the meantime, some of his followers offered his head to Ch'un, and in this way he settled the whole affair without much difficulty. His merit resulting from this expedition was afterwards reported to the Emperor, who ordered that thereafter the city of Lang-ch'ü [116] be annexed to the territory of Li-chiang.

In the 12th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1639), the Emperor conferred on Ch'un the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, with the additional title of Junior counsellor to the Yün-nan provincial governor, and, according to the usual custom, presented him with rolls of hemp and silk and many silver ingots. On his father, Mu Tseng, was conferred the additional honorary title of the Ssu-ch'uan Senior provincial treasurer. He himself was permitted to build an arch in the provincial capital in honor of his deeds and engrave thereon the four characters, *t'ai Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progress, Sincerity, Loyalty, Uprightness).

Meanwhile, on account of the urgent need of money for military purposes, he contributed to the Imperial court for soldiers' rations all the funds collected for the building of the arch. In the 16th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1643), the Yün-nan Civil Governor, Wu Chao-yüan 吳兆元,[117] made a report on his behalf to the Emperor, describing all his past deeds and his character of loyalty, obedi-

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on the Li-chiang frontier where it committed many piracies, etc. In 1635 the chief of Li-chiang sent his soldiers to oust the brigands, but they were defeated.

The territory of the Pi-lieh tribe was said to have been two months' journey north of Li-chiang. This explains the statement in the Chronicle that they dispersed to far-away desert places without engaging in battle. (*See also* CHAVANNES, Documents Historiques et géographiques in *T'oung-pao* Vol. XIII, p. 630; and in BACOT *Les Mo-so* p. 192). Hsü's statement and the one in the Chronicle do not coincide and it is quite probable that Hsü's account is the correct one — the Mu family being too proud to acknowledge defeat. Yet, it is stated (page 126) that Mu Tseng killed the brigand leader Pi-li [whose followers apparently adopted his name for their tribe] in Shu-lo in 1603.

[116] Lang-ch'ü is ruled by a T'u-ssu whose name is A 阿. His territory is now under the magistracy of Yung-sheng.

[117] He was a native of P'u-t'ien 莆田 in Fu-chien 福建 (Fukien) and held the degree of *Chin-shih* 進士. He was first Hsün-fu 巡撫 (Governor) of Yün-nan at the end of the reign of Ch'ung-cheng (1643). Later he became Governor General. — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fols. 18a–b.

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ence, purity and honesty. The Board of Civil Office sent the governor a reply, informing him that the Emperor had granted that Mu I should inherit his father's honorary titles of Director of the Court of the Imperial Stud and Junior provincial treasurer, as an example, and to give encouragement to the chiefs of all the other frontier districts. In the 17th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1644),[118] the Emperor promoted his father, Mu Tseng, to the rank of Senior provincial treasurer, together with the additional honorary title of Minister of the Imperial droves, and permitted him to erect an arch in honor of his deeds with the following four characters, *Wei Lieh Chiu Ch'ing* 位列九卿 (Ranked among My nine ministers) displayed on it. Unfortunately, in the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647), during the rebellion of the Liu-k'ou 流寇 (Roving bandits)[119] this arch and all the gold, silver, official documents and Imperial letters patent given to this family by the different emperors of past dynasties, and by many of the inhabitants of the region, were either burned or plundered, only the lives of the people being spared. However, after the cloudy days had passed, the bright sun appeared again.

In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Emperor sent his great Imperial army to Yün-nan to exterminate these wild brigands. After they had been utterly defeated, the poor people living in this district again began to enjoy life. When the Imperial army reached Yün-nan, Mu I was the first to submit to the Imperial order, and petitioned the Imperial generals about the miserable condition of his people. On the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 17th year of Shun-chih (December 30th, 1660), the Board of Civil Office issued him an official dispatch and an official seal, appointing him magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He went with all the representatives of his people some distance beyond his city to receive the above-mentioned dispatch and seal, showing great deference to the Emperor by burning incense and prostrating a hundred times before the Imperial envoys.

[118] Huai Tsung (Ch'ung-cheng) committed suicide on Wan-sui Shan 萬歲山 at dawn on the 19th day of the third moon of the 17th year of his reign (April 25th, 1644). So the orders for the promotions of Mu I must have been issued either the latter part of the 16th year, or the very beginning of the 17th year — more probably the 16th year — the letters patent reaching Li-chiang during the 17th year.

[119] The Liu-k'ou (Roving bandits) were the hordes of the bandit chiefs Li Tsu-ch'eng 李自成 and Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠. The former was the famous rebel who captured Peking when the last of the Ming Emperors hanged himself on Wan-sui Shan. He was a native of Mi-chih 米脂 in Shensi (*see* GILES, *Biographical Dictionary* No. 1226).

Li's followers overran the country. In the year *ting-hai* 丁亥 (1647) a bandit chief by name Sha Ting-chou 沙定洲, a native chief of Annam, with his men came for the second time to attack Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 (seven stages west of K'un-ming). When he heard that the Roving Bandits had reached Tien 滇 (Yün-nan), he turned back; this was in the first moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (1647). In the fourth moon of the same year (May 5th–June 2nd) Sun K'o-wang 孫可望, another leader of the Roving Bandits, and his associates entered Yün-nan. He came via I-liang 宜良 and took the capital, Yün-nan fu. He minted Ta Shun 大順 money [Ta Shun was the dynastic title of the rebel Li Tzu-ch'eng who had made himself emperor and called his reign Yung-ch'ang 永昌]. It was Sun K'o-wang who changed the name of the province and capital city from Yün-nan sheng 雲南省 to Yün-hsing sheng 雲興省, and Yün-nan fu to K'un-ming fu 昆明府, and K'un-ming hsien 昆明縣 to K'un-hai hsien 昆海縣. (For further reference, see *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 10, fols. 2–20.) *See also* E. HAUER, Li Tzŭ-Ch'êng und Chang Hsien-Chung in: *Asia Major*, Vol. 2, pp. 436–498; and Vol. 3, pp. 267–287.

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173 Immediately after that, he assumed his official duties. Obeying the gracious Imperial order, he succeeded his father as magistrate of the city, and ruled his people well. He was considered the founder of the State of Li-chiang of the present Ch'ing dynasty.

In course of time, the rebel Wu (Wu San-kuei 吳三桂)[120] came to Yün-nan, and revolted against the Imperial rule by conspiring with the T'u-fan 吐番. As the district of Li-chiang was strongly defended and justly ruled by Mu I, the latter incurred the wrath of the prince, who hated him thoroughly. In the sixth year *ting-wei* 丁未 of K'ang-hsi (1667), Wu unexpectedly ordered Ch'un to enlist 1,000 native soldiers, to enter his (Wu's) service, but Ch'un refused to obey the command. Seizing this as pretext, Wu searched his official residence and took away a golden seal by which the successive Emperors of the Yüan dynasty had authorized his family to rule and defend this frontier land. Also a silver seal, issued to his family by the three chief officials of this province he confiscated. In the following year (1668), Wu ceded to the T'u-fan, for the purpose of reconciling them, five large districts lying beyond the valley of the Li Chiang (Yangtze), called Chao-k'o, Ni-na Hsiang-lo, Shu-lo and Chung-tien,[121] which originally had been under the rule of the Mu family. Moreover, Wu charged Mu I with the responsibility of making good the lost taxes. In the eighth year of K'ang-hsi (1669), Governor Li 李[122] of Yün-nan submitted a

[120] Concerning the history of Wu San-kuei, *see*: HAENISCH, Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas, in the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 14 (1913), pp. 1–129. *See* also GILES, *B.D.* No. 2342.

Wu San-kuei was a native of Liao-tung, and at the end of the Ming dynasty was engaged as military commander resisting the advance of the Manchus. He ruled over Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan, where he was semi-independent. In 1674 he threw off his allegiance and incited other feudatory princes to rebellion.

According to the *Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 20, fol. 41b, Wu San-kuei died of dysentery and choking on the 17th day of the eighth moon in the 17th year of K'ang-hsi (October 2nd, 1678). This happened at Heng chou 衡州 in Hu-nan. In the 16th year (1677) he gave La-p'u 剌普 in north-western Yün-nan to the Mongols to win their support. His reign title was Chao-wu 昭武. His grandson, Wu shih-fan 吳世璠, took the title of Emperor and called his reign Hung-hua 洪化. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 6a, states that Wu San-kuei died in the tenth moon (November 14th–December 13th inclusive). His body was brought back to Yün-nan by Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱, his general, and deposited in the An-fu yüan 安阜園 (a garden also called Yeh-yüan 野園), which was outside the north wall of Yün-nan fu, according to the *K'un-ming hsien chih*, ch. 9, fol. 3a. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the Yeh-yüan was built by Wu San-kuei. It is also said that his body was thrown into the Yang-tsung Hai 陽宗海, the present-day Ming Hu 明湖, which is the lake visible from the railroad south of K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) after descending from the K'un-ming plain.

[121] Chao-k'o (照可 or 昭可) is supposed to have been a district east of Wei-hsi. Ni-na (Na-khi, Nyi-na) is Wei-hsi.

Hsiang-lo is the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, a small village situated in Mu-li territory in a valley among limestone mountains to the east of Mt. Ki-bo sKi-hbo(སྐི་བོ), a high range in the Yangtze — Ya-lung watershed between Yün-nan and Mu-li Hsi-k'ang. A pass leads over this range called Hi-lo-ra ran and it is to the north of this pass that Hsiang-lo is situated.

Shu-lo is in the valley of the Zho Chhu (Shu Gyi). On the Chinese maps it is written So-lo 索洛 and the river is called Wu-liang Ho 無量河. It is the Shen-dzong of the Hsi-fan in Mu-li territory, south-west Hsi-k'ang. In this valley can still be seen the watch-towers, or blockhouses, erected by the Na-khi chiefs. (For Chung-tien, *see* pp. 248–252.)

[122] The governor's name was Li T'ien-yü 李天育; he was a native of Shun-t'ien 順天 (Peking). He became Governor of Yün-nan in 1668, and was an honest and upright official. Wu San-

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recommendation on his behalf to the Emperor, who released him from the burden of that taxation. 173

During all this time, many native chiefs of Yün-nan, great and small, vied with one another to obtain favours from Wu, by accepting his illegal appointments and quickly changing their official letters patent. Mu I alone stood firm and kept aloof, without wavering in the slightest. Wu searched him repeatedly and severely for his official documents, but he refused to deliver them up to him and intentionally made excuses. His main purpose was to bequeath them to his descendants, in order to manifest his loyalty and righteousness to the Imperial court. Thus the rebel Wu hated him the more, and secretly ordered him to conspire with the T'u-fan. He, however, defended his own territory and remained firm in his contention.

Now the only way left for Wu was to compel him to resign from his position, and to appoint Mu Ching 木靖, his eldest son and legal heir, to the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang and to attend to the affairs of this district. At last he accused Mu I of secretly conspiring with the T'u-fan to cause trouble. By thus falsely accusing him, he had him arrested and sent to Yün-nan fu, where he remained imprisoned for seven years, and nearly died. Fortunately, our August Emperor finally realized the incomparable loyalty of this native subject, who had suffered so much so far away from the Imperial court, and had him released from imprisonment, and reinstated in his original hereditary position. He maintained his magistracy up to the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (1673), when Wu started another rebellion, and intentionally brought much harm upon the Mu family by again presenting the T'u-fan kingdom with that territory belonging to Mu I called Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, situated within the valley of the Li Chiang, and by charging Mu I with the burden of making good the loss in taxes. It was in the 33rd year of K'ang-hsi (1694) that Viceroy Fan 范[133] of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou proposed to the Emperor to have him excused from this heavy burden of taxation.

Although all of Ch'un's past heroic deeds, and the merits he had acquired in his life, never had been rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, none of his descendants ever forgot them. They orally passed on his praises, as if they had been engraved on a stone monument for posterity. He lived to over 80 years. His children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren lived together with him under the same roof, in all four generations. His happiness was thus not comparable to that of the common people. He was born on the 15th day of the fifth moon of the 36th year of Wan-li (June 26th, 1608), and died on the last day of the first moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (March 17th, 1692). His wife, Lu-shih-kuan 祿氏琯, was the daughter of an official family of the fu-magistracy of Wu-ting 武定.[134] On her was conferred the posthumous

kuei memorialized the throne to deport people of Tien (Yün-nan) to other places, but Governor T'ien-yü opposed him and the people were left in peace.

[133] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳. He was a Han-chün 漢軍, that is, a descendant of a native of North China who had joined the Manchu invaders against the Ming. He was also a Bannerman of the first rank of the Bordered yellow banner (Hsiang-huang ch'i 鑲黃旗). He became Viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686.

[134] There was no such family at Wu-ting holding the position of native magistrate. The hereditary native magistracy of Wu-ting belonged to the Feng 鳳 family. The office of

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173 honorary title of Shu-jen of the second rank. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-ching 木靖 and Mu-yu 木懋. His second wife, Lu-shih-jui 祿氏瑞, was a daughter of the same official family from the same fu-magistracy as his first wife. On her was conferred the same honorary title. She gave birth to two sons, named Mu-chan 木旃 and Mu-hsi 木挨.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERATION. — *A-ch'un A-su* 阿春阿俗:[125] Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu-Ching 木靖, and he was also named Hsiao-ts'ang 曉蒼 and Wen-ming 文明. As the eldest son of Ch'un, he succeeded to his father's throne.

Since childhood, his character had been one of modesty and simplicity. He was very fond of studying the ancient Chinese classics and poetries. Every day he buried himself among the hundreds and thousands of volumes of old books kept in his library, where he would sit for hours to meditate and appreciate their contents. He read all the old books and manuscripts bequeathed to him by his father and his ancestors, and had them all carved (on wooden blocks) and printed as records, or arranged into literary essays, in order that they be handed down as valuable legacies to his children and later generations. Whenever he heard of famous scholars or sages, he would call on them at their residence, and hold agreeable conversations with them. He never failed to treat them with deference, inviting them to be his teachers, and showering

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T'u-ssu of Wu-ting was abolished in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607). Neither was there a Chinese official by the name of Lu who held the post of magistrate of Wu-ting. No such name occurs in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* or *Wu-ting chou chih*.

[125] Mu Ching in this Chronicle is given as the 21st generation, while in the Second Chronicle his younger brother Mu Yu 木懋 (*see* PLATE 32), also called Chün-chang 君章, and with the surname Chih-an 治安, is listed as the 21st generation.

Mu Ching became hereditary T'u-ssu on the 12th of April, 1669, or rather he assumed the position only, for he died on the 16th of August, 1671, before the Imperial letters patent arrived. The Second Chronicle states that he died in the 11th year of K'ang-hsi (1672). I presume the First Chronicle to be correct, for it gives the month and day.

In the Second Chronicle Mu Ching is entirely omitted and his younger brother, Mu Yu, is named as the successor to Mu I, who in the meantime had been in prison in Yün-nan fu. This younger son is listed as the 21st generation; he was born on the 15th day of the first moon in the 1st year of Ts'ung-cheng (February 14th, 1628) between the hours of 11 P.M. and 1 A.M., and died on the 15th day of the seventh moon of the 43rd year of K'ang-hsi (August 15th, 1704) between the hours of 9 and 11 P.M. CHAVANNES gives 1688.

The Second Chronicle states that in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680) Mu Yu became ill and turned the affairs of office over to his son Mu Yao 木堯, who was the nephew of Mu Ching 木靖, although his grandfather Mu I was still alive. Yet we read further on that, on the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688), his son was given an Imperial dispatch which conferred on his father the posthumous title of Chung-hsien ta-fu. There is certainly an error in this date for this would make his son apply to the Emperor for a posthumous title for his father sixteen years before the latter's death. The dates should either be transposed or the following explanation adopted: The First Chronicle does not give the date of Mu Yu's death, but simply states that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu on the same date as given in the Second Chronicle. It seems very probable that the title was bestowed on him before his death and on the date given, *i.e.*, 1688, or eight years after his retirement. The error is then in the Second Chronicle in the statement that the title was conferred posthumously. The other alternative would be to transpose the dates. CHAVANNES, who does not mention these discrepancies, merely takes the earlier date as that of his death, although on that date the Emperor bestowed on him the title of Chung-hsien ta-fu (*see* also p. 141, second paragraph).

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upon them his richest gifts. He was, indeed, a man of high literary attainment and with a heart at ease. Later on he devoted himself whole-heartedly to the study of Buddhism, and understood thoroughly the most difficult allusions. 173

In the later years of his life, he studied many Tibetan Buddhist classics, from which he acquired a clear understanding and spiritual inspiration. In the third moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (April 1st–29th, 1669), the Yün-nan provincial treasurer sent him an official dispatch enclosing his official letters patent issued by the Board of Civil Office. On the 12th day of the third moon of the same year (April 12th, 1669), he assumed his official duties. Whenever he met his tribespeople, he would advise them to build up their character, and practice loyalty and filial piety, and encouraged them to follow the examples given in the ancient classics. He was always kind-hearted and merciful to everybody, and never punished his people severely by means of whips. He hated those who liked to talk about cruel and unlawful punishment.

He was not fortunate enough to have an heir, therefore he adopted his nephew Mu Yao 木堯 as his own son and legal heir. On the 2nd day of the seventh moon of the 10th year of K'ang-hsi (August 6th, 1671), he died unexpectedly before the Imperial letters patent arrived. He was born on the 29th day of the eleventh moon of the 7th year of T'ien-chi (January 5th, 1628). His wife, T'ao-shih-i 陶氏怡, was the daughter of the native magistrate of Ching-tung 景東.[136]

TWENTY-SECOND GENERATION. — *A-su A-wei* 阿俗阿胃 (PLATE 33): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Yao 木堯. He was also named Chung-sung 中嵩 and Hua-yo 華嶽. He was the eldest son of Mu Yu 木猶, who was the younger brother of Mu Ching 木靖. As he was adopted by his uncle Mu Ching as his legal heir, he succeeded to his uncle's throne. He was gifted with loyalty and filial piety and was very resolute and wise. Immediately after the death of his adopted father and in accordance with the latter's will, his official secretaries and the tribespeople wished that he should succeed him. But he wept bitterly in mourning dress, saying to his people: "Loyal subjects must be found in the household of obedient sons. Our family has bequeathed to its children the teachings of loyalty and filial piety as valuable legacies for many generations. Is it right for a son to enjoy a life of wealth and honor, and leave his father to suffer poverty and humiliation? If I could carry out my own wish, I should first make my father ruler of this kingdom,[137] and

[136] During Mu Ying's 沐英 incumbency (he was appointed Governor of Yün-nan in 1384), T'ao-o 陶俊 was the first Ching-tung native magistrate. His father was a certain A-chih-lu 阿只魯, who lived during the Mongol dynasty, and controlled several districts among which Wei-yüan 威遠 was one. His name was A-t'ao-o 阿陶俊, which was changed to T'ao in the 17th year of Hung-wu (1384). T'ao-shih-i's father was probably T'ao-hsi 陶羲, who became native magistrate of Ching-tung in the 11th year of Ch'ung-cheng (1638). — From *Ching-tung hsien chih kao*, ch. 5, fols. 49a–50a.

[137] As already mentioned, in the Second Chronicle Mu Yu is figured as the successor to Mu I instead of Mu Ching, who is given in the First Chronicle. The latter cannot very well be considered to have been native magistrate of Li-chiang, as he died before he had received his appointment, although he was the legal heir. He selected his younger brother's son to succeed him. The latter, however, refused to assume the position while his father was still alive. As his father was actually appointed, he rightly takes the place of his elder brother Mu Ching in the later Chronicle.

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173 then myself." All the tribespeople shouted with joy, praising and obeying him.

In the meantime, he explained in detail why his father, as the brother of his adopted father, should succeed to his position as magistrate of this district, and how he himself would enter into a bond with his father to help carry on the important responsibility of managing the affairs of his people. He sent the same explanation in the form of a petition to the Yün-nan Viceroy Li, who forwarded his proposal to the Emperor and duly obtained for him an Imperial reply, which praised his most filial action, and permitted his father to inherit this magistracy, and to enjoy this official honor for six years. After a certain period his father resigned from official life. Mu Yao then assumed his father's position as his legal heir, but in doing so he still expressed considerable sorrow both in manner and in words, and acted as if he were unwilling to do so.

At that time, the rebel Wu occupied the capital of Yün-nan as his most important strategical post, but Mu Yao remained loyal to the Imperial rule, and never obeyed his command. In addition to this, he secretly investigated Wu's followers, and sent information privately by his headman to Yung-lüeh Chiang-chün Chao 勇略將軍趙 (the Brave and conquering general Chao),[128] in Ssu-ch'uan province, and in all sincerity volunteered to help his army. Chao sent him a secret reply containing words of praise and encouragement. At the same time, Mu Yao sent the same information to Wang 王, General in defense of the military station of Chien-ch'ang 建昌;[129] he then quickly assembled many of his tribesmen at the Ch'iu-t'ang Pass 丘塘關,[130] and there built stone barricades to check the advance of the enemy.

On the 25th day of the seventh moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (August 19th, 1680), Brigadier-general Wang 總鎮府王 and Vice Brigadier-general Wang 標副總府王, under the Yung-lüeh general, both instructed him to enlist quickly 2,000 native soldiers to be ready for the march against the enemy. In case he should experience difficulty in transporting the soldiers' provisions from other parts of Yün-nan at a distance of 1,000 li, he had to find other means of providing the Imperial army with provisions so that the expedition should be successful. The generals promised him that, after it was settled, they would report his merit to the Emperor, and request that the cost of the

[128] Chao Liang-tung 趙良棟 was a native of Ning-hsia 寧夏, Kan-su. He was Commander-in-Chief (T'i-tu 提督) of Ning-hsia in 1676. In the year 1680 Wu San-kuei's followers took Ssu-ch'uan, and it was at that time that he was sent with an army to destroy the rebels. His title was "The Brave and Conquering General." He was appointed viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou on February 27th, 1680, on account of the merit he had acquired in capturing Ch'eng-tu — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 34b–35a.

It was while *en route* from Shan-hsi to Yün-nan that he was met by Mu Yao's messenger in Ssu-ch'uan. He died in 1697. The *Ning-hsia fu chih*, ch. 13, fols. 25a–27a, has a great deal to say about this general.

[129] Chien-ch'ang is a long, fertile valley in Ssu ch'uan, north of K'un-ming. Its capital is Hsi-ch'ang 西昌, the former Ning-yüan fu.

[130] The Ch'iu-t'ang Kuan, according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 26b, is 25 li south of Li-chiang. It is the entrance to Li-chiang. In front of it are two mountains, one on each side, and the road passing through the center is very difficult to negotiate. A guard-station on the pass was once repaired by the native magistrate, who inscribed on it four characters: *Pao-I T'ien-Hsi* 保乂天西 (Protect the West).

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rice, which he had advanced to them, be twice repaid, and they would also see that all his heroic deeds were carefully recorded. Again, the Yung-lüeh general and Yün-nan Viceroy Chao sent him a secret note saying that his former report had been duly received, and that his loyalty and righteousness had been acknowledged. 113

On the 26th day of the second eighth moon (October 18th, 1680) of the same year, the viceroy again instructed him to gather his troops secretly from far and near, and employ them either as guides, or in preparing boats, soldiers' rations and fodder, and promised that his merit in being the vanguard of this expedition would be reported in detail to the Emperor. His Majesty would be requested to show him additional grace and reward him abundantly. Later, the viceroy wrote to Mu Yao again saying he had heard that Mu Yao had rendered good service to the great Imperial army under difficult circumstances, on its arrival in Yün-nan to recover its capital from the enemy. He also told him that he was aware of his brave and fearless fighting *en route* to Yün-nan fu, and how sincerely he had volunteered his services to the headquarters of the Imperial army. He informed him that the Emperor had ordered the Ku-shan-pei-tzu 固山貝子,[121] Chang T'ai 章泰, the Ting-yüan p'ing-k'ou ta chiang-chün 定遠平寇大將軍 (Great general of the far Southern punitive expedition), to reward him justly according to his own discretion; also that the viceroy himself was rewarding him in advance.

On the 28th day of the fourth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (June 15th, 1681), the viceroy reported to the Emperor on his behalf, who then gave him an additional official seal and official letters patent, ordering him to manage all his military affairs properly and to defend the frontier to the best of his ability. On the 23rd day of the fifth moon of the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (July 8th, 1681), he again received an Imperial order through the service of the Ku-shan-pei-tzu, Chang T'ai, informing him that the Emperor had greatly appreciated his loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to the nation, in devoting his efforts to the mustering of his troops for purposes of defense; and that now he (the Great general) had specially instructed General Hsi 將軍希, Provincial Commander-in-Chief Sang 提督桑, and the volunteer general Wang Hui 投誠將軍王會, together with a certain Pai Lin-sheng 白麟生, to lead the most powerful Imperial troops, both Manchu and Chinese, to the city of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 [122] and against the rebel Wu.[123] Mu Yao was instructed to do all

[121] Ku-shan-pei-tzu is the Manchu Ku-sai Bei-tzu (*Ku-sai* signifying *Banner*) and designates an Imperial prince of the fourth order. Chang T'ai led his great army to Yün-nan. His soldiers at that time were quartered in the Kuei-hua Temple 歸化寺. Meanwhile, the robbers decided to hold out against the Imperial forces, and to await the arrival of their own reinforcements from the west. The robber chief, Kuo Chuang-t'u 郭壯圖 (whose wife was the daughter of Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan 吳世藩), however, did not listen to this advice and made a sortie with his troops and attacked Chang T'ai. All the Imperial forces under the various generals and the viceroy Chao Liang-tung attacked them in return. The elephants in the regiment of the robbers suddenly stampeded and drove their army into the Chin-chih Ho 金汁河. (This stream is also called Chin-leng Ho 金鋉河. According to the *Yün-nan fu chih* it is 10 li east of Yün-nan fu.) Only 27 soldiers of the robber Kuo Chuang-t'u escaped and entered the city — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 104, fol. 2a.

[122] The rebel general Ma Pao 馬寶 (robber) had fled from the eastern part of Yün-nan (Hsün-tien 尋甸) to Ch'u-hsiung, whither the officers Hsi Fu 希福 and Sang Ko 桑格 followed

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173 in his power to levy his own troops, in order to prepare for the defense of his territory. In case the rebel Wu and his brigand followers should flee to his district, he should help the Imperial army to check them, and co-operate with it in order to destroy the brigands. The merit he would thereby acquire would again be greatly rewarded by the Imperial court. Thereupon, Mu Yao recruited more then 10,000 tribesmen, and organized them into a defensive corps and awaited the approach of the brigands. There happened to escape at that time to his post at Li-chiang, over 10,000 brigands led by seven rebel generals, among whom was Hu Kuo-chu 胡國柱,[134] who intended to steal a march across the river for the purpose of conspiring with the T'u-fan to rise against the government.

Mu Yao secretly ordered some men to pretend to be native guides to show the rebels the road to Tibet, but at the same time instructed the wild Li-su tribe to hide in ambush in all the wild places west of the Lan-ts'ang River (Mekong). He personally led his troops of over 10,000 tribal soldiers, following the brigands step by step; he succeeded in capturing and killing many of them with their horses, whose corpses were strewn along the highway. When he had pursued them beyond the river, the enemy had scarcely half of their number left, and those remaining tried to escape as best they could. Their only road lay either up steep cliffs and over the unsurmountable peaks which surrounded them, or along the large river blocking them in front. Those who tried to escape by climbing up creepers which grew on the cliffs were all killed by the Li-su. At last, the brigand leader Hu Kuo-chu with his confederates was in great despair, and he committed suicide. Mu Yao secured much ammunition and many military weapons, also two dead elephants. He made a detailed report about this expedition to the Great General [Ku-shan-pei-tzu] Chang T'ai. Thereupon His Excellency the Sui-yüan general and Viceroy Ts'ai 綏遠將軍總督部院蔡,[135] and His Excellency the Yün-nan Governor Yin

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them and engaged them in battle at Lü-ho 呂合 (60 li west of Ch'u-hsiung and seven stages west of K'un-ming).

The following notes may be of interest regarding the persons mentioned here:

Ma Pao was a native of Shensi and from the beginning a rebel leader. He submitted to Wu San-kuei in 1659 and became his most loyal follower. In the 15th year of K'ang-hsi (1676) he fought the Imperial troops and relieved Ch'ang-sha. After the death of Wu San-kuei he passed through Kuei-chou *en route* to Ssu-ch'uan where he tried to stop the advance of the Imperial troops. In 1681 when Yün-nan fu was besieged, he was defeated by General Hsi Fu and forced to surrender. In the autumn of the same year he was executed.

Sang Ko (Sangge) was a Manchurian Bannerman belonging to the Plain White banner. He was in the vanguard on the march to Yün-nan via south Hu-nan. In 1681 he was recalled to Peking. He died in 1699. (*See* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*)

[133] This is Wu San-kuei's grandson, Wu Shih-fan.

[134] Hu Kuo-chu was a general under Wu San-kuei. He was first defeated by Chao Liang-tung in the Chien-ch'ang valley. Hu Kuo-chu was later sent to Ssu-ch'uan with other generals to try and persuade that province to join again the cause of the rebels. In this they succeeded and captured various districts. Hu Kuo-chu's troops dispersed after the fall of Hsü chou in Ssu-ch'uan, and he himself fled to Li-chiang where he hid in the high mountains (Yü-lung Shan). Later, on December 19th, 1681, Hsi Fu found him in Yün-lung chou 雲龍州 (south-west of Ta-li on the Pi Chiang), where he was surrounded. To avoid capture he committed suicide by strangulation.

[135] His name was Ts'ai Yü-jung 蔡毓榮. He was a Han-chün and a Bordered white flag

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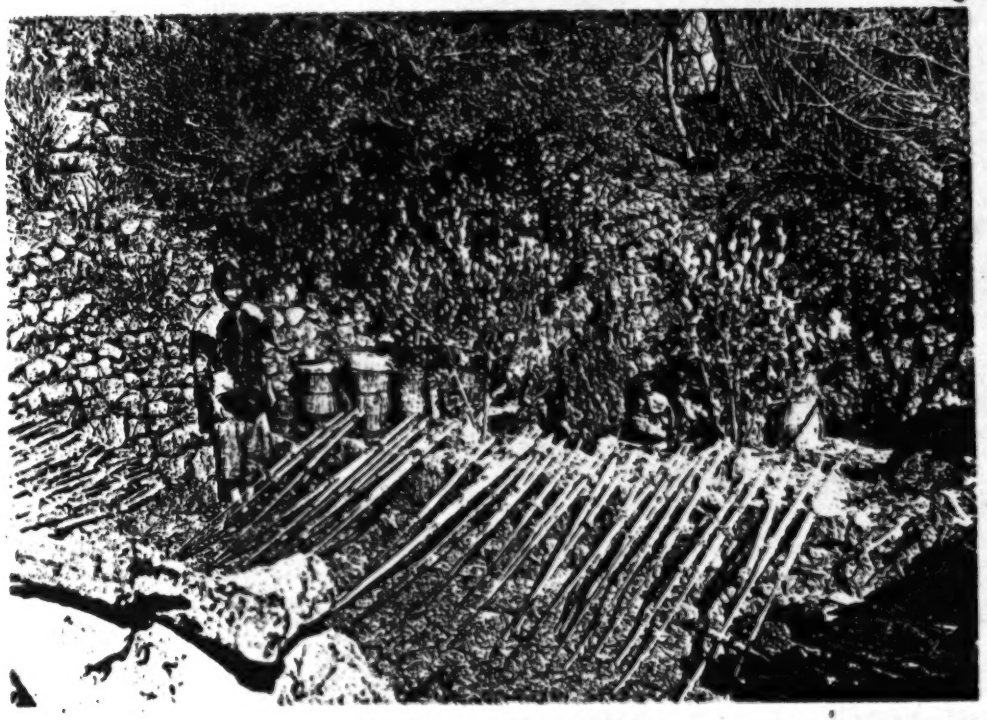

PLATE 65. — A NA-KHI MUAN-BPÖ D'A

麼 些 天 神 境

Each clan, designated by a family name, has its own altar, at which to propitiate Heaven. On the altar are three treelets, from left to right: an oak representing Heaven, a Juniper representing the Emperor and an oak representing Earth. In the foreground large incense sticks ready to be lighted and put into the ground.

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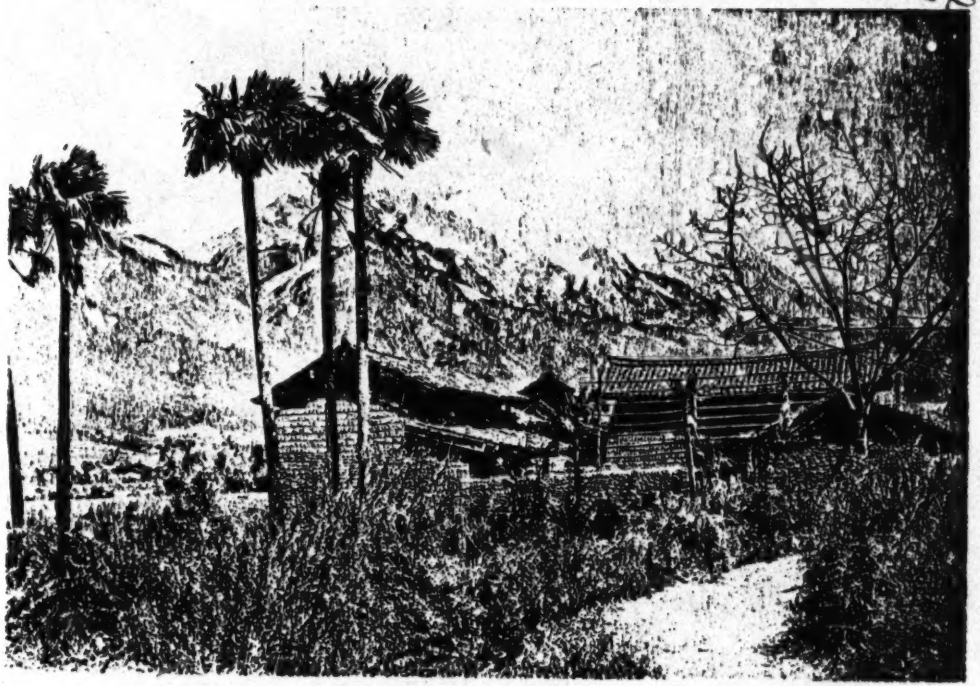

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 66. — MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子陡

The highest peak of Yü-lung Shan as seen from the village of Lü-mä-ndaw-ts'an̲ (in foreground) in the li of Pai-sha. To the left fan palms (*Trachycarpus Fortunei*), to the right a leafless walnut tree. The rack in front of the house is used for drying grain, turnips, etc.

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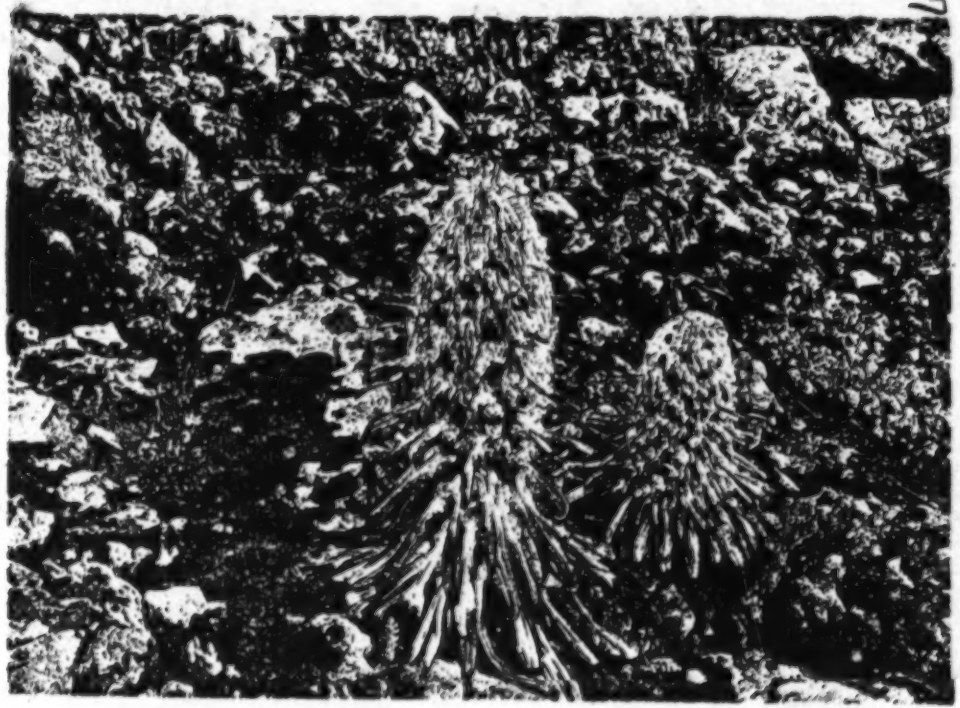

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 67. — SAUSSUREA LANICEPS H-M.

The last of the alpine composites growing among limestone rocks at an elevation of 15,000 feet, at Khi-lili-p'u-dshwuà, eastern slopes of the Yü-lang Shan.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 68. — THE LIMESTONE MASS OF SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子陡山峰

View from near the edge of Sa-ba lo-gkv gorge looking west. The dark patches in the foreground are *Rhododendron prostratum* growing on the scree. Between the main peak and the rugged limestone mass beyond the scree lies the 4,500 feet deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. Photographed from an elevation of 15,500 feet.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.*)

PLATE 69. — THE ALPINE MEADOW OF MAH-DEU-GKV

In the foreground *Rhododendron Trailianum* trees with *Abies Forrestii*. The forested spur on the other side of the meadow is Ghügh-bö lo and the ravine in the extreme upper left Zhwua-k'o lo. Elevation 11,000 feet.

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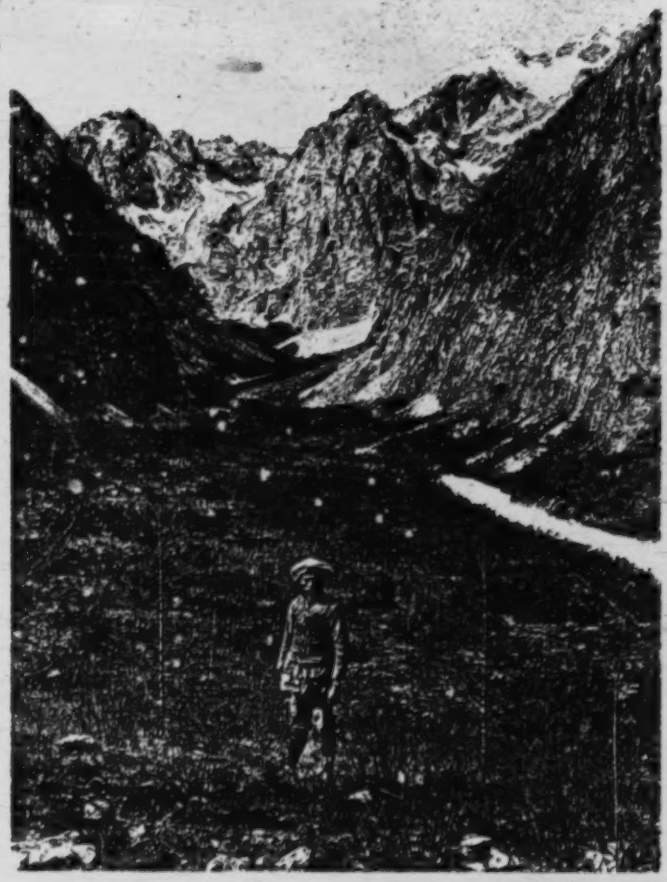

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 70. — THE GORGE SA-BA LO-GKV

[illegible]

The gorge which has no outlet was once glacier-filled; it is now waterless except in its upper part. Forest of spruce and Rhododendron which give way to firs higher up-fill the gorge. The glacier in the upper right descends from the highest peak, Shan-tzu-tou, its snout is now at the extreme head of the gorge. Photographed from La-zo-gko-dshwuà elevation 12,300 feet, and 300 feet above the floor of the gorge. The leafless trees in the foreground are larches (*Larix Potaninii*).

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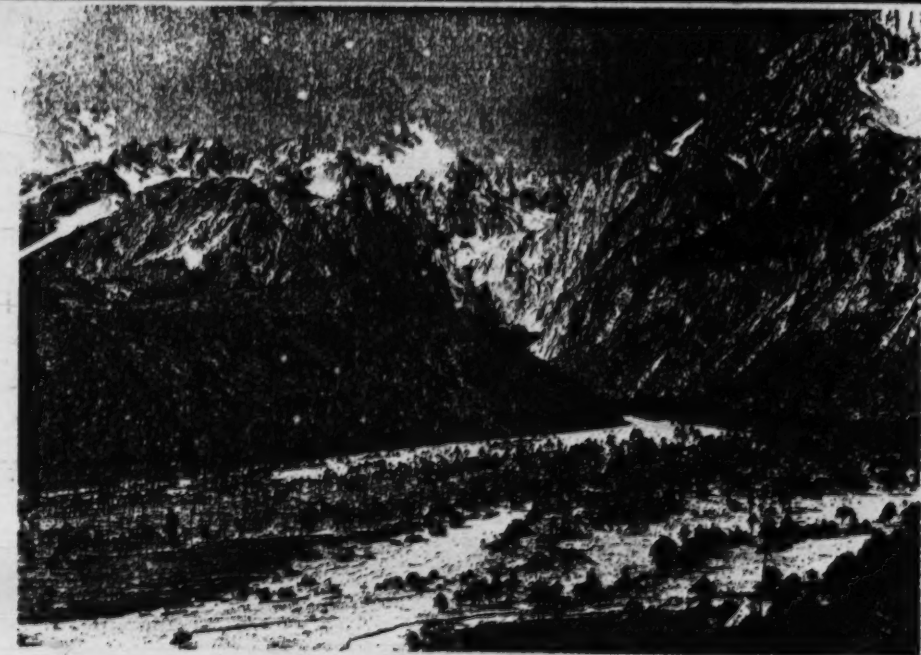

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 71. — THE SA-BA GORGE

撒巴峽全景

The mighty gorge once filled with a glacier is now dry and the limestone floor is sparingly covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. It extends east from about the center of the snow range, south of the Yangtse. A similar gorge (Gyi-p'ĕr k'a) but longer, extends west from the other side of the range in contraposition of Sa-ba; it is 2,650 feet lower than Sa-bā. The broad rocky mass above the pine-covered spur (left) is Ggŏ-gko 'a-k'ŏ; La-so-gko-dshwuà is near the head (top) of the pine-covered spur whence Plate 70 was taken.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 72. — SA-BA DÜ-LA-LO, THE NORTHEASTERN BRANCH OF SA-BA

The floor of this part of Sa-ba is composed of almost pure marl; the encircling moraines are covered with *Pinus yünnanensis*. The distance from Sa-ba lo-gkv, the head of the gorge, to the end of Sa-ba dü-la-lo is over three miles. The glacier which once filled this gorge has now retreated to its very head.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 75. — THE GLACIER AT THE HEAD OF SA-BA LO-GKV

The glacier which once filled Sa-ba is fed by the avalanches of ice and snow from Shan-tzu-tou visible in the picture. In the summer waterfalls tumble over the limestone cliffs which form the head of Sa-ba or Sa-ba lo-gkv. Elevation of glacier 13,250 feet.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 74. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö OR HSÜEH-SUNG-TS'UN

麗江白沙鄉雪松村子管箕村

The last village on the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain in the Commune of Pai-sha, at an elevation of over 9,000 feet, at the foot of the Yü-lung Shan. The Na-khi name of the village means: "At the foot of the silver rocks." Mt. Shan-tzu-tou in background.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 75.—A NA-KHI FARMER FROM THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

雪嵩村麼些農夫

He wears a felt hat and sheepskin jacket. The men play nursemaid, while the women perform most of the work, except ploughing.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 76. — NA-KHI WOMEN OF THE VILLAGE OF NV-LV-K'Ö

[illegible]

The first two (from left) are unmarried, the third is married. Girls usually wear Chinese caps on festive occasions, otherwise a simple cloth is worn on the head with the hair (braids) wound outside. Married women wear their hair in a knob on the top of the head around which a cloth is wound to keep it in place, another cloth is then placed over it as in the picture.

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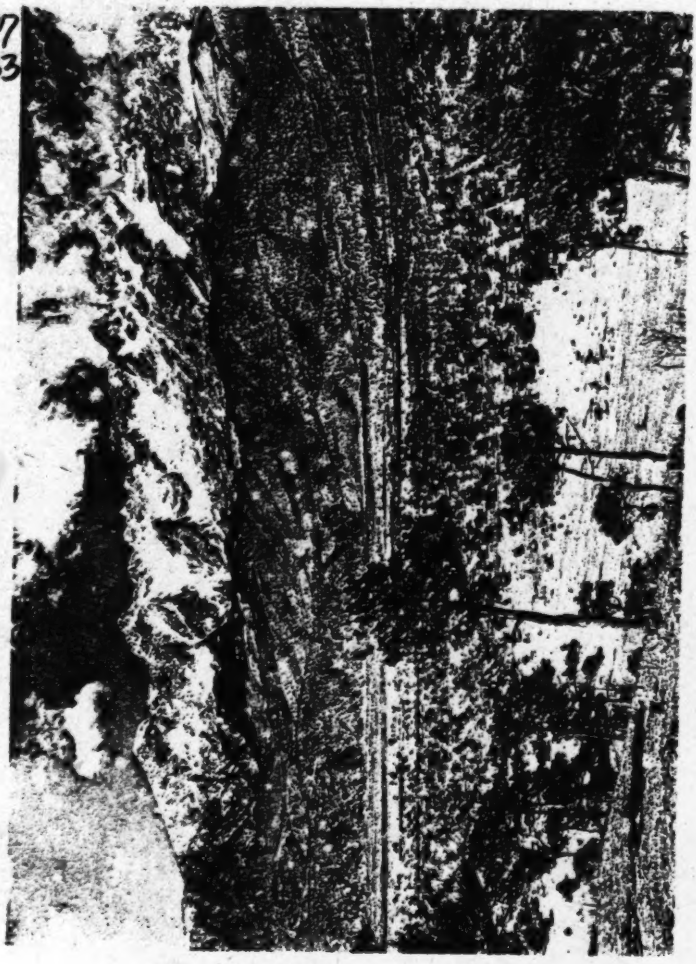

PLATE 77. — SOUTHERN END OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN IN WINTER SNOW

玉龍山南支雪

View across the upper end of the Li-chiang plain from the eastern limestone range at Dza-dza mbu. The trees are all pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The first snow-covered crag (left) is Hua-lä-bpu. The others are called first half Nv-lv-na, the second Nv-lv-p'ér (black and white silver rocks) owing to the black and white scree which descend from the crags.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 78.— MOUNT SHAN-TZU-TOU

玉龍山扇子頭

View from Dza-dza mbu (Dshi-bō gyi-tsī) across northern end of Li-chiang plain and west to Shan-tzu-tou. The Sa-ba gorge is beyond the diagonal spur. Pine trees on plain; scrub oak and limestone in foreground. Where the lowest snow field seems to join the spur is La-zo-gko-dshwui.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 79. — NGA-BA, THE ANCIENT BED OF AN ICE LAKE

玉龍山乾海子, 古冰湖底子

Situated at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan, elevation 10,500 feet. The trees on the grassy plain are pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which higher up give way to poplars (*Populus Bonatii*) and larches (*Larix Potaninii*). The first peak (left) is Ch'wua-lo-gku; the second Sa-ba nv-lv; the third Shan-tzu-tou. Note the man on horseback in lower right.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 80.—NGA-BA TRANSFORMED INTO A BLUE LAKE

Only during summers of exceptional heavy rains does a lake form at Nga-ba; by spring, however, the waters disappear entirely. The author's camp can be seen on lake shore (center). The central peak is Nga-ba nv-lv; the last peak Oyi-ak nv-lv.

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173 尹,[136] both affixed their signatures in a proposal to the Emperor that his hereditary right be confirmed.

In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (May 15th–June 12th, 1684), in accordance with instructions given by the Yün-nan Governor Wang 王,[137] the Provincial treasurer sent Mu Yao an official dispatch issued by the Board of Civil Office, conferring on him the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. In the fourth moon of the 23rd year of K'ang-hsi (*v.s.*), he accepted his hereditary position. In the same moon, on account of rheumatism, he could no longer look after the affairs of his people, and offered to resign from official life.

According to established custom, Mu Hsing 木興, his eldest son and legal heir, inherited his position. On the 23rd day of the tenth moon of the 27th year of K'ang-hsi (November 15th, 1688),[138] the Emperor conferred on his father, Mu Yu, the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his mother, Lo-shih-ch'ing 羅氏慶, daughter of a native family of Lan chou,[139] was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen by special Imperial patent. Mu Yao's mother gave birth to five sons, named Yao 堯, Sheng 聖, Tuan 端, Huang 潢 and Chung 忠. His father's second wife also gave birth to five sons, named Ch'eng 成, Wen 文, Kuang 光, Cheng 貞 and Man 滿.

Mu Yao received once more Imperial letters patent for himself, which conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu, together with the hereditary right of native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. He was born on the 6th day of the sixth moon of the 4th year of Shun-chih (July 7th, 1647), and died on the 28th day of the eighth moon of the 47th year of K'ang-hsi (October 11th, 1708). His wife, A-shih-chia 阿氏加, was the daughter of the native magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安.[140]

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bannerman. In the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (1670) he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan, Hu-nan and Hu-pe. One year later a separate viceroy was appointed for Ssu-ch'uan and Ts'ai remained viceroy for Hu-nan and Hu-pe only. In the 21st year (1682) he became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou. Together with his son Lin 林 he was sent into exile for crimes committed, and died there in 1699 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fols. 35a–b.

[136] His name was Yin P'i 尹圻. He was still governor of Yün-nan in 1681, when Wang Chi-wen was his provincial treasurer.

[137] His name was Wang Chi-wen 王繼文; he succeeded Yin P'i as governor of Yün-nan. He was a Chinese-Bordered yellow bannerman; in 1674 he became Provincial treasurer of Yün-nan, and Governor of Yün-nan in 1681. He was appointed Viceroy in 1691. He died in 1703.

[138] *See* p. 136, Note 125.

[139] The first ancestor of this family was Lo-k'o 羅克, a native of Lan chou. He was the leader of 10,000 families during the Mongol dynasty. In the reign of Hung-wu (1368–1398) he led all his people to submission. On account of merit acquired during military exploits he was made native sub-magistrate. Lan chou, the present Lan-p'ing, is 360 li south-west of Li-chiang. During the Mongol dynasty it was in the Circuit of Li-chiang. Under the Ming dynasty, in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), it belonged to Ho-ch'ing and afterwards again to Li-chiang. Lo-ts'an 羅寨 was the last native sub-magistrate. His successors were merely called Hsi-t'u-she 襲土舍 (Hereditary local residents) — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 6, fol. 61a.

[140] The first ancestor of the Kao family mentioned in Chinese records is a certain Kao Ming-

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173 On her was conferred the honorary title of Kung-jen of the fourth principal rank. Her official name was Kao-shih-ning 高氏寧. She gave birth to four sons, named Kuei 貴,[141] Hsing 興, Hung 弘 and Chung 鍾. His second wife, Li-shih 李氏, gave birth to four sons, named Chih 枝, Ch'üan 全, Ting 定 and Hui 惠.

Although Mu Yao's merits were not properly rewarded or recorded by the Imperial court, yet his fame reached the four corners of the nation. He had proved himself both loyal and righteous to his country. When he was dying, he called his eldest son to his bedside, and handed him a large parcel containing his official seals, dispatches, and diplomas given him by the different emperors, and instructed him to keep them as valuable legacies for his children and those of later generations.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERATION. — *A-wei A-hui* 阿胃阿揮[142] (PLATE 34): Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Hsing 木興. He was also named Wei-hsin 維新 and Hsüeh-ch'eng 雪城. He was the second son of Wei (Mu Yao), and succeeded to his father's throne. He was mentally well-endowed, very widely read and had carefully studied all the ancient classics. When full-grown, he understood thoroughly how to manage political affairs. A very sociable man, he attracted numerous friends from all directions. He often strengthened his friendships by widely circulating his poems and specimens of his calligraphy, which he presented to famous scholars and ministers of high rank, who were his contemporaries. The Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Governor-general, Chiang 雲南貴州制軍蔣,[143] saw his poems and calligraphy and was much surprised at his wonderful skill.

When Chiang had leisure, he used to request Mu Hsing to write poems and scrolls for him, in return for which he presented him with many gifts. For these Hui also repaid him with presents. Thus their friendship became truly intimate and lasting. On the 6th day of the fifth moon of the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (June 20th, 1692), the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan 總督雲貴部院范,[144] sent him an official dispatch, enclosing a diploma, issued on

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ch'ing 高明淸. The seventh generation after him was a certain Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰翔, who was sent by Tuan 段 (Hsing-chi 興智), King of Nan-chao, to stop the troops of Kublai Khan and prevent them from crossing into the Nan-chao Kingdom. Being unable to do this, he fled to his native home at Yao-an. He was captured by the Mongols and decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓, the main south gate of Ta-li.

Yao-an is a sub-prefecture under Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄, and is north of Chen-nan (chou) 鎭南(州), now a hsien. The latter is six and a half stages from K'un-ming on the Ta-li road.

[141] Kuei died in early manhood before marriage.

[142] His Chinese name is a transcription of his Na-khi name, Aw-wùa Aw-khū.

[143] There was a Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi 蔣陳錫, who ruled in Yün-nan in 1717, but his name does not appear in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*. The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 34b, states that Governor General Chiang Chen-hsi suppressed a rebellion among the Wu-ting chiefs in 1718. According to the *Chung-kuo Jen-ming ta tz'u-tien* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1540, he was a K'ang-hsi Chin-shih and Governor General of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He was sent to Tibet to comfort and feast the (victorious) troops, but he died of illness within a hundred li of the Tibetan border.

[144] The viceroy's name was Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳; he was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman, and became viceroy of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou in 1686. It was he who brought

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the 4th day of the fifth moon of the same year (June 18th, 1692) by the Board of Civil Office, ordering him to succeed to his father's position. In the same moon, he assumed his official position. Since he had no legal heir, he adopted the son of his younger brother Mu Hung 木弘, named Mu Ch'ung 木崇, as his own son. He held his position for 28 years; under his rule all his people enjoyed happiness and contentment and proved most obedient to his will. His excellent reputation had spread everywhere.

In the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706), a tribe called the Lu-man 爐蠻 [146] started a rebellion. Viceroy Chiang secretly instructed the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang to investigate this matter. As it was not safe for the Chinese to travel into those tribal lands, the viceroy again ordered Mu Hsing to select capable natives of his own land and to send them to Ni-t'ang 泥塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) to investigate carefully the real conditions of the rebelling tribes. Furthermore, those men should return quickly to render a true report to the military stations of Ho-ch'ing and Li-chiang. In this mission, Mu Hsing proved himself not only careful and moderate, but also most patriotic in defending the frontier territory of our empire. In the same year, he contributed some money for the building of the Confucian temple in our city, and did not begrudge 1,000 ounces of silver for opening public schools and engaging teachers.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial army launched a punitive expedition against Tibet by way of Yün-nan. Mu Hsing showed his unusual loyalty, righteousness and patriotism to our nation by making a careful report to the government and offering voluntarily 2,000 of his native soldiers to be enlisted against Tibet. In the eighth moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (September 2nd–October 1st inclusive, 1720), he received an official dispatch from the two chief officials of Yün-nan, the viceroy and the governor, sanctioning his application to keep 1,000 of his native soldiers as a reserve force, and to enlist 1,000 more for immediate service. He was also appointed by them as Superintendent of military affairs, to lead personally 500 native soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his own command, to serve as builders of military stations and bridges along the road, defenders of the important ferries, spies and guides to show the way, and carriers of military provisions. An additional dispatch by the above-mentioned officials was given to his son and legal heir, Mu Ch'ung, who was appointed major to accompany this expedition, and ordered to be in charge of 500 native veteran soldiers, with two second captains and two lieutenants under his command. He was to serve under His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu 欽差鄂統伍 [147] as vanguard of the front lines, and as builder of

out the first Ch'ing edition of *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* (Topography of Yün-nan). He died in 1714 — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 135, fol. 35b.

[146] The term Lu-man is derived from Lu 爐 the last character in the name of the town Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐 (now K'ang-ting 康定) on the Tibetan border, capital of Hsi-k'ang. The term comprised the Tibetans living between Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang 裏塘 and Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (now Li-hua 裏化 and Pa-an 巴安 in Hsi-k'ang 西康) in the Tibetan Marches.

[147] His name was Wu Ko 伍哥 (Uge). He led, in company with the Assistant Commander-in-Chief Wu Na-ha 吳納哈, 1,000 Manchu soldiers, while the regiments of Li-chiang, Ho-ch'ing and Yung-pei were headed by Major-general Chao K'un 趙坤 (who later became gov-

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173 roads along the mountain passes, and of bridges over the streams. The above-mentioned dispatches were duly approved by the aforesaid officials.

In the meantime, Mu Hsing transported military provisions from the different military stations to the battle fronts. Arrived at La-p'u, he rearranged their system of transport. At La-p'u, there was a headman named Pa-sung 巴松, who had suppressed their official dispatches, and prevented their soldiers' rations from being forwarded, whereby they found it difficult to advance any further. Mu Hsing's native soldiers therefore killed him and recovered many of the dispatches. The reason why the Imperial soldiers, both Manchu and Chinese, suffered from want of rations in Tibet, was entirely due to Pa-sung, who had stopped the transport of supplies. On his arrival at A-tun-tzu 阿墩子, Mu Hsing learned that Pa-sung had been one of the most intimate subordinates of Nien 年, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan.[147]

While Mu Hsing was trembling with fear, he received a secret dispatch from the Yün-nan and Kuei-chou Viceroy Chiang, in which was enclosed a copy of a false report written by the Ssu-ch'uan viceroy to the Yün-nan viceroy full of accusations against him. Thus he was very much frightened, and became so ill that he could neither eat nor drink. At last his health declined, so that he died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (December 8th, 1720), after he had been carried home in the tenth moon (October 31st–November 29th inclusive) of the same year.

As mentioned above, his son, Mu Ch'ung, accompanied the army of the Commander-in-Chief and Imperial messenger Wu on his expedition, and served under him as vanguard in the front lines. He suffered considerably from exposure on snow-covered mountains, and endured heavy frost. Thus he contracted rheumatism which later developed into a serious case of dropsy. On the 30th day of the second moon of the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (April 15th, 1722) he died, after returning home from this expedition, in spite of treatment

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ernor of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou). Ma Hui-po 馬會伯 led 1,500 Green banner troops plus 500 Li-chiang Mo-so soldiers. They were to cross the Yangtze and unite with the Ssu-ch'uan troops on their march on Tsang 藏 (Tibet) — *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 11, fol. 37a.

See also E. HAENISCH, "Bruchstücke aus der Geschichte Chinas," *T'oung Pao*, 1911, Vol. 12, pp. 197–235, 375–424. On p. 402, HAENISCH translates from the *Tung-huo-lu* 東華錄, ch. 29, which I render here from the German: General Uge left Yün-nan on the 12th day of the second moon of the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (March 20th, 1720). Uge reports: "As I received a communication from Mu Hsing, native Prefect of Li-chiang fu, asking my permission to accompany me, and at the same time placing his contingents at my disposal, I selected 500 men from his native troops, which I placed under the command of the sons of Mu Hsing and ordered them to join the campaign of our army."

[147] His name was Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states, ch. 103, fol. 2b, that he became viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (1721) (*see* HAENISCH, *op. cit.*, p. 404). He was opposed to the placing of Pa-t'ang and Li-t'ang under the native magistrate of Li-chiang and memorialized the throne to have these two places remain under the rule of Ssu-ch'uan. He sent a subordinate general, Yo Chung-ch'i 岳鍾琪, with troops to Li-t'ang, who was to join the Yün-nan troops on the march to Lha-sa. This general was one of the most renowned. He rushed ahead without waiting for the great army, and with his small detachment captured Lha-sa. It is due to him that the entire military operation, from the advance march from Pa-t'ang to the capture of Lha-sa, took only four months (May 19th–September 20th, 1720). *See* also CHAVANNES, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XIII, 1912, p. 634.

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by the most skilful doctors. Thus both father and son sacrificed their lives for the sake of our nation. 173

Although the merit they had acquired was not properly recognized or rewarded by the Imperial court, yet it has been remembered and praised by our people until the present time. There is an old saying that so far as loyalty is concerned, an official should bend his body and exhaust his energy in the service of the State, and only death shall put a stop to it. Both father and son were worthy to receive this praise. Mu Hsing was born on the 13th day of the third moon of the 6th year of K'ang-hsi (April 5th, 1667), and died on the 9th day of the eleventh moon of the 59th year of the same period (December 8th, 1720). In the 42nd year of K'ang-hsi (1703), when Mu Hsing was still alive, he respectfully received, by the grace of the Emperor, Imperial letters patent conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu together with the hereditary right of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang, and on his wife, Lu-shih-lung 陸氏隆, daughter of the official Lu 陸 family of the city of Wu-ting 武定, the honorary title of Kung-jen. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew, Lieutenant-colonel Mu Ch'ung, as his legal heir. The latter's wife, Kao Shih-ch'eng-yü 高氏成玉, daughter of the Kao family, native chiefs of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶, also had no son.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERATION. — *A-hsi A-chu* 阿錫阿住[148] (PLATE 35): Hereditary native Magistrate of the fu-magistracy. His official name was Mu Chung 木鐘; he was also named Yün-lin 雲林 and Yung-mou 永茂.

He was the fourth son of Mu Yao, and succeeded to his brother's throne. Since his childhood, he had been very simple, gentle and quiet in mind. He never was obstinate or disobedient. He was, therefore, much respected and liked by his people both inside and outside his household. At the age of six, Kao Ying-ying 高應映,[149] native sub-magistrate of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安, heard of his pure and gentle character, and invited him to his yamen for the purpose of giving him a perfect education. Kao saw that he was never fond of wasting his time by indulging in games. He consented to give him his daughter in marriage, and treated him as if he were his own son. After some years, Mu Chung begged leave to return home to attend the Imperial examination, but Kao was so fond of him that he could not bear being separated from him. Mu Chung then married Kao's daughter in his father-in-law's yamen.

In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), the Imperial court sent a punitive expedition against Tibet and his elder brother and his nephew both lost their lives in battle. His country had no one to look after the affairs of its people; their official secretaries, therefore, invited Mu Chung to return to his own country, and made him administrator of all its military and civil affairs. In controlling the affairs of his fu-magistracy, he never neglected to follow the example of the best teaching of his ancestors. He had a very pleasant dis-

[148] He is called Aw-khū Aw-dzu in Na-khi, of which the Chinese is a phonetic transcription.

[149] From the time of the Ming dynasty the members of his family have been hereditary sub-prefects of Yao-an. He revised the *Chi-tsu Shan-chih* (Records of the famous Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 [north-east of Ta-li]), and co-operated in writing the famous work called *Tien-hsi* 滇系.

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173 position and was therefore liked by his fellowpeople. Because he was the younger brother of Mu Hsing born of the same parents, and was the uncle of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 of the same blood, therefore in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722), after his brother and his nephew had died of illness, all his people joined to append their signatures to a recommendation on his behalf to the Yün-nan — Kuei-chou Viceroy Chang 雲貴部院張.[110] He was thereupon appointed to look after the affairs of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. The viceroy sent him a short note saying that, as soon as his family record was submitted to the governor as evidence, his hereditary right would be duly recommended and confirmed by official letters patent.

After having been in office for a little over 40 days, there unexpectedly appeared a man by the name of A-chih-li 阿知立,[111] of the same Mu family. He, with some others, perceiving the bad state of affairs in this fu-magistracy caused by the deaths of Mu Hsing and his [adopted] son [actually his nephew] Mu Ch'ung, and seeing also that the official seal was securely packed, quickly seized the opportunity at once to accuse the late Mu Hsing to the governor. They unearthed old complaints and brought them forward anew. There were certain headmen who, during Mu Hsing's rule, had been organized by a few leaders of this district, and these men pretended to perform public services for the people. They called themselves the Wu hu 五虎 and Shih-ssu piao 十四彪 (Five tigers and Fourteen tiger stripes or Tiger-cats) Party.[112]

These leaders, during the absence of Mu Ch'ung 木崇 and his father (actually uncle) Mu Hsing, while on service with the military expedition, tried in every possible way to rob the people of their wealth in the name of the Mu family, and, under the disguise of reformers, satisfied their selfish ends. Although there was little truth in the accusations which they brought, the Viceroy and Governor Kao 總督部院高[113] did not wait to examine carefully these false

[110] His name was Chang Wen-huan 張文煥. He was a native of Shensi and held the military degree of doctor. Although he is here called the Yün-nan — Kwei-chou Governor (雲貴) he was actually Viceroy since 1720.

[111] Aw-dzhi-lĕr is the Na-khi name of the person who accused Mu Chung at the Yün-nan viceroy's yamen in Yün-nan fu. He lived in the village of Boa-shi mbe-lü (central village of Pai-sha li), a little south of Pai-sha-kai; the hamlet consists of peasants called Mu 木, descendants of Aw-dzhi-lĕr. In the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 3, fol. 17a, it states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), the native A-chih-li, with Aw-ndo-zo (A-chung-chü 阿仲宜), Ho Ji-chia 和日嘉, and Aw-bpu-t'a (A-pao-t'a 阿寶他), went to Yün-nan fu to accuse Mu Chung and implored and begged the Viceroy Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬, and the Governor of the province, Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, to nationalize Li-chiang, and establish a Liu-kuan chih-fu 流官知府 (transferable prefect) and reduce the native prefect to a native syndic or advocate.

[112] The *piao* is also a mythical animal (called Gkü in Na-khi) which is supposed to be able to overcome a tiger.

[113] His name was Kao Ch'i-cho 高其倬. He became viceroy in the 61st year of K'ang-hsi (1722). He was a Chinese Bordered yellow bannerman. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 139, fols. 7b–8a, states that in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) he memorialized the throne that the bad system of hereditary T'u-ssu should be abolished. His reason was that several headmen or chiefs (four in number) had gathered around them many followers and had robbed Yüan-chiang. Three hundred and twenty-six native village headmen also had rebelled, and he sent soldiers to suppress them. The Chung-tien La-ma, also the Tibetan headmen, led 1,500 families to submission. During the incumbency of Kao as Viceroy, the Governor of Yün-nan was Yang Ming-shih 楊名時.

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leaders of the people, but, in the first year of Yung-cheng (1723), suddenly 173 made a report to the Emperor, saying that Mu Hsing had been very covetous and cruel during his official life, and that even now his people were still accusing him.

He also reported that Mu Chung's 木鐘 reputation had suffered badly in his native place. Consequently the district should be nationalized, and the title of its ruler, formerly T'u chih-fu 土知府 (Native magistrate of the fu-magistracy) should be changed into Liu chih-fu 流知府 transferable prefect. Further, that the title Liu t'ung-pan 流通判 (Naturalized sub-prefect) should now be changed to T'u t'ung-pan 土通判 (Native sub-prefect). This report was duly registered and confirmed by the Emperor, and the district became nationalized on the 27th day of the fourth moon of the same year (May 31st, 1723).

After Mu Chung's return from Yao-an to Li-chiang he was busy day and night with military affairs without interruption. Since Mu Chung had assumed his official duties only for about 40 days, how could it suddenly be said that his reputation was bad? It is quite plain that he was unjustly accused by his people. Finally it became known that Viceroy Kao of Yün-nan and Kuei-chou had been for a long time an intimate friend of Nien Keng-yao 年羹堯, Viceroy of Ssu-ch'uan. On receiving the accusation made by A-chih-li against Mu Hsing and Mu Chung 木鐘, Kao planned secretly to take revenge for the murder of Pa-sung 巴松, who was the most favorite subordinate of Nien Keng-yao. At that time, when the members of the Mu family learned that their district was to be reorganized, all tried their best to seize official positions, and acquire some power for themselves. Mu Chung was thus left alone, his influence vanished and he could do nothing. He lived patiently without showing the slightest anger. In the same year, a new magistrate named Yang 楊[154] was appointed to rule the district of Li-chiang. On his

[154] His full name was Yang Pi 楊秘 (this character is also read P'ieh), and he was a Han-chün Cheng-huang-ch'i 漢軍正黃旗 (Chinese Plain yellow bannerman) of the literary degree *Chien-sheng* 監生 (the lowest degree to be obtained by purchase throughout the Empire). In the first year of Yung-cheng he was appointed Commissioner, or Collector, of revenue of the province of Hu-nan. Afterwards in the same year he became the first magistrate of Li-chiang. A memorial stone bearing the name of Yang Pi, whom it honors, stands outside the last village adjoining Li-chiang on the road leading west and to the small air field.

On the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range, back of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村) and immediately behind the present Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple) of that village (it is the last village on the western branch of the plain, at the foot of the snow range), there is a limestone wall or cliff called Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu 'a-gko. *Gkwua-gyi-gkv-lu* (*lit.*, control water inside), a place where issues a beautiful spring which was controlled by a headman; *'a-gko* = cliff amongst. On this cliff is engraved the name of the first magistrate, Yang Pi, who assumed the position of Li-chiang magistrate in 1723. The cliff is called in Chinese, *Yü Chu Ch'ing T'ien* 玉柱擎天 (Jade-pillar which upholds [bears] the sky); this may have been intended as a metaphor for "a statesman who upholds the country." The words 玉柱擎天 are engraved in the center of the cliff in huge characters (p. 149 and PLATE 36). To the left side of the main inscription are the characters 雍正甲辰春麗邵守襄平楊秘題書: "In the second year of Yung-cheng *chia-ch'en* (1724), in the spring, the prefect of Li [chiang], Yang Pi of Hsiang-p'ing [Hsiang-p'ing hsien was in Feng-t'ien fu 奉天府 or Mukden] wrote this [central] inscription." At the base of the cliff are the characters *Yü Pi Chin Ch'uan* 玉壁金川 (Jade Wall and Golden Stream). Reference is here made to the snow range (Jade dragon Mountain), which rises like an enormous wall above

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1173 arrival at this place, not only did he not investigate the robberies committed by "The Five tigers and the Fourteen piao party," but he appointed those evil-doers as secretaries of the six sub-bureaux in his yamen and as Hsiang-yao 鄉約 (village headmen).

By using these men as his tools, Yang tried to search out all the possible mistakes made by the Mu family. At last they discovered a case. At the period when Mu Wei-hsin (Mu Hsing) was busily occupied with his allotted military duty, he could not find time to collect the land and grain taxes from the chou-city of Chien-ch'uan and send the revenue to the Provincial treasurer. He thus neglected the collecting of taxes for four years. Mu Chung 木鐘 was therefore instructed to go to Chien-ch'uan to clear up the account. In the meantime, the magistrate of that chou-city was secretly instructed by the new magistrate of Li-chiang to confine him privately. The judge P'an Ch'ao-ssu (shih) 潘朝士, whom he employed to look after his judicial affairs, was also arrested and imprisoned. His secretary was forced by means of severe tortures to hand over the official documents which Pa-sung had suppressed with orders to burn them all. His family was then carefully searched and compelled to deliver all the deeds and evidences of their ancestors' landed property. All official documents and dispatches concerning their past generations were ordered to be burned. Happily, his wife, Kao, was a well-educated woman, and could read and write Chinese very well, so that she secretly hid in a strong, safe place, all their Imperial letters patent, and the various medals and proofs given to them by the different emperors, in honor of past merits acquired by their ancestors in the service of the Imperial court.

As the rest of the documents and accounts of this district were burned, nothing could be discovered regarding the quantity of rice and the amount of money kept for public purposes, and stolen by the above-mentioned evil leaders of the people, and appropriated to their own use. In addition, the searchers never credited and put into account that quantity of military rice which had become mildewed and rotten in the barns.

They made a report to the viceroy, who instructed Mu Chung to deliver the exact and entire amount of official property, the public rice and money, without taking into consideration the damage that had been done in the past. Again, the governor instructed the new magistrate to make him pay the balance of over 10,000 taels of silver, which was due from Mu Hsing and his (adopted) son Mu Ch'ung 木崇 to the Provincial treasurer during their official tenure. The new magistrate, taking as an excuse this shortage of payment owed by the Mu family to the government, confiscated Mu Chung's 木鐘 private lands and the buildings thereon which were bequeathed to him by his ancestors. These amounted in all to 12 residences.[116]

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the Chin-ch'uan (Golden Stream — the Yangtze or Chin-sha Chiang, *i.e.*, River of golden sand).

To the right of these characters, engraved in a horizontal line, come the small characters. *Yung-cheng ping-wu hsia jih* 雍正丙午夏日: "On a summer day in the year *ping-wu* of Yung-cheng [1726]," *Ch'eng-chün Nieh Jui t'i shu* 承郡聶瑞題書: "This theme was written by the assistant prefect Nieh Jui." The name of this person is not to be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung chih*.

[116] These residences (*d'a* in Na-khi) were distributed over the Li-chiang plain. The furthest

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雍正甲辰春麗郡守裘平楊秘題書

玉柱擎天

玉壁金川

雍正丙午夏日
丞郡聂瑞
題書

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE CLIFF OF GKWUA-GYI-GKV-LU 'A-GKO

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1173 The confiscated houses were used as quarters for the soldiers and offices for the new magistrate, and for other public purposes. With regard to Mu Chung's ancestral landed property, the searchers divided it into two classes. First that which had already been sold or mortgaged to other people by his ancestors, with official deeds or proofs, and second that which had not been sold. From the first they tried to get additional payment, while the second was all confiscated by the government. His servants, house-stewards, and private secretaries were all discharged and forced to return to their native villages, to make their living by raising live-stock. The grazing lands were rented out, in order to obtain money to be used in the district for public purposes.

The investigators again questioned and interrogated his wife, Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and tried to make her hand over all their heirlooms of precious objects and valuable trinkets, but she replied that she had been in Li-chiang only for a short time, and had never seen a single precious thing bequeathed to them by the ancestors of the Mu family. What she now possessed had all been given to her by her parents at her marriage. She again said that those things kept by Wei-hsin Kung 維新公 (Lord Wei-hsin) (Mu Hsing) were all taken away by his wife, Ho-shih, while the legacies preserved by Lord Shih-ch'iao 世嘯公 (Mu Ch'ung 木崇) were all given to his wife Kao-shih 高氏 (Kao-ch'eng-yü 高成玉). The searchers thought that what she said was true, and found no means to deprive her of her possessions. They gradually stopped their misdoings and felt satisfied with what they had obtained. They then falsified the ancestral records of the Mu family, and invented at their pleasure many false reports, which they sent to the governor. They only gave back to Kao-shih the book containing copies of all the official seals of the ancestors of the Mu family, and directed her and her husband to keep it for themselves for ever.

During this time Mu Chung was still detained in Chien-ch'uan. As soon as he learned that all his property had been confiscated by the government, he stamped his feet and beat his breast in great anxiety. From that time on, he could not eat at all, and gradually became seriously ill with vomiting. He was

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north was Kwuà-d'a, at the foot of the snow range to the north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ō (Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村). The twelve ¹d'a or ²Ts'ā-³nyi-¹d'a were as follows: ²Ggō-¹dgyū-²hoa-¹tkhi ¹d'a was the residence of the Na-khi ruler in Li-chiang proper; the upper or ²Ggō ¹d'a ³Aw-³lv ¹d'a was situated at Pai-sha 白沙 or Boa-shi; the lower or ³Mūāŋ ¹d'a ²Ssu-²chĕr ¹d'a was back of the present Ministry of Education; ²Law-²shi ¹dtv-²ngv ¹d'a; ²Mbu-¹tkhye ¹d'a was situated below the Mu family temple at Ssi-li-wùa; ²Wùa-²naŋ ¹d'a at Ssi-li proper; ²Shwua-²wùa-²ds ¹d'a near the village of Shu-ho 東河 to the north-west; ²Mùaŋ-¹bbu-²ggō ¹d'a, ²Mùaŋ-¹bbu-³lü ¹d'a and ³Mùaŋ-¹bbu-¹mūāŋ ¹d'a (these three apparently count as one), they are the upper, central and lower ³Mùaŋ-¹bbu ¹d'a and are situated on the eastern slopes of Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv or Wen-pi Shan near the lamasery ²Mùaŋ-¹bbu-¹nä (*see* pp. 176 and 185) hence the name. ¹⁰A-³k'ō ¹d'a the first and oldest residence of the Mu family, see page 88; ²Kwuà ¹d'a situated by the village of ²Nv-³lv-k'ō, also known as ²Kwua ¹d'a ²Ch'wua-²ts'o ¹d'a where the stags danced; ²T'aw-¹bpō ¹d'a or ²T'aw-²bbu ¹d'a because there they performed the ceremony of ²T'aw-¹bpō and last ²Lū-³khū ²wùa-²wùa ¹d'a situated near a small lake called ²Lū-³khū or Central lake, the Chinese Chung-hai 中海; to the east of this artificial lake is the small airfield which is lower than the lake and therefore useless because it is swampy. Near it is an artificial hill about 50 feet high, more like a pyramid in outline, this is called ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wùa it is 6 li distant from the village of ²Lū-³khū; there is also a circular temple called ²Lū-³khū-²wùa-²wùa, ²wùa-²wùa meaning round. On ¹Ssaw-²ngaw-²wùa the Na-khi chiefs caused beacon fires to be lighted when they wished to call the people together. (*See also* p. 156, note 8, and p. 219.)

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sometimes dizzy and fainted without uttering a word; day after day he lay in his bed in a dying condition. In the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (1725), he was carried to his house in his native place, and died three days after he had reached home. 173

His tenure of office as native magistrate of the fu-magistracy of this district, and T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect) lasted altogether for two years only. During that time he had trouble within and without, and suffered so much that he was in tears all day, and held his head with his hands till he went to his grave. But the trouble had not been caused by Mu Chung himself. Whether he was right or wrong in his conduct is left to the judgment of his posterity, in fair conscience. He was born on the 17th day of the seventh moon of the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (August 24th, 1687), and died on the 30th day of the seventh moon of the 3rd year of Yung-cheng (September 6th, 1725). On the 3rd day of the ninth moon of the 13th year of Yung-cheng (October 18th, 1735), by a special Imperial decree of grace, the Emperor conferred on him the posthumous honorary title of Ch'eng-te-lang 承德郎, and on his wife the posthumous honorary title of An-jen 安人. She was named Kao-shih-shou 高氏壽, and was the daughter of sub-magistrate Kao 高同知, of the chou-magistracy of Yao-an 姚安. She gave birth to one son, named officially Mu Te 木德. His second wife, A-shih 阿氏, gave birth to two sons, named Mu Ming 木明 and Mu Chia 木嘉.

* * *

This closes the detailed account of the First Chronicle.

It is followed by the entire family tree of the Mu family beginning with Mu Te 木得, who lived from 1311 to 1390, and ending with Mu Te 木德 who was the last of the native prefects of Li-chiang. This is followed by a colophon the translation of which is at the end of the following chapter, the family tree for lack of space being omitted here.

The Historical Genealogies

Continued from the Second Chronicle

In order that the records of the Mu family be as complete as possible, the data missing in the First Chronicle are here supplied from the Second, though already partly translated and published in French by Edouard Chavannes.

Twenty-fifth to thirty-third generation

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERATION. — Mu Te 木德 (Plate 37): His literary name was Fang-sheng 芳聲 and his given name Nien-tsu 念祖. He was the son of Yün-lin 雲林 (Mu Chung 木鐘). When the latter assumed his position, there appeared Aw-dzhi-lĕr who lodged false accusations against him. This man succeeded in having the native magistracy abolished and Mu Chung's property confiscated by the government. All the property and gifts accumulated by their ancestors through many generations vanished completely. Mu Chung had no longer any home, and 40 days or so after having assumed the position of T'ung-p'an, in which he had been neither confirmed nor appointed, he died.

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173 At that time Fang-sheng was nine years old in his home many had died, and he mourned bitterly.

He became hereditary T'ung-p'an at the age of nine, but his existence was precarious, his house like an empty jar, and he was poor and desolate. Yet he prospered and was apt and clever. Heaven gave him courage and understanding. He met Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕,[156] a *Chin-shih* 進士 of the city of Shih-p'ing 石屏,[157] who became his tutor and instructor. He studied the classics and readily grasped their meaning. His mother, Kao-shih, showed him all the ancient documents, ancestral papers and books which she had secretly preserved. He borrowed money and bettered the condition of his home, secured clothing and sufficient food. He consecrated all his efforts to retrieve his family after the reverses which had stricken it. When he was grown up and had gained both in courage and in knowledge, he submitted official reports to the different high provincal authorities, petitioning them to help ameliorate his condition. He went several times to the provincial capital, and thus wearied himself and nearly exhausted his energy. But he was not afraid of difficulties and dangers, and tried his best to create a favorable impression at official headquarters.

The viceroy invited him to an audience and granted him the native official farm and rice rent, in the form of 150 Imperial piculs of rice, and ordered him to visit [call upon] the Bureau of granary [at the four seasons] four times a year to take delivery. After that he had enough food for his morning and evening meal. He then obtained taxes in grain from the farms of Yung-pei, Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and La-pao 剌寶, and did not lose his office and influence. He trusted the profound grace of the viceroy, and obtained from the glorious Imperial court abundant help. Afterwards he subscribed towards the building of a Yü-yin ou 玉音樓,[158] where he prostrated himself to show his loyalty.

He repaired his residence and rebuilt the old ancestral hall to express his filial piety. He sold the copper utensils of his ancestors and gave the proceeds to the students, and defrayed their expenses to promote literature. All praised his moral qualities and profound instruction. After his death the Imperial Government bestowed on him the title of Hereditary assistant sub-prefect of Li-chiang 世襲麗江府通判. He lived to the age of 64. He was born in the 53rd year of K'ang-hsi, the 4th day of the fourth moon (May 17th, 1714), at the hour of noon He died in the 42nd year of Ch'ien-lung, the 7th day of the sixth moon (July 11th, 1777) at the hour of *ch'en* 辰 (7–8 A.M.). His wife was Kao-

[156] Wan Hsien-en was a native of Shih-p'ing who became a *chin-shih* in the 60th year of K'ang-hsi (172). In the second year of Yung-cheng (1724) he came to Li-chiang. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), on account of his special excellence (*Cho-i* 卓異, *i.e.*, deserving of specil merit) he was appointed to the magistracy of Ching-yen 井研 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[157] Shih-p'ing i now a magistracy in the district of Chien-shui (Lin-an 臨安), south of K'un-ming.

[158] There is a Yi-yin lou (tower) in Li-chiang. It stands to the left of the T'ung-p'an yamen. This particular tower was built in the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619) by Mu Tseng (19th generation) of the Mu family. — *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 36a. Fang-sheng received from the throne an Imperial tablet on which were inscribed (carved) the 12 characters, *T'ien Yen Chih Ch'ih* 天顏咫尺, *Hsiung Wei Ch'i Li* 雄威奇麗, *Chia Yü Tien Hsi* 甲於滇西, which may be translated: Close to the Imperial face (an intimate adviser of the Emperor, as close as a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches); magnificent and beautiful; and the best known in the west of Tien (Yün-nan).

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shih-shun-ying 高氏順英, and she was the niece of Kao Hou-te 高厚德, native sub-prefect of Yao-an.[189] She was given the posthumous title of An-jen. To him were born two sons, the second was called Mu Hsiu 木秀, and he inherited his father's position. His first-born was Mu K'un 木坤, who died of illness at the age of 20, while at school. 173

Of some of the remaining generations only their names are known, of others their names, dates of birth, and death.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERATION. — Mu Hsiu 木秀 (PLATE 38): His literary name was Chen-yo 鎮岳. Neither his date of birth nor death is given.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERATION. — Mu Jui 木睿 (PLATE 39).

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERATION. — Mu Han 木漢 (PLATE 40): His literary name was Ying-yün 映雲.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERATION. — Mu Ching 木景 (PLATE 41): His literary name was Ching-yang 景陽 and his given name Shu-tung 曙東.

THIRTIETH GENERATION. — Mu Yin 木蔭 (PLATE 42): His literary name was Ch'un-t'ing 椿庭. He was born in the year *jen-hsü* 壬戌 of T'ung-chih (1862). He died in the eighth year of the Republic (1919).

THIRTY-FIRST GENERATION. — Mu Piao 木標: His literary name was Chien-i 建儀, and his given name Po-fan 伯藩. He was born in the year *chia-shen* 甲申 of Kuang-hsü (1884), and died in the 17th year of the Republic (1928).

THIRTY-SECOND GENERATION. — Mu Ch'iung 木瓊 (PLATE 43): His literary title is P'ei-ming 佩明 and his given name Shao-fan 紹藩. He was born in the year *mou-shen* 戊申 of Kuang-hsü, the second moon and 2nd day (March 4th, 1908), at the hour of *mao* 卯 (5–7 A.M.). He is the present T'u t'ung-p'an 土通判 (Native assistant sub-prefect), but without any power whatsoever.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERATION. — Mu Sung-k'uei 木松奎, also written 嵩焜: He was born in the 18th year of the Republic, tenth moon, 7th day (November 7th, 1929), at the hour of *shen* 申 (3–5 P.M.).

[189] His ancestor was a certain Kao Chin 高金 who during the Ming dynasty became native sub-prefect. Kao Hou-te was the son of Kao Ying-hou 高映厚 who held the same position during the K'ang-hsi period. Kao Hou-te because of certain affairs was banished to Chiang-nan and the hereditary office ceased to exist. — *Yao chou chih*, ed. 1885, ch. 5, fol. 47a.

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CHAPTER VII

COLOPHON AND NOTES TO THE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS OF THE NA-KHI CHIEFS

COLOPHON TO THE FIRST CHRONICLE

M73 In examining the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom) we learn that at the beginning, when Li-chiang first belonged to Pai Kuo 白國 (White Kingdom), it possessed no definite name.

The ancestors of the Mu family originally lived in Tso Kuo 笮國[1] (Tso Kingdom); in the Chou 周 (1122–255 B.C.) and Ch'in 秦 (255–206 B.C.) dynasties there are no records about this family. Beginning with the Han 漢 (206 B.C.–A.D. 221) and Chin 晉 (265–420) dynasties, down to the T'ang 唐 (618–907), the family existed for many generations.

The Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔 (Yüeh-hsi Kingdom) was originally one of the Liu chao (Six Kingdoms).

At the close of the Sung dynasty, there lived in the Mu family a man by the name of Mai-tsung 麥宗,[2] who was very wise and lived to a ripe old age. He was endowed by Heaven with special intellect. There are narratives of him in the records. As to his ability and virtue, he was superior to the rest of the people and was therefore honored by them all. Unfortunately, at that time there was not much cultural development among these people, and although this man possessed a virtuous character and had accomplished much, nothing has been recorded about him. He begot Liang 良; Liang begot Wu 兀; Wu begot Liang 亮; Liang begot Chia 甲; Chia begot Te 得.

In the Yüan dynasty, this family enjoyed peace, and its deeds filled many shining pages in its history. When the Ming dynasty was founded (1368) and the first Emperor selected Chin-ling 金陵 (Nanking) as Imperial capital, Chia of the Mu family knew immediately that the divine order of the succession of the Imperial throne had been established. He therefore sent his son with a number of envoys to Nanking to offer a map of their native land.

[1] The Tso-tu Kuo was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷笮都國 (Tso-tu Kingdom of the western barbarians). Han Wu Ti incorporated that territory in his empire and established the district of Tso-tu (Tso-tu hsien 笮都縣). In the sixth year of the period Yüan-ting 元鼎 (111 B.C.) it became the Ch'en-li Chün 沉黎郡. During the Sui dynasty it was called Han-yüan 漢源, which is 30 li south of the present-day Ch'ing-ch'i 清溪, governed by Ya-an 雅安 (Ya chou 雅州) in Ssu-ch'uan. To-day it is again called Han-yüan hsien.

Ma Tuan-lin is more precise in his *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao*, ch. 329, fol. 5b, for he states that during the Han dynasty there were about 10 principalities north-east of Yüeh-sui 越巂, of which the Tso-tu was the most powerful. He amplifies this by saying "the Tso-tu of Hsi 徙." Hsi was east of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州, the present-day T'ien-ch'üan hsien, west of Ya-an. Although in other works he is quoted verbatim, the character *Hsi* 徙 is omitted. In a note it states that Hsi was made a hsien (district) during the Han dynasty, belonging to Shu Chün 蜀郡.

[2] The Li-chiang Records state that Mai-tsung was a man from west of the borders of China and that he came to Li-chiang at the end of the reign of Sung Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1253). The natives elected him as their chief. His son met Kublai Khan's army in the first year of Pao-yu 寶祐 of Sung Li Tsung (1253).

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In the 15th year of the Ming dynasty (1382), Te acknowledged his allegiance to the Imperial rule, and T'ai Tsu, the first Ming Emperor, admiring his action, conferred on his family the surname Mu 木, and, by separate letters patent, granted him the hereditary right of magistrate of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. Te then conquered the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge), guarded the Shih-men 石門 (Stone-gate Pass), and was given by the Emperor an official robe, a *hu* 笏 (tablet),[3] and a golden belt.

Te begot a son by the name of Ch'u 初. The latter joined the Meng-chien 蒙瞼 (the present Meng-hua hsien) Southern expedition, and succeeded in capturing the city of Lu-ch'uan (in the south), and opened Yung-ning 永寧 (in the north). He conquered Yen-ching 鹽井,[4] a salt-well in the east, and thus gained considerable military merit. The Emperor gave him a gold medal and a gold belt, and granted him the power to rule over the territory of the Jung 戎 tribe[5] (on the frontier).

Ch'u begot T'u 土, to whom the Emperor in a special order, granted his family the title of hereditary prefect to rule its native land. He authorized it only to proclaim the Imperial will to the people, who could not be conscripted for other places.

T'u begot Shen 森, who gained great military merit by joining the punitive expedition of Secretary of State, Wang Chi 王驥,[6] who attacked the city of Lu-ch'uan 瀘川 and was then promoted by Imperial order to the honorary position of Ts'an-cheng 參政 (State adviser). On his ancestors, male and female, the Emperor conferred various posthumous honorary titles. The merit of this family was also made manifest by the Yün-nan governor Ting 丁.[7]

Shen begot Ch'in 欽; Ch'in begot T'ai 泰. They all bore the honorary title of T'ai-chung ta-fu, conferred on them by the Emperor. T'ai was a man of wonderful ability and thoroughly understood the science of divination according to the diagrams (*I Ching*, the Book of Changes), and Chinese philosophy. He was both martial and keen on literature. Thus he brought great glory and prosperity to his family.

[3] The *hu* was a tablet made either of bamboo, jade or ivory, and was held before the breast at audiences of the Emperor (GILES, *Chinese Dictionary* No. 4962).

[4] The present-day Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣 in Ssu-ch'uan.

[5] The Jung are considered the wild tribes of the west. There are many different clans, or rather, tribes, of Jung, among which the Na-khi were reckoned. The Hsi-jung (Western Jung) dwelled in north-western Kan-su and extended into the State of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) where they inhabited the district of Yüeh-sui 越巂 and the ancient Ch'en-li 沈黎 in Tso-tu Kuo (the present-day Han-yüan hsien 漢源縣 in Sasu-ch'uan).

The Hsi-i of the Tso-tu Kingdom are apparently identical with the Hsi-jung of Ch'en-li, for the territory is one and the same.

[6] Wang Chi later became viceroy of Yün-nan. He was a native of Shu-lu 束鹿 in Pao-ting fu, Ho-pei. His literary name was Shang-te 尚德. In the sixth year of Ming Cheng-t'ung (1441), the Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使 of Lu-ch'uan, by name Ssu-jen-fa 思任發, rebelled. Wang Chi was unable to suppress him at first. He attacked Lu-ch'uan three times, and only then routed the robbers and destroyed their stronghold — *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 120, fol. 13a.

[7] His name was Ting Hsüan 丁璿 and he was a native of Shang-yüan 上元 in Chiang-su (Kiangsu). He also fought Lu-ch'uan, after which he was promoted to a Senior vice-presidency of the censorate.

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173 T'ai begot Ting 定, who helped his neighbouring districts by restoring peace; his merit was great, but he did not bring it to notice.

Ting begot Mu Kung 木公, whose old age was spent at the foot of the Hsüeh-shan 雪山 [8] (Snow mountain). There he buried himself among his books, in order to understand thoroughly the ancient literary allusions. He and a man named Chang 張, who lived on the Yü Shan 禹山 near the city of Yung-ch'ang 永昌, and a third man named Tso 左, living on the Huang Shan 黃山 of Meng-hua 蒙化, were known at that time as the Three famous mountain scholars. The T'ai-shih 太史 (Imperial historiographer), by the name of Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修,[9] and many other scholars were his most intimate literary friends.

His literary works were made known to the later generations, and his scholarly fame was respected throughout our kingdom. His military merit, achieved for the Imperial court, was so great that His Majesty the Emperor personally wrote for him [an inscription of] four Chinese characters, *Chi Ning Pien Ching* 輯寧邊境 (Peaceful defender of My frontier-land), and in addition the Emperor gave him many other rich gifts. He devoted much time to the compiling of two copies of his ancestral record, describing all the honorary titles and glorious deeds of his family, beginning from his first ancestor down to his son. He built an ancestral temple in honor and for the worship of his ancestors. These were two of the chief things he accomplished to express his filial piety. For his family record, Chang Chih-shun 張志淳, president of one of the six Imperial boards and native of Yung-ch'ang and Yang Shen 楊慎, Imperial historiographer and native of (Hsin-tu) Ch'eng-tu 成都, each wrote a preface.

Mu Kung begot Mu Kao 木高, who was also named Shou-kuei 守貴. From childhood, he was clever in strategy. At 31 years of age he extirpated the rebels and conquered the village of Hsiang-lo 香羅. Later, he gained a great victory over the village of Mao-ch'ü 毛佉, and completely defeated the T'u-fan 吐番. Then again he conquered Kan-t'ao 干陶, and established some villages at Wei-yüan 威遠. His father, Mu Kung, was so pleased with his heroic deeds that he took out the gold medals and gold belt, and many other objects given to his ancestors by the different Emperors of the successive dynasties, and handed them to him, saying: "Follow the examples of your ancestors, and be loyal to your nation."

When his father became a widower, Mu Kao selected a beautiful girl, and offered her to him as a concubine. His father was well pleased and on excellent terms with him. In this we find the cause of the good luck which attended him. On account of curing his father of his illness with flesh cut from his own

[8] The Li-chiang snow mountain is meant. At the foot of the range on its eastern slopes, north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ō, is a large grove of spruce trees, the remains of a large forest which in the time of Mu Kung covered the region. There stood a residence, one of the 12 homes possessed by the Mu family. The place was and is still known as Kwuā-d'a. To-day a small temple with statues of Buddha stands beneath the spruces. The temple dates back to the Ming dynasty. The temple has lately been dismantled, the beautiful murals dating back to the Ming dynasty destroyed and the building converted into a forestry station.

[9] He is better known as Yang Shen 楊慎. It was he who wrote an introduction to the Chronicle of the Mu family. He had been banished for life to Yung-ch'ang in south-west Yün-nan. (See page 162.)

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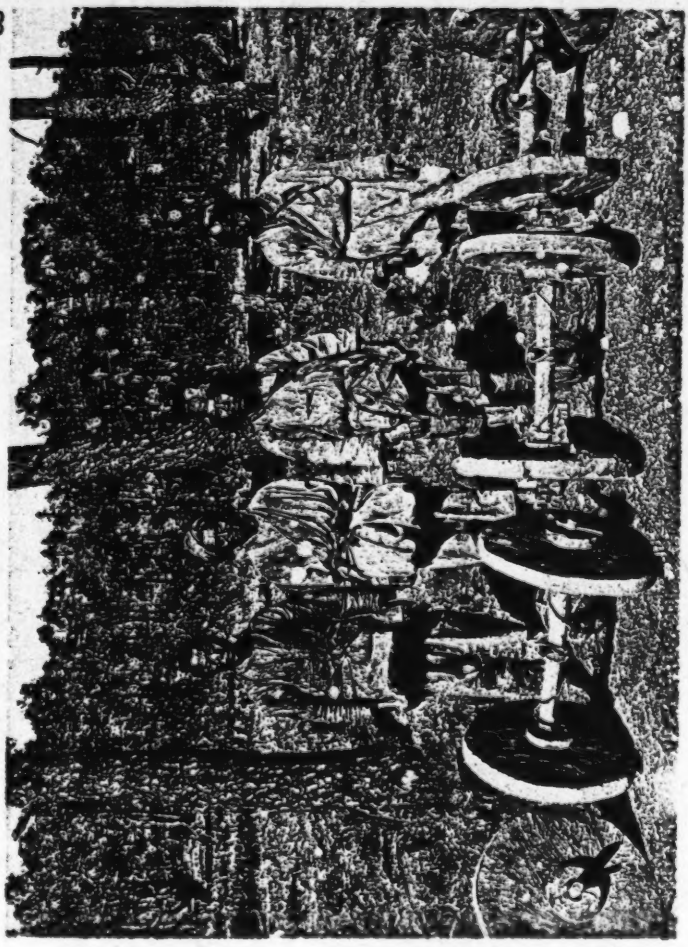

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 81. — NA-KHI WOODCUTTERS

納西伐木夫

On these primitive, solid, wooden-wheeled vehicles Na-khi woodsmen transport timber from Ngu-ba to Li-chiang.

[p. 156 A]

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PLATE 82. — WARRIOR DRESSED IN HLI-KHIN ARMOR

古康兹戰士裏甲

Dressed in armor made of pigskin blades, lacquered red, wearing a helmet of iron segments, Hli-khin and Hsi-fan warriors, danced at Nga-ba prior to their attacking Li-chiang in the 12th century.

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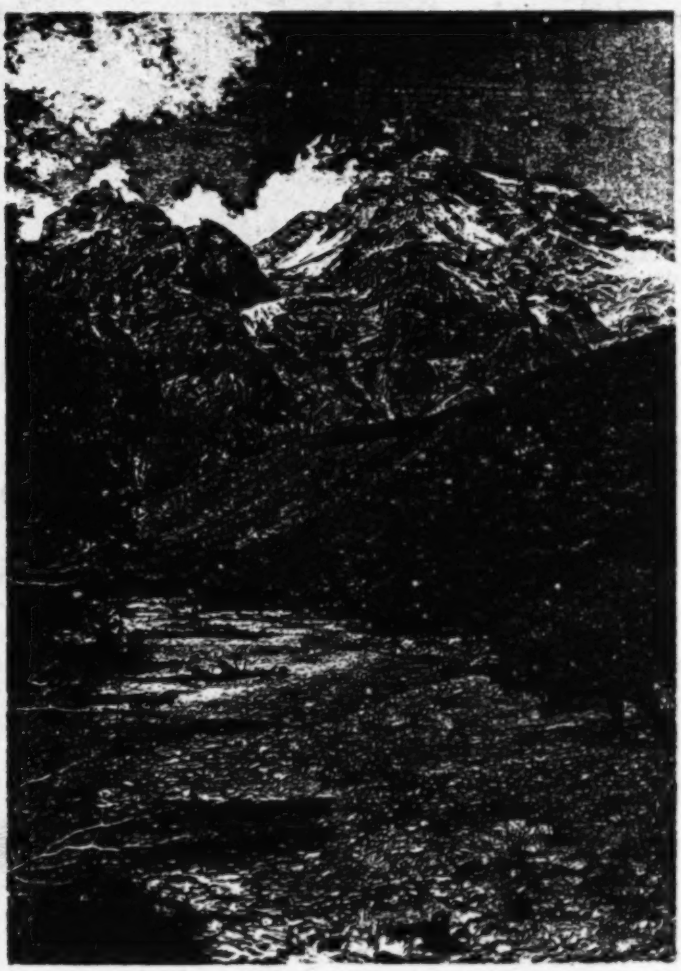

PLATE 53. — THE WHITE WATER GLACIER STREAM

玉龍山白水河

Looking up the Pai-shui stream, the Gyi-p'er of the Na-khi, from an ancient stone bridge, elevation 10,000 feet. Spruces, willows and rhododendrons line the stream-bed. The rocky mass on the left is Nga-ba nv-lv; the higher snow-covered peak, Gyi-nä nv-lv.

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PLATE 84. — NIMA-EA OSO, THE LOVELIEST OF ALPINE MEADOWS

Situated on a spur overlooking Pai-shui, at an elevation of 10,700 feet. The mighty mountain mass Shan-tzu-tou with its glacier which feeds the Pai-shui, overshadows the meadow. Forests of tall spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) surround it. The author camped here for weeks translating Na-khi literature.

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PLATE 83. — THE THIRD HIGHEST PEAK GVI-NÀ NV-LV

基本雪山玉龍山第三高峰

As seen from Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet. Spruce forest near the base of the mountain, firs on the central slopes. In the summer numerous waterfalls descend over the limestone cliffs, while in the winter the snows are blown off the summit ridge.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 46. — LOOKING SOUTH ALONG THE YI-LUNG SHAN

玉 龍 山

The grassy downs extend to Yu-k'o-lo, a gulch at the foot of Gyi-nä ze-lv. The trees are Abies, the only survivors of extensive forests which covered this region. Shen-tsu-tou in the distance (left). Gyi-nä ze-lv in immediate background.

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PLATE 89.—ON THE SUMMIT SLOPES OF GYI-NÀ NY-LY

The broad summit ridge is buried in its upper part by a glacier which extends north; many beautiful alpine plants live in the crevices of the limestone rocks. West of the mountain and parallel to it is the 'A-ts'an-gko range, see plate 89. Photographed looking south from an elevation of 16,000 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 88.—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE CHIEN-T'AI HO AND THE YANGTSE NEAR TA-KU

打 箭 鑪 古 河 金 沙 江 合 流

The Chien-t'ai Ho has its source in the glaciers of Mt. Gyi-nà Nv-lv and the 'A-ts'an-gko Range; its greyish-white waters debouch into the Yangtse near Ta-ku.

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173 limb, his glory became known to the world. The Emperor conferred on him the honorary title of Ya-chung ta-fu of the third rank, and the same posthumous honor was also conferred on his ancestors. Again, the Emperor sent him a message containing the following words of praise: "As to your fame and virtue, you have been both filial and loyal; with regard to your popularity and ability, you have been perfect, both in literary works and in military achievements." In the winter of *ting-mao* 丁卯 (1567), when he received the sad news of the death of the Emperor,[10] he lamented so much that he was unable to rise from his bed. In the following year he resigned from official life.

Mu Kao begot Mu Tung 木東, who was also named Chen-yang 震陽. In the 38th, year of Chia-ching (1559), Tung was ordered by his father to attack the Fan brigands 番寇, whereupon he defeated them completely. In the years *ping-yin* 丙寅 (1566) and *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 (1568), he repeatedly gained great military merit. His father gave him also many Imperial gifts, bequeathed to them by their ancestors. In the third year of Wan-li (1575), Mu Tung crossed the river Ta-ch'ung 打冲[11] (in Tso-so 左所 territory) to attack the Fan brigands of Ta-tu 大渡. The Emperor then permitted him to build an arch in his native place with the following characters carved on it: *Hsi Pei Fan Li* 西北藩籬 (My Northwestern barrier). He usually tried to investigate the condition of the farmers, and helped their husbandry with money. In his leisure hours, his parlour was full of guests and friends. He would be deeply interested in writing poetry and would indulge in drinking wine with all of his guests. In the year *mou-yin* 戊寅 (1578) he lamented so much over the death of his mother that he died in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 (1579).

Mu Tung begot Mu Wang 木旺, who was also named Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Yü-lung 玉龍. In the fifth year of Wan-li (1577), Wang became the legal heir of his father. He was impetuous and terrible in his actions, and succeeded in completely defeating the Fan brigands. At the time when he assumed his official duties, the Wu-so 五所[12] secretly conspired against him. He quickly discovered their evil plans and destroyed them at once. After that, he became the more experienced and hardened in military service, wherefore he was able in his later life to conquer more territory. He was presented with an Imperial credential containing the following words of admiration: *Chung Kuo Heng Yüan* 忠國恆垣, "Your loyalty to your nation has been as strong as everlasting battlements."

Mu Wang begot Mu Ch'ing 木青, who was also named Ch'ang-sheng 長生 and Ch'iao-yo 喬岳. Ch'ing was well versed in the Six Chinese Classics, and was very skilful in calligraphy, which he wrote on paper with the strokes of each character resembling the shape of "old pine-trees and ancient cranes." Hence the poetic name given him was Sung-ho 松鶴 (Pine-tree and the crane).

[10] The Emperor Shih Tsung (Chia-ching) died on January 23rd, 1567 (the 14th day of the twelfth moon of the 45th year of his reign) on returning from the Western Park to the Palace, in his 60th year.

[11] Ta-ch'ung Ho is the Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country of south-west Ssu-ch'uan; a branch of it is the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake. It flows into the Li-t'ang River which in turn flows into the Ya-lung. On the Chinese map of Yün-nan the Li-t'ang River does not exist and the Ta-ch'ung Ho flows into the Ya-lung.

[12] The Five So 所 (T'u-ssu), in south-west Ssu-ch'uan, *which see.*

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173 Immediately after he had assumed his official duties, he contributed considerable funds for military purposes. He was, however, very pessimistic and, travelling on the white clouds, he became an immortal, and his spirit is still known to exist.[13]

Mu Ch'ing begot Mu Tseng 木增, who was also named Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青, I-hsin 益新 and Hua-yo 華岳. At the age of 11, he lost his father, and became the legal heir. In Wan-li *chi-hai* 萬曆己亥 (1599), he supplied food to the cities of Yung T'eng 永騰.[14] In the year *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1600), he helped the city of Po chou 播州[15] in its difficulties.

In the year *jen-yin* 任寅 (1602), he submitted a report to the Emperor about the affairs of West China and was commended by His Majesty. In the year *ping-wu* 丙午 (1606), he received an Imperial patent by which the Emperor conferred on his ancestors various posthumous degrees of honor. In the year *i-mao* 乙卯 (1615), his capture of the Three Tartar leaders (San-ta-k'uei 三韃鞑) and the Ssu-ma 司馬 (prefect), was recorded as worthy of merit. In the year *mou-wu* 戊午 (1618), he went to pay tribute to the Imperial court for the purpose of celebrating the peaceful and blessed 46th anniversary of the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Shen Tsung, who gave him many valuable gifts, and conferred on his wife the honorary title of Kung-jen. Again, he opened up new land, and contributed the products therefrom for soldiers' rations required in Liao (Feng-t'ien). For this reason he was especially promoted to the position of an official of the third rank. In the year *keng-yi* (this should read *keng-shen* 庚申) (1620) he offered money to the Emperor to buy horses, whereupon His Majesty praised him with the two characters, *Chung I* 忠義 (Loyalty and Righteousness). He then was ordered to exterminate Kao-lan 高蘭,[16] the rebel of Pei-sheng 北勝. He was then presented with a gold belt. In the period T'ien-ch'i *jen-hsü* 天啓壬戌 (1622), the tribal chief She 奢 of Shu (Sau-ch'uan) revolted and Mu Tseng contributed funds towards his suppression. Hence he was given the additional honorary official title of the third rank, as well as a suit of official dress of the same rank.

He then applied to the Emperor for permission to retire from official life. He addressed to the Emperor a memorial containing ten suggestions in connection with awards; the memorial was composed in such a way that it might have been written by any great official of the Imperial court. Meanwhile, he requested the Emperor to allow him to offer sacrifice to the two great heroes,

[13] Tradition relates that he went up the Li-chiang snow range to a peak called Ho-ssa yi-gkv, a prominent limestone crag covered with scree, whence he never returned. Apparently he committed suicide. It is very common for the Na-khi to commit suicide on the snow range, especially lovers. Such couples committing suicide together are said in the Na-khi language to have committed *Yu-ua*. (See my article, "The Romance of K'a-ma-gyu-mi-gkyi" in *BEFE-O* T. XXXIX: 1939, pp. 1–155.)

[14] Yung-ch'ang and T'eng-yüeh in south-west Yün-nan.

[15] Po chou is the present Tsun-i hsien 遵義縣 in Kuei-chou province.

[16] Kao-lan refused to recognise the authority of Kao Shih-ch'ang 高世昌, the new chief of Pei-sheng, who had succeeded his half-brother Kao Shih-mou 高世懋, and rebelled; Mu Tseng took him prisoner and executed him. Kao-lan was a nephew of Kao Shih-mou who died in 1620.

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Chang Ch'üan 張詮 and Ho T'ing-k'uei 何廷魁,[17] and also contributed funds to relieve the families of the generals and soldiers who had been killed on the battlefields. 173

The Emperor praised him with the two characters of *Chung Chieh* 忠節 (Loyal and Patriotic), and promoted his official position to Ts'an-fan 參藩 (Administrator of the frontier lands). In the year 1624 he bequeathed his official position to his eldest son. In the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625) he again contributed to the court additional funds for the pay of soldiers, and received then letters patent in honor of his grandparents. In 1627 he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, and applied accordingly for an Imperial banner in honor of his mother's chastity. The Tu-yü 都御 (Imperial censor) Min 閔 also sent a recommendation to the Emperor on his behalf. In the year *keng-wu* 庚午 (1630) he remitted considerable funds to assist in the military expenditure of Kuei-chou, and transported money for the pay of soldiers to the Ta-ssu-nung 大司農 (Minister in charge of the Board of agriculture).

In the year *hsin-wei* 辛未 (1631) His Majesty promoted him to the honorary position of Yu-fang-po 右方伯 (Junior provincial treasurer), and the same honor was also conferred posthumously on his ancestors for three generations back. As the district school in the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 was destroyed by fire, he contributed money to rebuild it. In the year *jen-shen* 壬申 (1632) the work of building this school was completed. In the year *ting-ch'ou* 丁丑 (1637) he supplied many laborers to work on Imperial graves, for which he was specially decorated by the Emperor. In the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1640) he was appointed as Tso-fang-po 左方伯 (Senior provincial treasurer). The Emperor issued an edict praising him with the following four characters: *I Tu Chung Cheng* 益篤忠貞 (Progressive, Faithful, Loyal and Upright), and gave him permission to build an arch in the capital city of this province, in memory of his deeds. But instead he saved the expenses required in building this arch and, in the year 1644, contributed the money to the court for soldiers' rations. When the Emperor Hung-kuang (1644)[18] ascended the throne in Nanking, he conferred on him the honorary title of T'ai-p'u-ch'ing 太僕卿 (Imperial grand steward). In the year *i-yu* 乙酉 (1645) both father and son, as well as other members of the Mu family, contributed funds for the pay of soldiers. Ch'en 陳, the Imperial messenger, sent a report to the Emperor on his behalf, whereupon the latter bestowed on both father and son various pieces of satin

[17] Chang Ch'üan 張詮 (this is the way the name is written in the *Ming Shih*) and Ho T'ing-k'uei are listed in that history under the characters *Chung I* 忠義. Mu Tsung also received these two characters, but he is not listed, probably because he was considered a barbarian.

Chang Ch'üan received the degree of doctor in 1604. He fought in Yün-nan under Fu Yu-te, especially at Yung-ning 永寧, Ch'i-ching 畢節, and P'u-ting 普定 in Kuei-chou, to suppress the aborigines. He was given the title of Marquis of Yung-ting 永定. Ho T'ing-k'uei was a native of the military station of Wei-yüan 威遠 in Shan-hsi (Shansi). He received the degree of doctor in 1601. He became a fu-magistrate in Ho-nan. He and another official, by name Yüan Ying-t'ai 袁應泰, who would not obey him, lost the city of Liao-yang 遼陽 (Feng-t'ien) to the Manchu army who attacked it. He took his seal and with his two wives jumped into a well; with him died six male and female servants (*Ming Shih*, ch. 260, fols. 4a and b).

[18] Hung-kuang 弘光 was a descendant of the last of the Ming Emperors who, when the Manchus established themselves in Peking, fled to Nanking where he set up his court.

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173 embroidered with Mahoraga and golden flowers (for ceremonial robes worn by mandarins).

Mu Tseng was born to be loyal, filial, benevolent and righteous. He honored his mother, named Lo 羅, and his wife's relatives, and respected worthy people. In his leisure hours, he was always seen with a book in his hand, reading. He was the author of various books, which were made known by the commendations of many scholars. Again, he applied to the Imperial court for the Fa-pao 法寶 (Treasures of the Law [Dharmaratna]) to pray for peace for the frontier. He printed many Tibetan Buddhist books and used them to teach the tribes-people. He built a temple on Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山,[19] and a bridge at Lu-feng 鹿豐.[20]

Mu Tseng was both liberal and magnanimous and helped to build the road which led to Ssu-ch'uan. All his deeds of benevolence may be read in detail from the Family Record, whose preface has been written by Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, the Imperial historiographer. The legal heirs of the Mu family have succeeded one another as the rulers of this district for 27 generations, and their family has descended for 32 generations to the present Mu Yao. Mu Tseng had no brothers. His mother selected a virtuous wife for him, who gave birth to four sons.

Mu I 木懿, his eldest son, succeeded to his father's official position and was also named T'ai-mei 台美 and K'un-lun 琨瑜. In the beginning of the period

[19] This is the famous sacred Buddhist Chi-tsu Shan 鷄足山 (Chicken-foot Mountain), which is also called Chiu-ch'ü Shan 九龍山 and is 40 li west of Pin-ch'uan hsien 賓川縣, adjoining the borders of T'ai-ho hsien and Teng-ch'uan hsien. Its summit resembles a lotus flower. Its name was derived from a sacred Buddhist mountain of India, the "Chicken-foot Mountain" (Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri), which is seven miles south-east of Gaya and known as the abode of Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉佛, a disciple of Buddha and a native of Magadha. He is said to come at various intervals to dwell on Chi-tsu Shan, and in 1931 it was proclaimed he had taken up his residence on that mountain. Consequently, all the Tibetans of the neighbourhood, and the Na-khi from Yung-ning, flocked there on pilgrimage. At the foot of Ch'a-p'ing Shan 插屏山 (a part of Chi-tsu Shan) is a temple dedicated to Kāśyapa and containing his image, which was placed therein during the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742–756). The temple is called Chia-yeh Tien 迦葉殿 (Kāśyapa Hall) and also Chia-sha Tien, 袈裟殿 (Temple of the Buddhist priest's garment). Kāśyapa was one of the main disciples of Buddha, but according to another conception a forerunner of Gautama; he is said to lie undecayed in Mt. Kukkuṭa-pāda near Gaya. When Maitreya the coming Buddha will leave his palace he will betake himself to that mountain, will open it in a mysterious manner, and will there receive from Kāśyapa Buddha's robe. Thereupon miraculous fire will consume the undecayed body of Kāśyapa so that neither bones nor ashes will remain. (Grünwedel.)

Mu Tseng also built the Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, which stands on the Man-yüeh Shan 滿月山 (Mountain of the full moon), in the year *ting-szu* 丁巳 of Wan-li (1617). In 1624 the Emperor gave him the Tibetan Classics and bestowed on his temple the name of Hsi-t'an shan Ssu 悉檀禪寺. In 1629 ...e built the Fa-yün Ko 法雲閣, and in it placed the Classics. In 1631 his son Mu I added to it and embellished the temple so much that it was looked upon as the finest on the mountain. (The gate to the temple and the *ko* 閣 or pavilion were rebuilt by Mu Yao 木堯.)

Again during the reign of Wan-li (1573–1619), Mu Tseng built the Hua-yen Ko 華嚴閣, in a temple of the same name, and placed the Tibetan Classics in the pavilion. In 1597 the pavilion was destroyed by fire — *Chi-tsu Shan chih*, K'ang-hsi edition, 31st year, eighth moon (September 11th–October 9th, 1692), ch. 4, fols. 4b–5b.

[20] This bridge is called Ch'i-ming ch'iao 啓明橋 and is situated 15 li south of Lu-feng; it was built by Mu Tseng in the period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627).

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of T'ien-ch'i 天啓, in the year *chia-tzu* 甲子 (1624) he assumed his official duties. Whenever he had to deal with political questions, he did not venture to settle them alone without going to his father for advice. After the year *i-ch'ou* 乙丑 (1625), when his father was getting on in years, he did his best to serve him according to the principle of filial piety. He carefully compiled the genealogy of his family, to manifest to its members the glory of their ancestors. This record is indeed the fruit of loyalty and filial piety and is the crystallization of the thought of its distinguished members. Its accomplishment is due to a long-sustained effort. I am now requested to write a postscript in continuation of the main record written by the Imperial historiographer Yang. As I am quite an ignorant man, I feel unworthy to accept this honor. Nevertheless, as I am now in the service of this family, and know very well that its members have been loyal and obedient subjects of the Imperial throne of the Great Ming dynasty, and because their heroic deeds of glory can easily be described in detail from what I have seen and heard, I should do my best to further this work, and dare not refuse to perform this duty. Although Li-chiang is a small, barren, and desolate land, yet its sovereignty has been kept in the hands of the Mu family without interruption from the Sung (960–1278) to the present Ming dynasty (1308–1644). Is it not because the ancestors of this family have been under the protection of Heaven? 173

* * *

"To the above record a colophon was written by Chu Kuei-lin 朱桂林,[11] Shang-tung provincial treasurer, descendant of the Prince of Lu (Shan-tung) and defender of the frontier, on an auspicious day of the third moon of the spring season of the year *mou-tzu* 戊子 of T'ien Wang 天王 (March 24th–April 23rd, 1648).

"Corrected by Liang Chih-chieh 梁之杰,[12] native of the city of Ho-ch'ing 鶴慶 and a scholar of the second degree in retirement, in the winter of the year *keng-yin* 庚寅 (1650)."

NOTE ON MU TSENG

The most outstanding and most progressive of the native prefects of Li-chiang was undoubtedly Mu Tseng 木增, who was and is best known in Na-khi as Muan-ssä-bä (Mu Sheng-pai 木生白). He was always spoken of, however, as Mu T'ien-wang 木天王 (Celestial king Mu). He was born in 1587, took office in 1598, and died in 1646. He was a devout Buddhist, and welcomed the Karma-pa lamas; a branch of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, who later established lamaseries in the Li-chiang district. He himself was initiated in the Buddhist monkhood, as a painting, of him as a monk with rosary testifies; it is now in the

[11] Owing to the remoteness of Li-chiang and the lack of communication, the people of that distant region were not aware of the change of dynasty which had taken place four years previously to the date of the colophon.

Believing that the Ming dynasty, of which they had been loyal subjects, was still in power, but not knowing what Emperor had ascended the Imperial throne, the writer dated his colophon *To Ming T'ien Wang sui mou-tzu* (In the year *mou-tzu* [1648] of the Celestial King of the Great Ming dynasty).

[12] He became a *K'o* 科 (scholar of the second degree) in 1633.

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173 possession of his descendants, the present Mu family of Li-chiang. It is a large scroll, beautifully painted in somber tones, and his figure is crowned by an image in gold of Amitabha (PLATE 44). A biography of him, written on scrolls, tells that although the Mu family had long been converted to Buddhism, it was Mu Sheng-pai who had acquired the highest spiritual achievement in the Mahāyāna doctrine.

On Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山, situated north-east of the Ta-li Lake in a range of mountains, he erected in 1615 a pavilion called the Ts'ang-ching Ko 藏經閣 in the temple Hua-yen Ssu 華嚴寺, in which he deposited a set of the Buddhist Tripitaka. In 1617 he built a copper temple called Hsi-t'an Ssu 悉檀寺, and erected in its interior a hall called Wan-shou Tien 萬壽殿 (Hall of Ten thousand ages). In 1628 he solicited the Chinese court for a set of the Tripitaka for the purpose of depositing it in that hall. In recognition of this service the monks of the Hsi-t'an Ssu consecrated a chapel to Mu Sheng-pai, which is known as the Chapel of Prefect Mu 木太守祠.

In the lamasery of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 (Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林; in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü) situated on Chih Shan 芝山, on the southern spur of the Yü-lung Shan, and west of the village of Boa-shi, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街, is a small shrine with a statue of Mu Sheng-pai in a sitting posture.

He was a poet and an author, and was considered an excellent calligraphist. Unfortunately the printing blocks of his books, with many other objects of value, were destroyed during the Mohammedan rebellion. The Mu family was able to save by hiding in caves only the most precious and valued objects, such as certain books written by him, and a few scrolls which testify to his ability as a calligraphist. Two of these scrolls are reproduced here (PLATES 45–46). They are signed Tseng 增 and Sheng-pai Tao-jen 生白道人 (Sheng-pai the Buddhist, seeking after *bodhi*, or enlightenment respectively). The two scrolls are not complimentary but represent two individual couplets. The scrolls read:

T'an K'ung K'o Hsi Hua Han Hsiao 談空客喜花含笑
Shuo Fa Seng Wen Niao Luan T'i 說法僧聞鳥亂啼

Seng Tsai Chu Fang Pan Lien Yüeh 僧在竹房半簾月
Ho Ch'i Sung Ching Man Lou T'ai 鶴棲松徑滿樓臺

THE SHRINE OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHER YANG SHEN 楊慎

Yang Yung-hsiu 楊用修, better known as Yang Shen and Sheng-an 升菴, was a great friend of the Mu family. He helped them with their family records and wrote an introduction to the Second Illustrated Chronicle.

Yang Shen was born in 1488 and was the son of Yang T'ing-ho 楊廷和, a minister of State. His native place was Hsin-tu 新都 in the prefecture of Cheng-tu 成都, capital of Ssu-ch'uan. At the age of 24 he was already a Chü-jen 舉人 (Provincial graduate Bachelor of Arts), the second literary degree. In the 6th year of Cheng-te 正德 (1511) he was first in the palace examination, and became historiographer in the Han-lin. He died at the age of 72, in the seventh moon of the 38th year of Chia-ching (August, 1559) after he had lived

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the last few years of his life dissipating and drinking. He had written over one hundred different collections of essays, and was considered the first poet of his time. During the reign of Hsi Tsung, period of T'ien-ch'i (1621–1627), he was canonized as Wen Hsien 文憲. Mu Kung and Mu Kao, the 14th and 15th generations of Na-khi chiefs, were his contemporaries and literary friends, and at the request of Mu Kao, the compiler of the Mu Chronicles, he wrote an introduction to the Second Chronicle.

* * *

Beautifully situated at the foot of the western hills which hem in the plain and lake of K'un-ming, is the Temple of P'u-hsien (Ssu) 普賢寺.[32] Adjoining it to the south, with a separate entrance, facing east over the lovely lake is the shrine of Mao Yü 毛玉 and Yang Shen (PLATE 47). The shrine is in good repair and on the altar between ancestral tablets there sits enthroned a figure with a very human and jovial expression, representing Yang Shen (PLATE 48), so different from the stiff and severe-looking deified emperors one encounters in Chinese temples. Walled-in in the enclosure of the court are several memorial stones giving the history of the shrine and also something of the life of Yang Shen himself, as well as of his father Yang T'ing-ho, and of his friend Mao Yü,[33] a native of K'un-ming and high official of Nan-ching (Nanking).

Over the entrance to the shrine is the following inscription: *Mao Yang erh kung ts'u* 毛楊二公祠 (Shrine of the two Lords Mao and Yang). In the center of the court is a very old Cycad (*Cycas revoluta*), and to the right and somewhat below it is a stone bearing the two characters *Hai-chuang* 海莊 (Villa by the sea).[34] The shrine has been built apparently at the same spot where Yang Shen

[32] The Temple of P'u-hsien is situated west of the city of K'un-ming in the li 里 of Kao-yao 高嶢 (pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan). The actual date of its first construction seems to be unknown, as the records state it was rebuilt during the Ming dynasty, the 1st year of Cheng-hua (1465), and completed in the winter of 1466. It is located at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 筆雞山 (Jade-fowl Mountain), a northern spur of Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, more commonly known as Hsi Shan 西山. The Pi-chi Shan faces the Chin-ma Shan 金馬山 (Golden horse Mountain) in the east. It is the Temple of P'u-hsien or Samanta Bhadra, who rides an elephant, and whose seat of worship is on Mt. O-mei in Ssu-ch'uan.

[33] Mao Yü received the degree of doctor in 1505. He was chosen to be Chi-shih-hung 給事中 (Junior metropolitan censor) of the Li-k'o 吏科 (Section of personnel) of Nanking. He had a villa at the foot of Pi-chi Shan. He was among those who remonstrated with the Emperor at the east gate of the palace, whereupon he was imprisoned together with Yang Shen and unfortunately bambooed to death. His ancestral tablet reposes with that of Yang Shen (PLATE 49) on the altar of the shrine. He left ten volumes of memorials addressed to the Emperor.

[34] At the base of the small stone bearing the two large characters *Hai-chuang* a brief note is engraved which reads as follows:

"Records state that Hai-chuang is below Kao-yao Shan. Yang Shen sojourned there. He built the Pi-yao, a beautiful dwelling where he used to rest. Time has flown quickly and many generations have passed, and nothing has remained [of the villa]. The natives of the land themselves had practically no knowledge of the name Hai-chuang. Therefore this stone-tablet has been erected so that the same may not be forgotten.

"Written by hou-hsüeh (your pupil) Lin Sung 林松, also Ch'ien Mu-ling 錢慕齡, in the year *chi-mao* 己卯 of the period Chia-ch'ing, in the autumn in the seventh moon (August 21st to September 19th, 1819).

Lin Sung, whose literary name was Yü-t'ien 玉田, was a native of K'un-ming; during

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778 had built himself a villa and where he carried on his literary activities whenever he resided in Yün-nan fu. Yün-nan became enriched by Yang Shen's in-
173 voluntary residence, for he wrote many essays on this province, one of the best known being his *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史 (Romance of the Nan-chao Kingdom). The preface to the latter work is dated: "The autumn, the eighth moon, of the 29th year of Chia-ching" (September 11th–October 10th, 1550). We let the records found engraved on the memorial stones within the court, and here translated for the first time, speak for themselves:

Historical Record of the Shrine of Yang Shen

173 "Emperor Shih Tsung, in the first year of his reign [the first year of the period Chia-ching 嘉靖, 1522] wanted to confer an honorary title on Prince Hsing Hsien 興獻 [father of Shih Tsung], but the ministers at the court were of the opinion that this should not be done. More than 100 officials remonstrated tearfully with the Emperor at the Tso-shun men 左順門, of the palace. As a result of this demonstration which angered the Emperor, more than 90 of the remonstrators were bambooed, among whom was Lord Fan 范, a native of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden). [This was Fan Tsung 范鏓 the great-grandfather of Fan Ch'eng-hsün who became viceroy of Yün-nan in 1686, and who rebuilt the Yang Shen shrine; his interest and feeling for Yang Shen were heightened because his great-grandfather was bambooed to death at the same time as Yang Shen received his bambooing, from which he, however, recovered]. Lord Mao 毛 of Tien-nan 滇南 (Yün-nan) and Lord Yang Chieh-fu 楊界夫 and his son Yang Shen-an, natives of Hsin-tu, were also bambooed. At that time Yang Shen-an, being the first successful Chin-shih 進士 [graduate of the doctors' degree] served as historiographer, while his father occupied an important position at the court. All died under the bamboo except father and son natives of Hsin-tu. It was because Heaven wanted to preserve loyal and reproving persons.

"First Yang Shen was charged with the duty of guarding the Chinese frontier at Yen-men 鹽門, and Wen-chung Kung 文忠公 (the posthumous title of Yang Chieh-fu, his father) was dismissed from office. Yen-men [in Shansi] was at that time a barren and desolate land and would have made Lord Yang exceedingly poor. The Emperor, however, still bore a grudge against him and exiled him to Yung-ch'ang 永昌 instead of to Yen-men. Oh, how severe the punishment was!

"As Lord Yang, a son of good family, was thoroughly versed in the books of Cheng Shu 正叔 and K'ao-t'ing 考亭,[a] it is clear to us that he could not be

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the reign of Tao-kuang he became a Sui-kung 歲貢 (3rd rank certificate from middle school). Ch'ien Mu-ling was also a native of K'un-ming, and became a Chü-jen (Provincial graduate) in *mou-wu* 戊午 of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798); he died at 54 years of age.

[a] Cheng Shu or Ch'eng I 程頤 (1033–1107) was a native of Lo-yang in Ho-nan. He was tutor of the Emperor Che Tsung 哲宗. He had many enemies at the court; in 1097 he was sent to take up a post in Szu-ch'uan and was later recalled to be reinstated in the Imperial academy. In 1103 he was again in trouble and finally retired. In 1241 his tablet was admitted to the Confucian temple. — From GILES, *B. D.*, No. 280.

K'ao-t'ing or Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200) was a native of Fukien and received the doctor's degree at the age of 19. He was accused of sedition, of magic, breaches of loyalty and filial

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honored with high official rank. Moreover, the previously mentioned incident was a matter which concerned the conventions of the State. Hence there would be nothing of importance for the historiographer to examine in a thousand autumns [years] to come. At the risk of his life he fought for right, even disregarding the relationship of father and son. 173

"He then entered the barbarian world like a vagrant and homeless man. He improved the savage customs and taught those wearing mallet-shaped hair-knots and dressed in colored clothes, to understand the respect due the Emperor and elders. The reason why Heaven decreed he should not die under the bamboo was in order that the people on the deserted and remote border might express their gratitude for his kindness.

"When Lord Yang was first exiled to Yung-ch'ang many people felt concern for him. Yet he peacefully discussed Chinese philosophy with barbarian boys of the Mien 緬 (Burma) and the P'o tribes 鄨. He discussed with them the peculiarities of the various mountains and the seas in every corner. Sometimes, while wearing a double hair-lock and flowers, arrayed in a crimson gown and with a powdered face, he would talk about *Tao* 道 (the Way) and poetry with his pupils. This simply means that he gave thought to the 'orchid of the Hsiang 湘蘭' and the 'iris of the Li 沅芷.'[27] He wanted to follow the example of Ch'ü Yüan,[28] until now people have spoken of this as an interesting story.

"At the death of Wen-chung Kung (his father) Yang Shen received the Emperor's permission to return home to attend to his duties connected with the burial of his father. Later on, because he had earned the displeasure of a certain high official, he was ordered to return to Yün-nan. As a result he died a sad death.

"Alas! When literary men are in trouble, it is very difficult for them to pay

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piety, of seducing nuns, etc. At first these attacks were unsuccessful, but at length he was deprived of all honors and of his official posts. He was later partly reinstated, but was too old to re-enter official life. He revised Sau-ma Kuang's history, which under the title of *T'ung-chien kan-mu* 通鑑綱目 became the standard history of China. He was called K'ao-t'ing after the place where he resided. K'ao-t'ing was south-west of Chien-yang hsien 建陽縣 in Fu-chien (Fukien).

[27] The Hsiang is a large tributary of the Yangtze; it flows through Hu-nan. The Li is also a river of Hu-nan, being an affluent of the Tung-t'ing Lake. The allusion is to be found in the poem *Li-sao* 離騷 (Falling into trouble) written by Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, or Ch'ü P'ing 屈平.

[28] Ch'ü Yüan was a native of Ying 郢 in the ancient State of Ch'u (Hu-pei). He was born in 332 B.C. and died in 295. He is famous throughout China as the type of a loyal minister. He enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign until impeached through the intrigues of rivals. It was then he composed the famous poem *Li-sao*, which is an allegorical description of his search after a prince who will listen to good counsels in government. After he had sunk still deeper in disfavor, and being tired of life, he went to the bank of the Mi-lo River. There he met a fisherman who accosted him saying: "Are you not his Excellency the Minister? What has brought you to this pass?" "The world," replied Ch'ü Yüan, "is foul, and I alone am clean. There they are all drunk, while I alone am sober. So I am dismissed." "Ah!" said the fisherman, "the true sage does not quarrel with his environment, but adapts himself to it. If, as you say, the world is foul, why not leap into the tide and make it clean? If all men are drunk, why not drink with them and teach them to avoid excess?" The fisherman rowed away and Ch'ü Yüan clasped a big rock and plunged into the waters of the Mi-lo 汨羅. — From Giles, *B. D.*, No. 503.

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173 heed to their own fame and fidelity. Although Yang Shen was both clever and wise, he was unable to hold his position as historiographer.

"Confucianism was poorly developed in the barbarian and deserted borderland. As soon as Yang Shen took upon himself the responsibility of educating the people, the literary men of Yün-nan began to esteem politeness and righteousness. They offered sacrifice to Lord Yang at Pi-yao 碧曜 [19] and established a Shu-yüan 書院 (College) there in his memory, in order that the spirit of Lord Yang may roam at the foot of Pi-chi Shan 碧鷄山 (Jade-fowl Mountain)[20] and not vanish into the void in the Liu chao 六詔 [the six kingdoms which comprised Nan-chao 南詔], like vapor or creepers in the wild fields.

"Is it not true that Heaven spared him and decreed for him to lay the foundation of Confucianism [in Yün-nan] for hundreds and thousands of years to come?

"From the year *chia-yin* 甲寅 (1674) onward the rebellious Fan [Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled that year against the Ch'ing dynasty] savages had recklessly outraged all rules of propriety. The borderland was ravaged by wolves [troops or savages] and fire. Mountains, rivers, grass and trees, temples and pagodas in Yün-nan were destroyed. Even the place where the spirit of Yang Shen lived was overgrown with filbert trees, weeds, thorn-bushes, and ravaged by wild fire and will-o'-the-wisp.

"Long after the suppression of the rebellion the Chih-fu 制府, Lord Fan 范 [21] of Shen-yang 瀋陽 (Mukden) was ordered to take charge of the South-west. He visited all the mountains, rivers, famous places, mysterious regions and relics of Yün-nan. While passing by the ruins of Pi-yao and making inquiries at the gravestone of the Mao family 毛氏, he saw the grave of Yang Shen [22] among the ruined and fallen walls. As he stood there meditating sorrowfully on Lord Yang's loyalty, simplicity, intelligence and fidelity, he could not help recalling the time when Lord Yang knelt on the ground at the Tso-shun palace gate.

"Thereupon Lord Fan engaged workmen and collected material for the construction of a hall. He bought a portrait of Yang Shen on which he inscribed

[19] The word *Pi* refers to Pi-chi Shan, the Jade-fowl Mountain famous in Yün-nan history, and the word *Yao*, pronounced *ch'iao* in Yün-nan, refers to the village Kao ch'iao 高橋, near which the temple and ancestral hall is situated at the foot of Pi-chi Shan.

[20] The Pi-chi Shan and its counterpart, the Chin-ma Shan (Gold horse Mountain), are famous in Yün-nan. The range from the village of Kao-yao (ch'iao) to the Lo-han Shan 羅漢山, commonly called Hsi Shan 西山 (Western hills), is known as Pi-chi Ta-shan 碧鷄大山 (Great Pi-chi Mountain). There is also a Kao-yao Shan 高曜山 which is to the right of Pi-chi Shan and actually a part of it. The shrine of Yang Shen, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 12, fol. 10a, is at the foot of Kao-yao Shan.

[21] Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳 was a Chinese Yellow-bordered bannerman. In the 25th year of K'ang-hsi (1686) he became viceroy of Yün-nan — Kuei-chou. He left Yün-nan in 1704 to take up a higher post at the court. He died in 1714.

[22] Yang Shen is, however, not buried in Yün-nan. His body was taken back to his native place Hsin-tu in Ssu-ch'uan. According to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 385, fol. 18b, his grave is to the right of that of his grand[illegible] Yang Ch'un 楊春, one li west of the city of Hsin-tu, outside the Hsi Kuan 西關 (West Pass), where his father is also buried. The burial-ground is several li in circumference. See also the *Hsin-tu hsien chih*, ed. 1926, ch. 1, fol. 9b.

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a eulogy, and to which he offered sacrifices in the hall. Because of this, the people as well as retired scholars again revered Lord Yang's influence and reputation; they also appreciated Lord Fan's filial piety, loyalty to the State and the encouragement he gave to scholars. The people dwelling in the far-off and deserted border region thus learned to know the meaning of paying respect to former worthies. 173

"They particularly rejoiced that on account of Lord Yang's exertions the defense of the State became as strong as a wall of metal and moats filled with scalding liquid. How admirably Lord Fan had acted!

"I have been in charge of the Salt Tax for three years without being properly qualified, and have often followed Lord Fan's advice. Having perceived that the filial heart of Lord Fan was worthy of imitation, how could I not rejoicingly take the responsibility of writing on his behalf the biography of Lord Yang?

"Thereupon I, Lords Hsü 許, Yüan 元 and Nieh chang 臬長 [chiefs of the court], bought a property of 300 acres, the produce of which is to be devoted to sacrifices to Lord Yang.

"Written by Wang Chao 王照,[32] native of Wan-p'ing 宛平 [a district in Ho-pei], in the period K'ang-hsi, the year *keng-wu* 庚午, Chung-tung 仲冬, the 2nd day (December 2nd, 1690)."

The T'ai-shih Tz'u 太史祠, *Shrine of the Historiographer*
(According to the *Old Yün-nan T'ung-chih*)

"The shrine is situated at Kao-yao-ts'un 高鷂村, west of the city of Yün-nan fu, and is dedicated to Yang Shen, Historiographer of the Ming dynasty. It was built by Liu Chih-lung 劉之龍, Pu-cheng-shih 布政使 (Provincial Governor),[34] during the Wan li period (1573–1619). Later on it was rebuilt and then fell again into disrepair. In the 28th year of K ang hsi (1689) it was rebuilt by the viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün, who also bought some fields the produce of which was to be devoted to sacrifices to Yang Shen. 178 173

Selections from "A Historical Account of the Pi-yao College by Viceroy Fan Ch'eng-hsün"

"During Lord Yang's exile in Yün-nan he had lived here and there: in Po-nan 博南, Lan-chin 蘭津, Ts'ang-erh 蒼洱 and Chin-pi 金碧.[35] He had many 173

[32] He took charge of the Yün-nan Salt Tax in the 20th year of K'ang-hsi (1681). He was a Yin-sheng 廩生 (Honorary Licentiate).

[34] Liu Chih-lung was a native of Fu-shun 富順, a district city in Hsü-chou fu 敘州府 in Ssu-ch'uan. He held the degree of doctor.

[35] Po-nan must refer to Po-nan Shan, a mountain between Yung-p'ing 永平 and the Mekong, on the highway to Yung-ch'ang to which place Yang Shen had been exiled. The pass over this mountain is 8,150 feet above sea level. From there the trail leads to the village of Sha-yang 沙羊 and down to the Mekong where an iron chain-bridge spans it. This is apparently the place called Lan-chin, the ancient ford on the Mekong. On the slopes of Po-nan Shan at an elevation of 7,500 feet, 18 li from Sha-yang, there stands a temple called Yung-kuo

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different lodgings. Wherever he stayed he le[c]t and encouraged young people. Thus the scholars of Yün-nan all tried to follow his example. Even after his death they continued to admire him and offered sacrifices to him at the foot of Pi-chi Shan, where Yang Shen had built a house for himself to carry on his literary activities. As time went on, the hall fell into neglect, although it had been repaired many times.

"After I took up my residence in this land, I inquired about the remains of Chai-hsien 謫仙 [26] and mourned the ruins of Hai-chuang 海莊, the villa by the sea. Seeing that they had almost vanished, I became quite sad. Thus I ordered Lord Yang's shrine to be rebuilt on the right side of P'u-hsien Ssu. . . . After it had been completed I wrote of it as follows:

Ssu 永興寺. In that temple, situated in a large grove of wild chestnuts (*Castanopsis*), on the lonely slopes, far away from any human habitation, I spent a very peaceful night from October 2nd to the morning of October 3rd, 1922. Here in the court of the temple grew a large magnoliaceous tree which proved to be a new species: *Michelia lanceolata* Wilson.

The temple dates from the Ming dynasty, as an old bell cast during that dynasty, and hanging in the vestibule of the temple, testifies. Two large stone-tablets stand to the left of it. On the main tablet is inscribed the same story which occurs in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 下, fol. 69a, about the song "Singing while crossing the Mekong" (*T'u Lan-ts'ang ko* 渡瀾滄歌). In the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 it is said that in the time of Han Ming Ti (58–75) a road was opened over the Po-nan Shan to where the Mekong could be forded. Travellers thought it difficult and thus sang the following: "The virtue of the Han dynasty was so far-reaching that for the benefit of others a road was opened to the wild regions over the Po-nan Shan via Lan-chin to where the Mekong could be forded."

The memorial stone further states that the mountain is also called Chin-lang 金浪, and that another but wrongly applied name is Ting-tang Shan 叮噹山. This name also appears in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, edit. 1894, ch. 98, fol. 9a. There it relates that the temple used to be situated on the summit of that mountain, and that it was built by the Buddhist priest Shu Ch'ang 書昌. In the 36th year of K'ang-hsi (1697) the magistrate Ch'eng I 程貳 removed the temple to a terrace on the slopes of the same mountain. Yang Shen himself according to the memorial stone, confirms that the name Ting-tang Shan is incorrect. At the end of the Ming dynasty, we learn from the same stone, that Prince Chin 晉王 (Sun K'o-wang 孫可望) and Li Ting-kuo 李定國 (an adopted son of the robber Chang Hsien-chung 張獻忠) fought Manchu troops on this mountain. In the reign of Ming Yung-li 明永曆 (1647) Chin Wang inscribed four characters on a wooden tablet: *Ning Hsi Ch'an Ssu* 寧西禪寺, "Buddhist temple of the peaceful West."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 24, fol. 25a, states: "According to the old *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* the mountain is situated 45 li west of Yung-p'ing hsien 永平縣. It is also called Chin-lang tien 金浪巔, and is commonly misnamed Ting-tang Shan 丁當山. It is 20 li high and has many steep slopes and cliffs. It serves as an important passage to the Western Frontier. The hsien of Po-nan was named after it during the Han dynasty. It is the present Yung-p'ing hsien. The *Ming I-t'ung chih* 明一統志 says: "It is the mountain over which Han Wu Ti [140–87 B.C.] opened a road. The P'u man 蒲蠻 (P'u savages) go in and out of their land by way of this mountain. In ancient days the Nan-chao Kingdom sent a general on a punitive expedition against Burma. His soldiers sent back gold and other treasures over this mountain where they were met by robbers. After the death of the general a temple was built called the Chin-lang-tien shan-shen Tz'u 金浪巔山神祠. At the foot of its northern slope is a spring which is the source of the Hua-ch'iao Ho 花橋河 (Flower bridge River)."

The *Tien-lüeh* 滇略 says: "On the mountain is an iron column." Lan-chin refers to the ford on the Mekong previously mentioned, while Ts'ang-erh refers to the Ts'ang Shan west of Ta-li, and the Erh Hai or Ta-li Lake. *Chin* is the first word in the name of the Golden horse Mountain, Chin-ma Shan, to the east of K'un-ming, and *Pi* is the first word in the Pi-chi Shan (Jade-fowl Mountain) at the foot of which Yang Shen had built himself a house.

[26] *Chai-hsien* means to be banished to earth from heaven; this has reference to Yang Shen's banishment from the Imperial court to the savage regions of south-western Yün-nan.

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"'Pi-yao College was originally the name given by Lord Yang to the villa of the Mao family. The villa exists no more. But as the mountain has not changed its color, and the place has not changed its name, I give the name of the former villa to the shrine, thereby commemorating the fidelity of Lord Mao.'" 173

Quoted from the inscription on a large memorial stone walled-in in the south enclosure of the court of the shrine. The beginning of the text is somewhat hidden by the wall, and the stone is cracked in three places. The same text can, however, be found in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 88, fols. 27b–28b.

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PART III

THE GEOGRAPHY OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES AND SUB-DISTRICTS OF LI-CHIANG

[101] *The ancient boundaries.* — According to the *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fols. 25b–26a (of 1808), Li-chiang is north-west of the capital of Yün-nan (PLATE 50). In the east it borders on the district of Yung-pei (the present Yung-sheng), a distance of 400 li; in the west, on the territory of the Nu-i 怒夷 (Lu-tzu), a tribe inhabiting the valley of the Salween or Nu Chiang 怒江 (瀾江), a distance of 670 li; south, to the border of Ta-li fu and Lang-k'ung hsien 浪穹縣, 240 li; north, to Chung-tien, a distance of 45 li; south-west to Yün-lung 雲龍, 619 li; north-west to Wei-hsi 維西, 450 li.

[131] From Li-chiang to the capital of Yün-nan is a distance of 1,240 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west is 670 li, and from south to north 310 li.

According to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, ch. 上, fol. 8a, the ancient boundaries of the Li-chiang district were as follows: "In the east it bordered on the territory of Yung-pei fu, a distance of 130 li; in the west on the land of the Nu-i, a distance of 640 li; in the south on the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing (fu), 45 li distant; in the north on the district of Chung-tien, 55 li distant. In the south-east also, on Ho-ch'ing fu, but 135 li distant; south west on the prefecture of Ta-li (fu) and Yün-lung chou, a distance of 630 li; north-east on the territory of Yung-ning, governed by Yung-pei, a distance of 450 li; in the north-west on Wei-hsi, governed by Ho-ch'ing, a distance of 457 li. The width of the Li-chiang district from east to west was 770 li, and its length from south to north 100 li."

This was the extent of the Li-chiang territory in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743). The present extent of the district is considerably less. In the east the Yangtze is the border to the iron chain-bridge at Ching-li 井里 [1] (Dsi-li in Na-khi). The present border extends south to Ch'i-ho 七河, south-west to Chiu-ho 九河, west and north-west again to the Yangtze and including Lu-tien 魯甸; north to Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, and north-east to Shang (Upper) Feng-k'o 上棒可, on the Yangtze, which forms here the border between Li-chiang and Yung-ning.

[36] *The ancient city of Li-chiang.* — "In ancient days, Li-chiang was known as the native prefectural city and possessed no wall.

"In the first year of Yung-cheng (1723) a tamped earth wall was erected at the request of the Yün-nan viceroy. The foundation was constructed of rock and the top was covered with tiles. It was four li in circumference, ten Chinese feet high, and had four gates with gate-towers. A small west gate was also built. In the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751) there was an earthquake which

[1] Also written Tzu-li 梓里.

[p.171] [p.170 is blank]

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361 caused the wall to collapse, whereupon magistrate Fan Hao-jen 樊好仁 repaired or rebuilt it. In the 58th year (1793) it fell again, but this time an order was received not to rebuild it. In the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) the Provincial Governor, Ch'en Yü-ying 岑毓英, petitioned for permission to construct a brick wall. The east gate was called Hsiang-jih 向日 (Facing the sun), the south gate, Ying-en 迎恩; the west gate, Fu-yüan 服遠; the north gate, Kung-chi 拱極 (Saluting the polar star). The small west gate was called Yin-yü 飲玉 [Swallowing the Jade (dragon mountain) gate]."

To-day no wall remains save a small section east and north of the yamen, in the north-east corner of the town, and even that is in ruins.

THE PRESENT PREFECTURE AND TOWN OF LI-CHIANG

633 361 *The present boundaries.* — The prefecture of Li-chiang lies between two large rivers, the Yangtze (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) and the Mekong, (Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, also written Lang-ts'ang Chiang 浪滄江; this latter name is more commonly used in Li-chiang). The prefecture is divided into six ch'ü 區 (sub-districts) and 23½ li 里 (now called hsiang 鄉). (A *li* 里 is a group of villages situated usually around a larger central one after which the *li* is named. It might be termed a commune or a borough.) The first ch'ü comprises the li Ta-yen 大研, Pai-ma 白馬 and Tung-yüan 東元里; the second, Pai-sha 白沙, Shu-ho (pronounced *Ssu* in Li-chiang) 束河, La-sha 剌沙, La-shih 剌是 and Mu-pao 木保; the third, La-p'iao 剌標 with its two divisions of Shang 上 and Hsia 下, Nan-shan 南山, Ch'i-ho 七河, Wu-lieh 吳烈 and Tung-ni-lo 東你羅; the fourth, Shih-ku 石鼓, A-hsi 阿喜, Hsiang-ko 香閣 and Chiu-ho 九河; the fifth, Chü-tien 巨甸, Lu-tien 魯甸 and Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭; the sixth, Ta-chü 大具, La-pao 剌寶, Tung-shan 東山 里; and the half-li Tung-hsiang-ko 東香閣.

The present Li-chiang prefecture is bordered on the east by the prefecture of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei); north-east by the Mu-li T'u-ssu 木裏土司 of Hsi-k'ang and the adjoining Yung-ning; south by the prefecture of Ho-ch'ing; south-west by the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan; west by the two prefectures of Lan-p'ing and Wei-hsi; north by the prefecture of Chung-tien.

The distances of the present prefecture to its borders, reckoned from the prefectural city of Li-chiang, are as follows: to the Yung-sheng border at Ching-li or Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, where exists the only bridge over the Yangtze 130 li; south to Ho-ch'ing 80 li; west to Lan-p'ing 250 li; to the border of Wei-hsi 450 li; north to the border of Chung-tien 60 li.

The distance from Li-chiang to K'un-ming, capital of the province, is 1,240 li, in 18 stages. Since the construction of a motor road to Ta-li, Li-chiang can be reached in eight days (1938). A motor road to Li-chiang is also under construction (1939). It was not completed in 1944 when I last left Li-chiang.

The town of Li-chiang. — Li-chiang (beautiful river) (PLATE 50) is known as Yi-gv to the Na-khi of outlying districts such as La-bpu and the villages on the banks of the Yangtze. The Na-khi of the Li-chiang plain, however, always speak of the town as Ngu-bä. One meaning of the word *ngu* is a very large box, and *bä* means to do, to make. The size of the town is thus compared to a very large box, and *bä* means that everything is obtainable therein. Another mean-

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PLATE 63.—THE SOUTHERN PASS OF 'A-ts'ang-ssŭ

The first is A-ssu ssu-ts'ê of Mi-k'ung Shan, it is the second highest peak of the Yü-k'ung Shan; the second is A-ko ssu-ts'ê or Mo-k'ung Shan; the third A-mêng ssu-ts'ê or Mo-kao Shan. In foreground the summit slopes of Gyi-ok ssu-ts'ê. The Yangtze flows more than 10,000 feet below the peak.

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Plate 9A—The Nanmuan Cone of Arrangen

The Yangtze does several thousand feet below these crags, a continuation of the gorges shown on Plate 8A. The last broad peak (extreme right), the fourth highest of the Yülung Shan in this locality, is 16,430 feet above sea level. The line of cliffs on the peak's south side (the upper cliffs of the A-li-ta-p'o group) is the same as that which appears in the upper left corner of the map on Plate 8A. The line of cliffs which runs through the gorge in the middle distance (the upper cliffs of the A-li-ta-p'o group) appeared from the map by the Yangtze, which here runs through the same range and forms the A-li-ta-p'o gorge. The lines on the slopes are Alps.

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[p. 172c]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 91. — THE ALPINE REGION GV-ZHU-GKO DÛ-MAH

玉龍高山牧場

The author's camp in a sea of Anemones, Primulas, ground orchids and other alpine flowers. The region was formerly covered with dense fir forest, a few trees have still survived. The peak in center is Shan-tzu-tou; the one in extreme upper right, Gyi-nà nv-lv. Photographed after a midday storm. Elevation 15,500 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 92.— VIRGIN, MIXED FOREST ON THE EASTERN SLOPES OF YÜ-LUNG SHAN

玉龍山東坡原始混交森林

Forest of evergreen and deciduous trees covers the mountain slope between Hei-shui and Ta-ku at an elevation of 10,000 to 10,700 feet. The trees are mainly *Pinus yünnanensis*, *Pinus Armandi*, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, *Tsuga yünnanensis*, Acer, Sorbus, etc. The undergrowth is formed by *Rhododendron decorum* and *Rhod. rubiginosum*, Lonicera and *Rodgersia pinnata* (lower left). The lichen *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 93. — THE PINE FOREST OF GMŪGH-T'O WANTONLY DESTROYED BY LO-LO TRIBESPEOPLE

■ ■ ★ ■ ■ ■

Lo-lo squatters set fire to this forest which burned for weeks, enshrouding the land in clouds of smoke. The Lo-lo are the enemy of every tree, and wherever they settle they cause wanton destruction. Since the Lo-lo have been driven out some ten years ago, the forest is gradually coming back again.

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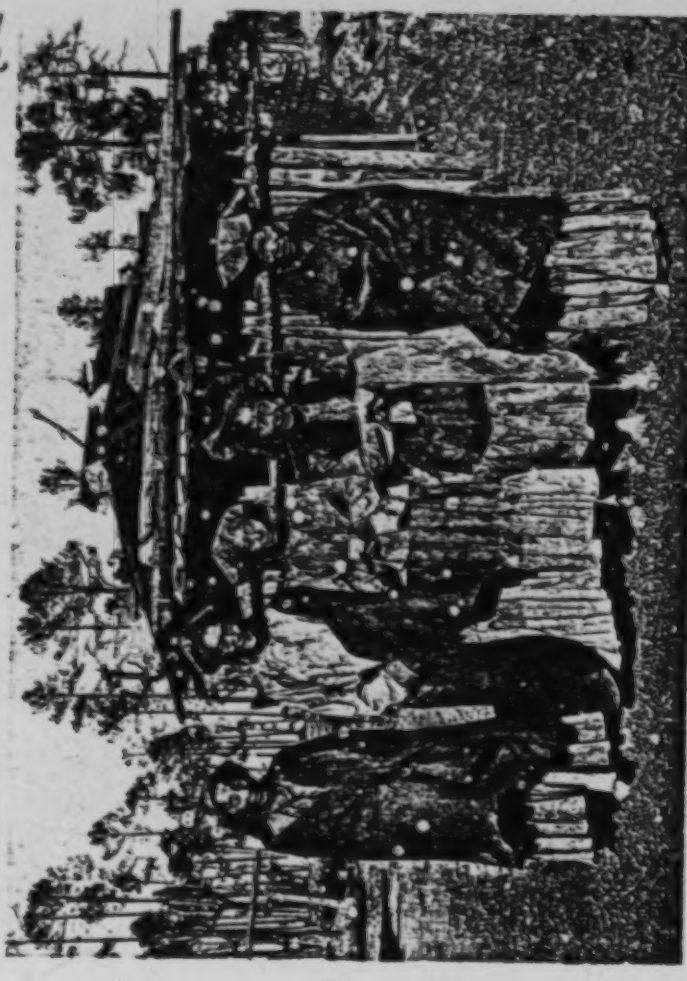

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 94.—LO-LO WOMEN AT CHÜCH-TO

Women as well as men wear the black felt cloak. They live in the most primitive fashion; their houses made of pine boards, tied together with vines, are not much better than pigsties.

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(Courtesy Rex. Corp., Inc.)

PLATE 95.—LO-LO TRIBAL MEN FROM CHÊN-FÊ

When not occupied cultivating their land, they held up lonely travellers and robbed their Na khi and Chinese neighbors.

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PLATE 96.—NO-KHI PEASANTS OF MIN-YO-WEN

(Courtesy Rev. Geogr. Soc.)

No-khi farmers from the Yangtze loop still live a primitive existence untouched by Chinese civilization. The men are tall and sturdy and wear large dark blue turbans.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 97.—A NA-KHI WOMAN FROM MBA-YI-WÛA

She still wears the ancient, Na-khi pleated skirt of homespun with blue border. Note the huge earrings.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 98. — MOUNT GYI-NÀ NV-LV AND THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO RANGE

As seen from near Mba-yi-wùa. The broad mountain mass (left) is Gyi-nà nv-lv; the peaks and crags behind form the 'A-ts'an-gko range back of which the Yangtze flows in a gorge more than 10,000 feet deep. Pine forest in foreground. *See* also Plates 89 and 90.

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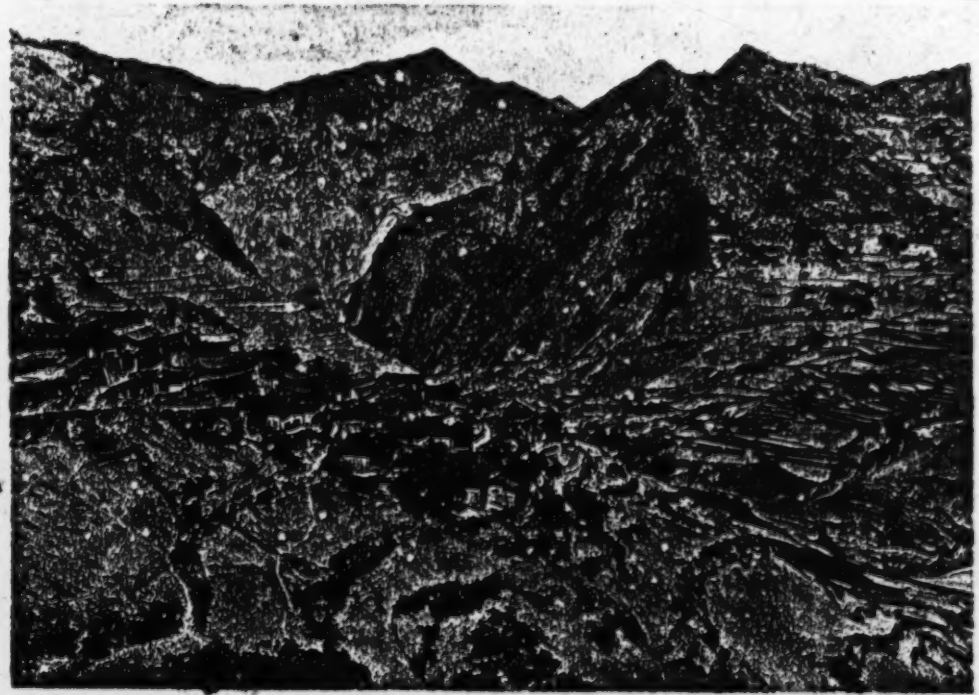

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 99. — THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LA-ZÄ

[illegible]

La-zä which consists of about 40 houses is situated at 8,000 feet elevation. A terrific rock-gate (center) opens out into the Yangtze gorge, through it a trail leads to La-bpu 'A-k'o; *see* Plate 100.

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[p. 172 L]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 100. — THE YANGTZE AT LA-PAO LOOKING DOWNSTREAM

The river which flows in a magnificent gorge separates La-pao (right) from Yung-ning (left). The village of La-bpu 'A-k'o with its terraced fields is viaible in lower center of picture. Photographed from summit of La-bpu mbu 10,200 feet elevation, looking south.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 101. — NA-KHI (ZHĚR-KHIN) FERRYMEN AT FENG-K'O

下永濱些麼可俸

Na-khi who live in the hot river valleys of the Li-chiang — Yung-ning districts are known as Zhěr-khin. They are all excellent swimmers. See Plate 238.

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[p.172 N]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 102. — THE YANGTZE AND FERRY AT FENG-K'O

[illegible]

The author's camp on the Li-chiang side (Feng-k'o) of the Yangtze. A ferry plies here to the Yung-ning side at Law-k'a-khi-llü. It was here that Kublai Khan and his army crossed the Yangtze to Mo-so (Na-khi) territory coming from Yung-ning.

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PLATE 103. — THE YANGTZE — GV-HO-GU GORGE

虎 子 箐 金 沙 江 石 門

Beyond the gorge is the district of La-pao where Kublai Khan first fought the Mo-so (Na-khi) December, 1253. He was opposed by them at a pass called Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, west (right) of the Gv-ho-gu gorge. The triangular peak beyond the gorge (center) is La-bpu mbu.

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PLATE 104.—IN THE GV-HO-GU YANGTZE GORGE

羽 寶 金 沙 江 峽 區 內

Pines and oaks cling to the vertical walls forming the Gv-ho-gu gorge in which the Yangtze roars several thousand feet below the summit crags. Photographed from a bluff in the Gko-mä ravine, elevation 8,000 feet. The gorge separates the Feng-k'o from the La-pao district.

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633 ing of *ngu*[2] is to carry, as a load on the back, and *bä* would refer to business,
361 thus *ngu-bä* would mean to carry a load to be sold, as on the Li-chiang market (PLATE 51), and this seems to be the better explanation of the two.

The actual Yi-gv, however, the name which is applied to-day to Li-chiang, is a very small village situated in a little valley back of the larger village called Gyi-wùa, the Chinese Ch'ing-ch'i-ts'un 清溪村. Here water-springs issue over quite an area and these flow south, but not through the town of Li-chiang. These springs are called in Na-khi, Ssi or Ssä-mi gyi (Pomegranate water). The spring which issues at the foot of the eastern slopes of the Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), and which forms the pond in the temple grounds of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, is called Ngu-lu gyi by the Na-khi.

361 It is possible that the very first Na-khi settlement in this region was where the tiny hamlet of Yi-gv is now situated, for the Na-khi are also called Yi-gv khi (People of Yi-gv). The name Yi-gv was probably only later applied to their capital, the Chinese Li-chiang. The name Li-shui 麗水 (Beautiful waters) was first given to the district during the T'ang dynasty when it had been conquered by the Meng shih 蒙氏 (Meng family) in 794. Li Shui was also the name of the Yangtze, which further bore the name of Shen Ch'uan 神川. The name of Li-chiang does not appear until the Mongol dynasty in 1271. This name has been retained to the present day for the district, as well as for the town. The Li-chiang district numbers 28,375 families or a total of 132,582 inhabitants. Of these 68,216 are male and 64,366 female, and, according to the census of 1931, of the total population only 5,340 men and 170 women were literate.

131 The town is situated in latitude 27° 10′, according to Major Davies; in latitude 26° 52′, and longitude 100° 27′, according to Playfair. The Army Map Service *Gazetteer of Chinese Place Names based on V. K. Ting Atlas* gives longitude 100° 15′, latitude 26° 51′. Its altitude is 8,200 feet. It is situated at the foot, that is, at the southernmost point, of the long limestone range of Hsiang Shan. The range extends north and divides the Li-chiang plain in half, the western part extending towards Nga-ba, an ancient lake bottom from which it is separated by a spur called Dza-dza mbu.

THE COMMUNES OF LI-CHIANG

361 *Pai-sha li.* — The villages situated on the western part of the plain belong
101 to Pai-sha li, that is, south of and including the village to the west, Hsi-wen-ts'un 西文村, and Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村 on the east. They are called in Na-khi, Mbe-man nyi-mä-gv and Mbe-man nyi-mä-t'u respectively. Pai-sha, the Na-khi Boa-shi, is the largest village of Pai-sha li.[3] (PLATE 52.)

Shu-ho li. — The villages south of Pai-sha li, as far as the road which leads over Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain) — the Gkaw-gku of the Na-khi — belong to Shu-ho li 東河里, of which Shu-ho, the Shwua-wùa of the Na-khi, is the largest village. The lamasery of P'u-chi Ssu 普濟寺 belongs to this li;

[2] When the word is used by itself, it is read *gu*, but in conjunction with other words in a sentence, or in a name as here, Ngu-bä, it is pronounced *ngu* instead of *gu*.

[3] Since this was written the Communes are called Hsiang 鄉.

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361 101 the place is called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, after the village known in Chinese as P'u-ch'i-wa-ts'un 普七瓦村.

Ta-yen li. — The town of Li-chiang itself is in the li of Ta-yen 大研里. The villages to the east of Hsiang Shan belong to the same li, but not further north than the village of A-fu 阿夫.

Tung-shan li. — To the north of A-fu the villages belong to Tung-shan li (Eastern mountain li), the last village of that li being Lv-na-wùa (Black rock hamlet), the Chinese Lu-nan-wa 魯南瓦. Other villages of the same li are Hung-shui-t'ang 紅水塘, Wu-t'u 吳土 in the east where there are hot springs, Pen-ch'i-ch'eng 本其城 (the Mbue-tkhi-dza of the Na-khi; ***mbue-tkhi*** is the name of an evergreen oak, *Quercus semicarpifolia* var. *glabra*, with dark-green, glabrous leaves, and *dza* is a walled town hence the Chinese *ch'eng* 城, city), and Lu-tsui-lo 魯嘴落. La-ting 拉丁 is on the west bank of the Yangtze and the farthest east in Tung-shan li. North-west of it, situated on the slopes of a spur, is the hamlet of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, in the valley of the stream formed by the Pai Shui 白水 and Hei Shui 黑水. West, in a small valley among mountain spurs, is the village of Wu-t'u-t'ieh-ch'ang 吳土鐵廠.

Wu-lieh li. — South of Tung shan li is the Wu lieh li 吳烈里, the Na-khi Ghügh-lä. This joins Ta-yen li on the west, Tung-hsiang-ko li on the east, and Tung-yüan li 東元里 on the south. One of its principal villages is Nda-zaw, the Chinese Ta-jan 打然, which is situated in a valley or ravine in the mountains. The climate is very cold and the village is poor. Nda-zaw is renowned [762] for the many cases of suicide among its inhabitants, due mostly to illicit sexual intercourse, which usually ends in the suicide of both parties. The village is quite a distance from the town of Li-chiang and it takes a good part of the day for the peasants to reach the market. They return, men and women, during the night to their village, arriving usually at dawn. Bbue-na-k'o, the Tui-nao k'o 對腦壳 of the Chinese, another large village in this li, is situated on a terrace high above the Yangtze gorge. In the western part of the li are situated the hamlets of K'ai-wen-ts'un 開文村 and Yang-chia-teng 楊家登; these two villages are inhabited by Lä-bbu (Min-chia) tribespeople, the original inhabitants of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

Tung-hsiang-ko li. — East of Wu-lieh li is the Tung-hsiang-ko li. This extends south to the iron chain-bridge of Tzu-li-chiang, to the middle of the Yangtze on its eastern border. Its two largest villages, situated in the Yangtze valley, are Yü-mai-ti 玉麥地 and Tseng-ming 增明.

Tung-yüan li. — This li lies south of Wu-lieh li and forms a long wedge, the narrowest part being in the east where it comes to a point at the Tzu-li-chiang bridge. The broad part of the wedge adjoins Pai-ma li 白馬里 on the west. The important villages of that li are, in the extreme east, Yang-chien-shui 羊見水 and, in the central part, En (Ngai)-lieh-ts'un 恩烈村. In the western part, on a hill, is a Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺; also the villages Te-wei-ts'un 德爲村 and Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦, the Na-khi Ssi-li-wùa. In the center of the latter village is the ancestral temple of the Mu family. A stream which has its source in the snow mountain and gathers all the various

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streams which flow south over the Li-chiang plain, flows through Tung-yüan li and is there called the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho 清溪玉河. A stone bridge crosses it on the extreme west border of the li, where it adjoins Pai-ma li. The bridge is called the Tung-yüan ch'iao 東元橋 and was built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. A mountain extends from north to south along the western part of the li, from which the above-mentioned stream flows; it is called She Shan 蛇山 (Snake Mountain).

Pai-ma li. — To the west of Tung-yüan li and immediately south of Li-chiang, is the li of Pai-ma. This is called in Na-khi, Wua-gkan-ts'an. The most important village is Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村 (Na-khi, Muan-k'u, or the Lower or Southern gate). Other villages are San-chia-ts'un 三家村, the Na-khi Zhĕr-hăr-ndz(ĕr)-dzu (Where the green willow is born, or grows — on account of a large old willow tree which once grew there); the hamlet Chi-hsiang-ts'un 吉祥村, is divided into an upper 上 and a lower 下, the upper being called Ggŏ-boa-ts'an and the lower Mbe-lü (actually central one); then Ch'ing-yün-ts'un 慶雲村, called Wua-gkan-ts'an, whence the li derives its Na-khi name.

Tung-ni-lo li. — On the extreme east of Tung-yüan li, extending south along the Yangtze, is the li of Tung-ni-lo 東你羅里, of which the largest village is Tung-ni-lo. The southern border of this li adjoins that of the Ho-ch'ing district 鶴慶縣. Wu-lieh li 吳烈里 adjoins Tung-ni-lo li on the east and extends south of Tung-yüan li; it is a continuation of the Wu-lieh li to the north of Tung-yüan li. It does not extend, however, to the Ho-ch'ing border but comes to a sharp point half the length of the eastern border of the li of Tung-ni-lo. The villages which belong here are Wu-lieh, in the north-western corner, and Ta-wa-ts'un 達瓦村 (the Da-wùa of the Na-khi), in the west central part.

Hsia La-p'iao li. — East of the southern Wu-lieh li is the li of Hsia La-p'iao 下剌漂里. It extends from north to south to the Ho-ch'ing border. Its important villages are, in the west central part, T'ao-li-ts'un 陶禮村, and in the central part the village of Chung-chi 中吉, called in Na-hki Chu-gyi. In the east central part is the village of Mei-tzu-tseng 美自增, the Na-khi Muan-dsu-dzä; to the south of the latter are the villages of Ta-le 打勒 (the Na-khi Nda-lă), San-yüan-ts'un 三元村, and Ssu-na-ku 四納故. The southernmost village is Mu-chien 木堅.

Ch'i-ho li. — The li of Ch'i-ho 七河里 (Seven rivers) is south of Tung-yüan li and extends east to Hsia La-p'iao. It is divided by the stream called Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江, which flows into the Yangtze south-east of Ho-ch'ing, the Lä-bbu dü of the Na-khi, encircling the Sung-kuei 松桂 mountains to the south.

One of the streams which form the Yang-kung River is the Yü Ho or Jade Stream, the Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi, which has its source in the springs at the foot of the Hsiang Shan where the Lung-wang Miao stands. At Shuang-shih ch'iao 雙石橋 [4] the stream divides into three branches. One flows from Pai-ma li to La-p'iao, one through Pa-ho 八河 (a village south of Li-chiang),

[4] Shuang-shih ch'iao [Double (arch) stone bridge] is two li north-west of Li-chiang.

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361 and one through the center of Li-chiang (PLATE 53); all unite in Tung-yüan
101 and join the Ch'ing-ch'i-yü Ho. Flowing south, the latter river enters the Ho-ch'ing district and forms the Yang-kung Chiang. (The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes 漾工江 and 東員里 instead of 東元里.) A bridge called the Lo-ma ch'iao 勒馬橋 (the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* writes Lan-ma ch'iao 儞馬橋) spans it in the central part of the li on the main road between Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing. In the western half of Ch'i-ho li are the hamlets of Shang Ch'i-ho 上七河 (Upper Ch'i-ho) and Hsia Ch'i-ho 下七河 (Lower Ch'i-ho), the Na-khi Mbu-kv. In the southern part is the hamlet of Li-shou 麗首. In the eastern part of Ch'i-ho li, that is, the region east of the Yang-kung Chiang, are the following important villages: in the northern part, A-shih-ts'un 阿失村, southwest of it Wa-k'uan-tu 瓦寬獨, the Na-khi Wua-k'o-ndu (Tile kiln). Southwest of the latter are the hamlets of T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村 and Mei-ch'i-chia 梅溪甲, and to the east of it is the village of Mu-kuan-ts'un 木官村; southwest of the last named is the village of Mien-ch'ang-chia 面場甲, and south of the latter again is the village of Mei-so-chia 梅所甲, while east lies the large village of Ch'i-ku-ts'un 溪谷村, almost on the border of Ho-ch'ing.

Shang La-p'iao li. — To the west of Ch'i-ho li is the li of Shang La-p'iao 上剌標 (Upper La-p'iao), which is south of Pai-ma li. The most important villages are Ch'ieh-k'o-tu 且可都, in Nakhi Ts'ă-k'o-ndu (Salt-hole there), in the southernmost part of the li, with the hamlet of Chung-ho-ts'un 中和村 to the east or south-east of it. In the northern part of the li, south of the borders of Pai-ma li, are the villages of Hsia-tien-wa 下甸瓦 and Shang-chi-ts'un 上吉村.

Mu-pao li. — To the west of Shang La-p'iao li is the li of Mu-pao (Mu-pao li 木保里). The north-westernmost village is Wen-feng-ts'un 文峯村, in Na-khi Mùan-bbu; more centrally located are Mu-pao 木保 and, south of it, Chung-ts'un 中村 (Central village). Ta-ts'un 大村 (Large village) is on the eastern border and south of it the hamlet of Ta-lu 達魯, the Na-khi Nda-lv.

La-sha-li. — To the north of Mu-pao li is the li of La-sha 剌沙里, of which the important villages are Ch'ang-shui 長水, the Na-khi Ghügh-k'o, in the south, and to the north-east of it the village of Shang-i-ts'un 尙義村; the lamasery of Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺, called Mùan bbu-nä in Na-khi, belongs to this li, so do the villages Mei-tzu-ts'un 梅子村 and Tz'u-man 茨滿, the Na-khi Tsi-man. On the western border, on the mountain slopes, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'eng-ts'un 老城村. At the extreme south-western end on the Li-chiang plain is situated the lake Să-bpi Khü the Chinese Hsi-pi Hai 西碧海 or Sheng-pi Hai 生碧海; the mountain to the south of it is called Wan-sung Shan 萬松山, on its lower slope is situated the temple of Cheng-chüeh Ssu 正覺寺.

Nan-shan li. — The longest of all the li is Nan-shan li 南山里 (Southern mountain li). It extends south of and encircles La-sha li, Mu-pao li, and Shang La-p'iao in part, and reaches also to the borders of Ch'i-ho. It is a very mountainous li with little level ground. A road leads over these mountains from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku 石鼓 on the Yangtze. The villages are mostly situated along this highway. From north to south they are: T'ieh-kan-shu 鐵甘書, which is,

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however, on the plain and in the north central part of the li and east of the road; along the road are Hua-i 花衣, Chi-tzu 戟子, Shan-shen-p'o 山神坡, Pen-shu 本書 and the southernmost, Kuo-mei-ku 果美古. 361 101

Hsiang-ko li. — To the north of this li is Hsiang-ko li 香閣里. There are two li of this name. This is the western one, the eastern being along the banks of the Yangtze where the iron chain-bridge at Tzu-li-chiang forms the border. This western Hsiang-ko li extends north to the banks of the Yangtze, and joins the li of A-hsi 阿喜. The latter extends north, and comprises the Yangtze valley west of the Li-chiang snow range. The northernmost village situated along the highway to Shih-ku is Sha-pa 沙壩, and to the east of it is Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝, which is on the border of A-hsi and Hsiang-ko li. To the west of it is Ching-k'ou-t'ang 箐口塘. Others to the south and not in the Yangtze valley are Hsiung-ku 雄古 (the Na-khi Khyü-gkv), Lu-wa 盧瓦 and Chu-pi 竹彼. The region to the north of the cross-roads (one running from Ho-ch'ing to Shih-ku, and the other from Chien-ch'uan to Li-chiang) on the top of the plateau, commonly called Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, is still the li of Hsiang-ko, which also extends south of these cross-roads to the borders of Chien-ch'uan. The southernmost village is T'ang-lang-pa 螳螂壩 (Praying mantis meadow). Other villages in the southern part are Lü-pi-shan 律比山, T'ien-hung 天紅, Mu-hai-p'ing 沐海坪, and Tien-wei 甸尾 (not to be confused with the Tien-wei of the prefecture of Chien-ch'uan).

La-shih li. — To the east of the northern part of Hsiang-ko li is the li of La-shih 剌是里, comprising a small area adjoining the Huang Shan in the east, which mountain separates it from the Li-chiang plain.

West of the pass over the Huang Shan, beyond Huang-shan shao 黃山哨, is the village An-lo-ts'un 安樂村. To the north of An-lo-ts'un is the hamlet of Chi-hsiang (ch'iang)-ts'un 吉祥村, and to the north of the latter is the lamasery of Chi-yün Ssu 指雲寺. To the east of the lamasery, on the western foot-hills of the limestone range which forms the southernmost spur of the snow range, and which separates La-shih li from Shu-ho li, is the hamlet of Ta-yü-ts'un 打魚村. In the western part of the li is the hamlet of Chi-lo-ts'un 吉樂村 and north-east of it Yü-lo-ts'un 餘樂村.

A-hsi li. — The villages in the Yangtze valley which form the li of A-hsi have already been described in the journey from the snow range west to the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. This comprises all the li from the bend of the Yangtze eastwards, to Tzu-li-chiang where the iron chain-bridge spans the river. (*See* page 253.)

There remain now only the two northernmost li within the loop, which are separated by the highway which leads to Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

La-pao li 剌寶里. — This is the eastern one. It extends south as far as Hung-men-tu 紅門渡, thence north to Chiang-wa-tu 江回渡 (also called Chiang-wai 江外), and Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

Ta-chü li 大具里. — This, the western li is large, exceedingly mountainous and densely forested; the most important village is Ta-ku 打鼓 (Na-khi, Nda-gv), on the terrace above the Yangtze and within the loop.

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361 The snow range does not apparently belong to any separate li. The A-hsi li
101 eastern border line extends along the summit peaks of the range to the village of Jo-shui-t'ang 熱水塘, at the mouth (entrance) of the Yangtze gorge, where it cuts through the snow range. Beyond the last mentioned village on the right bank of the river, the territory belongs to the li of Ta-chü. Although on the right bank of the river there are only cliffs thousands of feet high, where it is impossible to obtain a foothold, still less room for a hut, house, or village, the prefectural map of Li-chiang gives several names which designate certain rocks or parts of the cliff. They are located in Ta-chü li and read from south to north as follows: Ch'ing-lung-shui 青龍水 (Azure dragon water), Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff dwelling), Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment), Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard), and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's-comb ridge). This last is at the exit of the gorge. From Ta-chü, which is identical with Ta-ku, a trail leads along the Yangtze, but quite a distance from the actual river bank, on the western slopes of the main range which fills the loop.

North-east of Ta ku (Nda-gv), is the village of Lao-pen-ts'un 老本村 (Lambe), further north Sheng-se-lo 生色落 (Sä-sä-lo), and finally Chu-ku 住古 (Tsu-gkv). From the main central trail which leads to Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), a trail leads to Nda-gv, and here we encounter the villages of Pu-ku-tsu 布固足 (Bbu-gkv-dsu) and P'ei-tan 培單 (P'ä-da).

Chiu-ho li. — To the west of Hsiang-ko li is Chiu-ho li (Nine stream li) of which the principal village is Chiu-ho-kai 九河街. The southernmost is Hui-lung-chia 迴龍甲, directly north of Chien-ch'uan. At the foot of the mountains which hem in the Chiu-ho valley on the west, are many villages of which the most important are, omitting the southernmost hamlet already mentioned: Ch'ing-chiang-chia 青江甲, Lung-ying-chia 龍應甲, Chi-lai-chia 吉來甲, A-ch'a-chia 阿差甲, Tien-t'ou-chia 甸頭甲 and Li-tzu-yüan 李子園. The border of Chiu-ho li passes through the top of the mountain range of which Lao-chün Shan 老君山, some distance to the west, is the highest peak. The villages situated to the west of that range, and still belonging to Chiu-ho li, are, from south to north, Sung-p'ing-pa 松平壩 in the south-western corner of the li, Wei-nan-hsiang 味南鄉, Ta-ngai-ts'un 打岩村, Jo-shui-t'ang, Shih-hung-shan 石紅山, Ma-p'ing-pa 馬平壩, Ta-p'iao-ts'un 大漂村 and Leng-shui-kou. On the main highway coming from Chien-ch'uan, to the south of Chiu-ho-kai, is the hamlet of Kao-meng-ho 高猛河. To the north is Kuan-shang-ts'un 關上村, and the last hamlet is Chiu-ho-kuan 九河關 (Chiu-ho pass).

Shih-ku li. — To the west of Chiu-ho li is Shih-ku li 石鼓里, of which Shih-ku, the Na-khi La-ba or La-ba wùa-gkv, south of the bend of the Yangtze, is the most important village. The south-western part of the li terminates at the border of Ch'iao-t'ou li 橋頭里, which adjoins the high mountain known as Lao-chün Shan 老君山 in the west, the Li-chiang — Lan-p'ing hsien 蘭坪縣 border passing through its summit.

The Shih-ku li consists of a long valley watered by the La-ba gyi, (Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河), with the Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 forming its south-eastern border. An affluent actually has its source in Lao-chün Shan and flows along the western slopes of Wang-chiang Shan, while the main stream has its

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source in La-ba Ngyu (Mt. La-ba) to the west of Shih-ku. and forms the main valley of Shih-ku li. The villages on the south bank of the stream are, from west to east, T'ao-hua-ts'un 桃花村, Shih-t'ou-ts'un 石頭村, A-na-wa 阿那瓦, Chu-wu-ts'un 竹武村, Ch'ou-chung-ts'un 丑中村, and Chu-yüan-ts'un 竹園村 a little west of Shih-ku. On the northern bank of the stream, from east to west, are the hamlets of Kao-ku-ts'un 高古村 and Ta-chu-kou 打朱溝; among the mountains is the hamlet of Shih-chih 時支; thence again on the valley floor and the foot of the hills, Cheng-hsiung-ku 正雄古, Pai-ting-ts'un 白丁村, Pan-p'iao-ts'un 板票村, Lo-lo-chai 猓猓寨 and Lo-kuo-ching 鑼鍋箐.

Ch'iao-t'ou li and Lu-tien. — Ch'iao-t'ou li consists also of a valley watered by a stream called the Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河, but it is much more sparsely populated. The south-western corner of this li converges with Lao-chün Shan, and is bordered on the west by Lu-tien li 魯甸里.

In this *li* Lu-tien (Na-khi Lu-dü) is the largest village. Directly south of Lu-tien, near the Ch'iao-t'ou li border, is the hamlet of Ta-mi-ch'u 打米杵 (Pounding rice pestle). It was also called the Ta-mi-ch'u 打米處 (Place of the pounding of the rice), for all the peasants of the region used to come to pound their rice there. In Na-khi it is called Nda-muan-ch'u. (*See* p. 300).

Chü-tien li. — To the north and east of Lu-tien li and Ch'iao-t'ou li is Chü-tien li 巨甸里, the largest village of which is Chü-tien on the Yangtze. The northernmost hamlet is T'a-dza, (T'a-ch'eng 塔城), and the northern border of the li is T'a-ch'eng Kuan 塔城關 (T'a-ch'eng Pass) (PLATE 155). Opposite T'a-ch'eng is a small ferry which plies east to the Chung-tien territory east of the Yangtze, and is known as T'a-ch'eng tu 塔城渡. To the west of Chü-tien li is the territory of the prefectural city of Wei-hsi.

Most of the villages, as may be surmised, owing to the very mountainous nature of the country, are in the Yangtze valley, and these villages have already been mentioned in their proper place.

THE ANCIENT DISTRICT OF T'UNG-AN 通安州

In the twenty-second year of the period Chih-yüan (1285), the Chün min Tsung-kuan fu, or the Yamen of the military and civil Governor of the Circuit of Li-chiang was abolished, and in its stead there was established the office of Hsüan-fu-ssu, or Pacification Commissioner. The latter according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34b, resided at La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 this is the present Shih-ku, then under the control of Chü-chin chou 巨津州. Afterwards it was transferred to the east of the ancient T'ung-an chou in the territory called San-tien 三甸. The Hsüan-fu-ssu controlled the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝; also seven chou, viz., Lang-ch'ü 浪渠, Yung-ning 永寧, Shun chou 順州, T'ung-an 通安, Pao-shan 寶山, Lan chou 蘭州 and Chü-chin 巨津; the hsien of Lin-hsi 臨西, the present Wei-hsi, was also in his dominion.

At the time of Kublai Khan's arrival (in 1253 or the beginning of 1254), in the territory known as Li-chiang, the town of Li-chiang did probably not exist, but the Circuit of Li-chiang 麗江路 was established in the 13th year of Kublai Khan's reign as Emperor of China (1276). Apparently the nearest place of

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173 634 any size to what is now Li-chiang was T'ung-an, for the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that in ancient days there stood only the native yamen or palace, without a wall. In 1659 T'ung-an chou was abolished and absorbed by Li-chiang.

Li-chiang still meant only the magistracy of Li-chiang, for it says in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* that the Circuit of Li-chiang was changed to a magistracy in the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382). However a district is always named after its largest town. As to when the actual town of Li-chiang came into being, the records keep strangely silent.

The first wall began to be built in 1723. Li-chiang has now no wall and a remnant of it only exists to-day around the ruined yamen.

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fols. 34b–35a, states that T'ung-an chou, now no longer existing, was three li east of Li-chiang fu.[5] Its ancient name was San-t'an. The P'u hsieh man 濮潛蠻 (P'u-hsieh savages) dwelled there. They were followed by the Mo-so-man, Ye-ku-nien, who conquered it by force. In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it was the land of Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣, subordinate to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) the name Ting-tso was changed to K'un-ming 昆明, subordinate to Sui chou 巂州. It was raised later to K'un-ming Chün 昆明軍 (military district of K'un-ming). After the reign of T'ien-pao 天寶 (about 756) it became the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao 越析麼些詔 (Mo-so Kingdom of Yüeh-hsi). In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) of the Yüan dynasty, it submitted to the Empire. In the fourth year of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1263), Mai-liang (a Na-khi chief called A-liang 阿良 in the Mu Chronicle) was made civil governor of San-t'an 三賧管民官. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) T'ung-an chou was established under the Circuit of Li-chiang. During the Ming dynasty there were no changes. In the Ch'ing dynasty it was reduced and merged with Li-chiang fu.

The *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 19b, has the following to say about T'ung-an chou:

"It is now to the east and near the suburb of the governing fu-city [Li-chiang]. In ancient days it was in the land of Tso Kuo 笮國 and its name was San-t'an. The Man (Savages) called it Yang-ch'ü-t'ou 漾渠頭 [this name I have found in no other work relating to this district]. In the Han dynasty it became the land of Ting-tso hsien 定笮縣, subordinate to the commandery of Yüeh-sui. In the T'ang dynasty Ting-tso was altered to K'un-ming, belonging to Sui chou. It was raised to K'un-ming Chün and became the land of K'un-ming. After the reign of T'ien-pao, about 756, it was conquered by the Yüeh-hsi Mo-so chao. Afterwards it was absorbed by Nan-chao. In the Sung dynasty (960–1252) the P'u-hsieh man[6] dwelled there. [Apparently in

[5] E. Chavannes in his "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-kiang" in *T'oung Pao* and in Bacot "*Les Mo-so*" p. 164 states that according to the *Yüan Shih* the administrative seat of T'ung-an chou is east of (the) Li-chiang at the foot of the snow mountain. This is correct as far as the statement goes; I believe however that the river Li Chiang (Yangtze) is not meant but the town of Li-chiang. As T'ung-an chou was within the loop of the Yangtze, it could be called either west or east of the Yangtze. The Li-chiang records are quite explicit and state that T'ung-an chou was three li east of the town (Li-chiang), and the map accompanying these records shows it there. Therefore the river Li Chiang could not have been meant. The Yangtze, either west or east, is more than seventy li from Li-chiang.

[6] These were two tribes, the P'u and Hsieh. All the different works I have consulted mention

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ancient days it was the land of the P'u-hsieh tribes, who were defeated by the Mo-so Ye-ku-nien during the reign of T'ang Wu-te 武德 618–626.] They were ruled by the Mo-so chiefs until the Sung dynasty when the P'u-hsieh again gained the upper hand."

[This will explain the gap in the Chronicle of the Na-khi kings who during the period between 1101–1125, start again with the stranger from Mon-

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the various P'u tribes, but there is no P'u-hsieh tribe. The Hsieh supposedly were a different clan, who dwelt together with the P'u in the land which now comprises Li-chiang and were the original inhabitants of the country. Chinese records speak of two tribes as residing in the Li-chiang district, viz., the Mo-so (hsieh) erh-chung man 摩些二種蠻. Are we to understand that the Mo are the Mo-so and the Hsieh the tribe formerly associated with the P'u? Both are spoken of in Chinese works as the Mo-man 摩蠻 and Hsieh-man 㑩蠻.

I propose here a conjecture which may serve as a basis for further investigation.

I have held the opinion that the Mo-so (Mo-hsieh) and the Na-khi are identical, that the former is their Chinese name and the latter their own tribal name. After much thought and research on my part this assertion I have come to doubt for the following reasons:

First the Chinese chronicles never mention the name Na or Na-hsieh, but they state that there were two tribes, the Mo and the Hsieh, the character used is pronounced "*so*" when it refers to the tribe, according to the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*. They also mention the P'u and Hsieh who were the aborigines of the district of Li-chiang. However, nowhere are the Hsieh separately mentioned and I have come to believe that the Chinese word *hsieh* is merely a transcription of the Mo-so word "*Khi*" which sounds like hsi, but the initial is actually a palatal German "*ch*." *Khi* in Mo-so (or Na-khi) means "*man*" (not man = male). Therefore they would have been spoken of as the P'u-khi and the Mo-khi, the people of the P'u and the Mo (tribes).

As to the Na-khi the people of the Na tribe, they were a branch of the Ch'iang and migrated south from their home in northeastern Tibet. They settled among the P'u and Mo. The P'u were driven into the hills and the Mo and Na occupied or kept to the plains and valleys.

The Na were apparently not numerous but they had a religious literature and the name Na = black was perhaps given them by the Mo-so because they were darker skinned than the aborigines of the Li-chiang territory. They adopted the Mo-so language and were gradually absorbed by the Mo-so. Yet the religious cult of the immigrants, the Bön Shamanism plus their own demonolatry, was adopted as the religion of the people of the Mo-so (hsieh) tribe by their chiefs. It is difficult to trace the original culture of the Mo-so, it was probably the same as that of the Lo-lo their neighbors, who with them are classed as *Wu-man* = Black barbarians by the Chinese.

There are two types of writing in vogue in Li-chiang, a syllabic phonetic type, very similar to that of the Lo-lo script, and a pictographic. The former, of which little is known nowadays, may have been the script of the Mo-so, while the pictographic script was that invented by the Na-khi, both being read in Mo-so with an admixture of Na-khi. The language now spoken in Yung-ning may be the aboriginal Mo-so tongue, yet they have no written language. It is also possible that the syllabic type of writing was brought by the Na-khi and was discarded later in favor of the pictographic much easier to remember than the syllabic.

Certain primitive ceremonies as the propitiation of Heaven or Muan-bpö, at the performance of which neither books or priests are needed, show that there is more than one tribe involved. Yet there exist ancient Na-khi manuscripts pertaining to the Muan-bpö cult; the texts reveal that the ceremony is akin to that performed by the Ch'iang and therefore is of Na-khi and not Mo-so origin. A modified Muan-bpö was later adopted by all the different tribes or clans and this would explain the discontinuance of the use of priests and books, for the former only can read. All the people bearing the family name Ho, which is considered a genuine Na-khi name, perform their Muan-bpö at a different time than the families bearing the Chinese-sounding family names of Chao, Yang, Wang, etc. It is here that we may learn who is Mo-so and who is Na-khi. However all the non Chinese people of the Li-chiang district, irrespective of family name, call themselves Na-khi, while the name Mo-so is resented.

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golia called Yeh-yeh as the first generation of their line (*see* Chapter VI, pp. 71, 73). The kings were called Ta-ch'iu-chang 大酋長 (Great chiefs of the tribe).]

"Afterwards the Mo-so conquered that territory. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) a civil official was established to govern San-t'an. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) that name was changed to T'ung-an chou. It remained unaltered during the Ming dynasty. The native sub-magistracy (T'u-chou), controlling the families of 13 li, was in charge of a sub-prefect of the Kao family." The family were originally natives of Ho-ch'ing. Kao Ch'ing 高清, who was the son of Kao Ssu 高賜, a native of Ho-ch'ing, was sub-magistrate of T'ung-an chou during the reign of the Na-khi chief Mu Shen 木森 (1434–1441). He had married the daughter of Mu Shen, who survived him by 54 years. His son, Kao Lu 高祿, became hereditary T'ung-an sub-prefect. Thus it appears that the first place in the Li-chiang district was San-t'an, which during the reign of Kublai Khan became the T'ung-an chou. The latter place must have been near the suburbs of what is to-day Li-chiang. Apparently Li-chiang grew up slowly, and was an unimportant place until it absorbed T'ung-an.

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CHAPTER II

1. The Mountains of Li-chiang

according to the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*

(上 ch. 4, fols. 23a–24b)

Wu-lieh Shan 吳烈山 (the Na-khi Ghügh-lä Ngyu) is 15 li east of the city. On this mountain is a temple called Niang-niang Miao 娘娘廟, where barren women come to pray for children. A large figure of Niang-niang sung-tzu 送子 (Matron who brings children) is exhibited there, on which the women throw stones. The goddess Niang-niang is then usually dressed with new clothes by the worshippers. The place is only frequented by Na-khi women still able to bear children. 842 778

Tung Shan 東山 [1] (East Mountain) bounds the district of Li-chiang on the east, 20 li from the city. The two mountains (Tung and Wu-lieh Shan) stand side by side, with a saddle between them, and appear as if bowing to the city. 133

San-t'ai Shan 三台山,[2] also known as Li-chiang An Shan 案山 (Table Mountain) and Nan Shan 南山 (South Mountain), is situated 15 li south of the city. Near it is the hamlet of La-ts'ü-wùa. It is very beautiful and has three prominent peaks of different heights.

Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山 (Lion Mountain) also has the name Huang Shan 黃山 (Yellow Mountain), and in Na-khi it is called Wua-gkv-mbu. It lies one li west of Li-chiang and is the property of the Mu family. Ancient cypresses grow scattered over the hill which is about 100 feet in height and 8,300 feet above sea level. From its summit a beautiful view can be had over Li-chiang and the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain and snow range (Plates 50 and 54). A road passing over it leads to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi. The former yamen of the Na-khi chiefs lies at its foot, facing east.

Near the top of Shih-tzu Shan, but on the western slope, there is a temple called P'u-te t'an 普得壇,[3] built during the reign of Chao Tsung 昭宗 of the 778 774

[1] To this range belongs also an isolated, very sharp, triangular peak, known to the Na-khi as Dto-ma Ngyu; it is thus named on account of its resemblance to a *dto-mā*, (Tibetan, *gtor-ma*). This is an offering to the gods by the Dto-mbas as well as Lamas, in the shape of a pyramid of barley-flour dough mixed with butter. This mountain stands to the north-east of Li-chiang and is a conspicuous landmark. Near it is the village of Gv-dtu and therefore the mountain is often spoken of as Gv-dtu Dto-ma Ngyu, but is also known as Tung-shan Dto-ma Ngyu.

[2] San-t'ai (Three terraces) is the name for the three pairs of stars of the Great Bear, and it is possible that the peaks are called after these stars, though *t'ai* also means eminent, exalted.

[3] The word *t'an* (altar) is equivalent to the Na-khi *d'a*, as in *Muaŋ-bpō d'a* (altar or place in which Heaven is propitiated). The words P'u-te are undoubtedly the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu, the name of a clan which performs the propitiation of Heaven at a different time from that of the other Na-khi clans, namely, on the 5th day of the first moon. The Chinese P'u-te t'an is thus the same as the Na-khi P'u-dtu d'a (altar of the P'u-dtu). The above mentioned

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T'ang dynasty (889–904). Annually in the first moon the peasants of the sub-districts of Ta-yen li, Pai-ma li, La-sha li and La-p'iao li repaired to that temple to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain.

Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), called in Na-khi, Gyi-wùa Ngyu, named after the village of Gyi-wua situated to the north of the Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟 (Dragon king Temple), is three li north of the city, and resembles a reclining elephant. It is therefore also called the Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 (Sleeping elephant Mountain); the city is situated at its southern point. There are several springs called Hsiang ch'üan 象泉 (Elephant springs) at its foot which are the source of the Yü Ho 玉河 (Jade Stream) The Ngu-lu gyi of the Na-khi; these springs are five li north-west of Li-chiang and are also the source of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾工江 of Ho-ch'ing.

Chih Shan 芝山 is called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu, from the monastery Khyu-t'o-llü which is situated on its slope (PLATE 64). Its ancient name was Chieh-t'o-lin 解脫林. This mountain is to the south of the snow range and is part of its southern spur. One of its summits is called Tzu-kai-feng 紫蓋峯, and another Chao-yang-kang 朝陽岡, while a certain cliff has the name of Shih-tzu ngai 獅子崖 (Lion cliff). The easiest approach to the mountain is from Pai-sha (Boa-shi), south-west of which it is situated. It lies between the village of Shu-ho 束河 and Pai-sha and adjoins the mountain on which Huang-shan shao 黃山哨 is located. At its foot nestles the hamlet of A-chung-wùa. In the possession of the Mu family is a work on this mountain called *Chih-shan yün-kuo-chi* 芝山雲過集, written in 1628 by the most famous of all the Na-khi chiefs, Mu Sheng-pai 木生白. A copy of this work is in my library.

Among the maze of hills which compose Chih Shan is the lamasery Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺,[4] which possesses an abbot's reception hall. To the left of the lamasery is a spring called Pai-lu ch'üan 白鹿泉 (White deer spring) and a pond called Han-yüeh Hu 涵月湖 (Submerged moon pond), also a cliff called Pei-tou ngai 北斗崖 (Dipper cliff) and a hill called Tan-feng-luan 丹鳳巒 (Phœnix peak). To the right there is a mountain rim called Tan-hsia-wu 丹霞塢 (Red cloud-embankment), a hill called Yü-yin-feng 玉印峯 (Jade seal hill), and a pond called Lao-t'an 老潭 (Old pool). In front of the lamasery there is a mountain called Ts'ui-po Shan 翠柏山 (Green cypress Mountain). All this is engraved on a memorial stone, written by the Ho-ch'ing magistrate, Chang Hsüeh-mou 張學懋.[5]

Ma-tso-shu Shan 馬左墅山 is 30 li south of Li-chiang. The Na-khi pasture their cattle on this mountain.

San-pi-wai-lung Shan 瑞碧外龍山 is the famous Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, a triangular peak 15 li west of Li-chiang. It is the Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv of the Na-

P'u-te t'an has been abandoned as a place of worship, as each village has its own *d'a*. It is possible that the members of the P'u-dtu clan are the descendants of the original inhabitants of the region, namely the P'u tribe, who adopted the Na-khi custom of propitiating Heaven.

[4] The name was given to the lamasery by the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung (1621–1627).

[5] This memorial stone is built into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the temple. It is dated the seventh year of Ming T'ien-ch'i (1627) and gives the name of every hill, cliff and grotto.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

khi. The mountain is well known to the Tibetans, who call it Zhi-dag mug-po written gzhi-bdag-smug-po [in Na-khi Shi-zhi muan-bbu]; (in the Tibetan classic of the mountain god Dra-lha [dgra-lha] the mountain is called Jang-ri-mug-po [ljang-ri-smug-po], *i.e.*, the purple mountain of Jang = Mo-so); another Na-khi name for it is Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu. On this mountain grows a bamboo from which the Na-khi (used to) cut their arrows. On its slopes there was once a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺, built by the Mu family during the Ming dynasty. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), a lama, known as the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛, came with a retinue to pay his respects to the prefect of Li-chiang, called Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣. He induced him to subscribe funds and to have the priest, Ming Chü 明具, and others solicit funds for the building of the Wen-feng Yüan 文峯院 lamasery, or Wen-feng Wan as it is called in Yün-nan, situated on the slopes of the mountain.

Meng-hsi Shan 蒙喜山 is 50 li north-west of Li-chiang; at its foot was the A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) guard-house at the A-khi ferry across the Yangtze. The mountain is terraced and is several ten li long, resembling a screen.

A-na Shan 阿那山 [6] is 270 li north of Li-chiang, on the southern border of the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州. This is the still more ancient Hsieh-lung 邪龍, so known during the Han dyansty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24), and in the present district of La-pao 剌寶 (La-bpu). On this mountain was an ancient stockaded village called A-na-ho 阿那和.

Lao-chün Shan 老君山 [7] is 250 li south-west of Li-chiang and rises high into the clouds; its height is 14,100 feet. It is north-west of the town of Chien-ch'uan, and is reckoned as the father of all the mountains of Yün-nan. A powerful spring issues from it. It is believed that Lao-tzu 老子 once prepared the magic drug of immortality on this mountain — hence the name.

Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 is 80 li south-west of Li-chiang. The Shih-ku 石鼓 Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河 [8] flows between Lao-chün Shan and Wang-chiang Shan, the latter being south of Shih-ku.

[6] There is also a mountain, or rather spur, west of the village of Dü-gkv (at the head of the Li-chiang plain), which is called 'A-na-gkv.

[7] This mountain is also called Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 and La-chün Shan 剌均山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 5b, quotes these as synonyms for Lao-chün Shan. It also states that Lo-chün Shan 羅均山 is 20 li north-west of the old Lan chou district. Its ancient name is La-kou Shan 剌鉤山. The second character is apparently a misprint and should be *chün* 鈞. Five deep ponds are on its summit, and the natives pasture their yak on the mountain, hence it is also called Mu-niu Shan 牧牛山. It lies 250 li south-west of Li-chiang. On Lao-chün Shan is a *ling-ch'üan* 靈泉 (mysterious spring); as the water flows down the mountain it is called Lao-chün Ho 老君河, another name for it being Shih-lai Chiang 石賚江. From the eastern slopes issues the source of the Chien Hu 劍湖 (Chien-ch'uan Lake) — this being merely a tributary of the Yang-pi Chiang. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that both waters flow into the Chien-ch'uan Lake. This is, of course, not so for they flow into the Yang-pi, and the Chien-ch'uan Lake has an outlet into the Yang-pi south of Chien-ch'uan.

[8] It is also written Ch'ung Chiang 冲江. The stretch from where it flows west to east is called La-pa Ho 拉巴河 (La-ba gyi in Na-khi), as one branch of it has its source in the La-ba Ngyu (La-ba-gko Mountains), called in Chinese La-pa Shan 拉巴山, west of Shih-ku. In Na-khi the mountain is called La-ba Ngyu after the village of La-ba, the Chinese Shih-ku.

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133 *Hsüeh-p'an Shan* 雪盤山 (Snow basin Mountain) is situated 200 li south-west of Li-chiang, and 10 li west from the ancient Lan chou. It has 12 separate peaks, and snow remains throughout the four seasons [there are, however, no glaciers on the mountain, which is 14,000 feet in height].

37 The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is now better known as the Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Salt road Mountain), as all the salt from the La-chi-ming 喇鷄鳴 wells is brought over this mountain to Chien-ch'uan, etc. On the latest Yün-nan military map, published in 1928, the Hsüeh-p'an Shan extends east of Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 for about 120 li, about 50 li north of Lan-p'ing and 70 li south, making a curve. In the same range is a mountain marked Fu-yüan Shan 福原山, extending somewhat north-east. I believe that this mountain is identical with the peaks known as Yen-lu Shan, and is the central part of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan.

How accurate Chinese geographical accounts are as to distances can be judged from the following statement found in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 24b: "The Hsüeh-p'an Shan is 200 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang, and 10 li west of the ancient Lan chou [present Lan-p'ing]"; On p. 35a, it states that "the ancient Lan chou is 360 li south-west of the city of Li-chiang." We have here a difference of 160 li; furthermore the Hsüeh-p'an Shan is not west, but east of Lan-p'ing. By stating it is 10 li distant from Lan chou, one would expect a definite mountain and not a range about 120 li long. There is a high mountain mass just about 20 li east of Lan-p'ing, and that is the Yen-lu Shan (Handel-Mazzetti's Ye-lu-schan). I crossed that mountain three times and know whereof I speak.

About the Fu-yüan Shan the same source states that it is 250 li west of Li-chiang, yet this mountain is in the center of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan. Again, the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that the Yen-lu Shan is south of the Hsüeh-p'an Shan and reaches to the border of Yün-lung. On its southern slopes rises the Ta-lang Ho 大郎河, which flows south-west into the Pi Chiang 泌江. [This is the river which flows past Yün-lung and is marked as the Lo-ma Ho on Major Davies' map.]

Fu-yüan Shan 福源山 (Lucky spring Mountain) is 250 li west of Li-chiang and at the north border of Lan-p'ing. The mountain extends south-east over 50 li.

Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (Piebald horse Mountain) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and near the south-east border of the ancient Chü-chin chou 巨津州, the present Chü-tien. On one of the cliffs is a rock resembling a piebald horse, whence the name. In ancient days the people of the Mo-so chao called their country the Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 after that mountain. (*See* History of Li-chiang, p. 95.)

Han-sou Shan 漢叟山 is 500 li west of Li-chiang and close to the Shu-miao 樹苗汛 guard-house, north-west of the ancient Chü-chin chou. It is a spur or branch of the Lao-chün Shan. On its summit are three lakes, each five *mou* wide, or a little less than an English acre, and of unknown depth. [This mountain is south of present-day Lu-tien 魯甸.]

Feng-lo Ta-shan 風羅大山 is over 700 li west of Li-chiang; it forms the western valley wall of the Mekong or Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江, and extends to

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Pao-shan 保山 (Yung-ch'ang 永昌), forming the divide between the Nu-tzu 133
怒子 [9] and the Mekong.

Ko-lo Shan 革落山 is 420 li west of Li-chiang and forms the eastern valley wall of the Mekong, west of the present Lan-p'ing. It is composed of two parallel mountains, each with three distinct peaks overlooking the Mekong.

Nu-kuan Shan 怒關山 is 190 li west of the Li-chiang district. From its slopes rises the T'ung-tien Ho 通甸河. [The T'ung-tien Ho is the southernmost branch of the Yang-kung Chiang 漾共江.] It flows past T'ung-tien, and debouches into the Mekong at Sha-tien 沙甸. [This place is south of Shu-miao 樹苗, which is the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border.]

Shih-ho Shan 十和山 is 20 li north-west of Li-chiang. At its foot is a village called Shih-ho-ts'un 十和邨. [This is in the sub-district of Shu-ho; Na-khi: Shwua-wùa.]

La-pa Shan (Na-khi: La-ba Ngyu) is 160 li west-north-west of Li-chiang. It is also called Feng-shui-ling 分水嶺. The Shih-ku Stream (Na-khi: Pa-tzu gyi, or La-ba pa-tzu gyi) has its source on the eastern slopes and flows at Shih-ku into the Yangtze. Handel-Mazzetti calls this mountain "Lo-tue schan." This is a mistake and his informer evidently had Lao-chün Shan in mind, which is also called Lo-chün Shan.

2. JADE DRAGON MOUNTAIN, OR YÜ-LUNG SHAN 玉龍山
THE LI-CHIANG SNOW RANGE (PLATE 54)

This beautiful mountain range, consisting of three main peaks, extends from north to south; in its northern part it is cut through by the Yangtze, which separates the third peak (Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv) from the two southern peaks. The gorge which divides the range is known as 'A-ts'an gko and is described elsewhere (pp. 256–282).[10]

The southernmost is the highest peak and dominates the Li-chiang plain. It is known as Shan-tzu-tou 扇子陡, for its fluted face, the outspread snow ridges below the summit resemble an opened fan held upright. Shan-tzu-tou is 19,800 feet high.

The second peak, but not the second highest of the mountain mass of which it is a part, is commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H.-M., Dyinaloko) which really means "Inside the black water valley." It may be better described as Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak); [the literal translation of *nv-lv* is silver rocks, by which the Na-khi denote a snow peak.] This peak differs greatly from the highest one of the range, and is somewhat further east than Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as on Handel-Mazzetti's map.

West, and parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà nv-lv, but connected at the very top by a spur from which a deep valley extends north, is a

[9] The Nu-tzu (Lu-tzu 傈子), are a tribe inhabiting the upper Salween in Yün-nan territory, hence the Salween — Mekong divide is meant.

[10] The Yü-lung Shan is also called Sung Hsüeh-shan 松雪山 (Lofty Snow mountain), and Fa Hsüeh-ling 乏雪嶺 (Peerless Snow peak).

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133 range of ice-crowned peaks exactly like those of Shan-tzu-tou. The last of these peaks at the head of the valley is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, hitherto considered the second highest peak of the Jade-dragon mountain. It is of about the same height as Shan-tzu-tou. This parallel range is often spoken of by the Na-khi as 'A-ts'an̲-gko nv-lv (Snow peaks of 'A-ts'an̲-gko), and I have adopted the name for the ice-crowned peaks, the southernmost of which is the second highest, with Gyi-nà nv-lv third, and Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv fourth of the Li-chiang snow range.

There are many snow peaks in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan, some of which are higher than the Li-chiang range and like the latter they also extend from north to south. Directly north of Li-chiang, in the new province of Hsi-k'ang 西康, is a large snow range called Gangs-dkar Rigs-gsum-mgon-po (pronounced Gangkar risum gompo), (PLATE 55), also known as the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) snow range (Kung-ka-ling Hsüeh-Shan 貢噶嶺雪山 in Chinese). (PLATES 55, 56, 57, 58, 59). It is composed of three isolated peaks which rise from a high plateau and form a triangle,[11] but they extend from west to east, and are directly north of the Yangtze loop. The river Zho Chhu (Iron River; Wu-liang Ho 無量河 of the Chinese) flows at the foot of the range and debouches into the Yangtze at the apex of the loop (PLATE 105). The entire Gangkar-ling range and the Zho Chhu were once under the rule of the Na-khi chiefs, in particular during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573–1619). There are extensive Na-khi villages, collectively called O-yü, the inhabitants of which are descendants of the Na-khi soldiers who once guarded the region.

There is one other range not marked on any map, and that is Mu-ti Gangkar (Mu-ti Gangs-dkar)[12] which lies east of the Ya-lung 鴨龍 in Hsi-k'ang. It is about 19,000 feet in height and glacier-crowned; the western face of the mountain is in Mu-li 木裏 (Mi-li in Hsi-fan, Mä-li in Na-khi) territory; it also extends from north to south, with the Ya-lung flowing at its foot, in a gorge 11,500 feet deep, and 1,300 feet higher than the Yangtze.

361 Still farther north is the Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar[13] (Minya Konka as I baptized
133 it) (PLATE 60). It is north-east of the Mu-ti Gangkar range and south-west of Ta-chien-lu 打箭爐, in Hsi-k'ang. Although Na-khi are supposed to live near Ta-chien-lu, in all my travels in that region I have not come across any of their villages. The farthest north are those on the Tibetan side north of Yar-kha-lo and in Mu-li territory near the Yün-nan border. These will be described in their respective places.

133 The Li-chiang Records state that besides being called the Yü-lung Shan, the Li-chiang snow range is also called Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺 and is covered with eternal snow, visible for a hundred li or more. Half-way up the mountain is said to be a pond, but the only pond known to me on this snow range is at the foot of the last and southernmost crag, called Hua-lä-bpu (H–M., Ünlupe).

[11] The three peaks are named after the Lamaist trimurti Rigs-gsum mgon-po རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ (The Three Lords), defenders of Lamaism, *i.e.*, Chenrezig (Spyan-ras-gzigs), Jambyang (Hjam-dbyangs) and Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje).

[12] མུ་ཏི་གངས་དཀར

[13] མི་ཉག་གངས་དཀར

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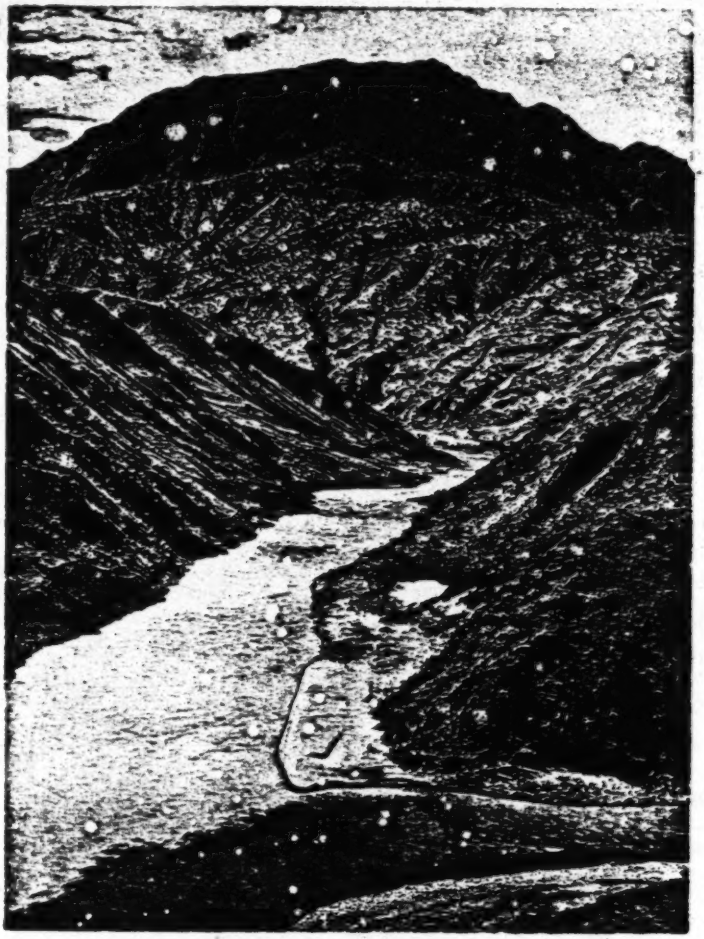

PLATE 105.—THE CONFLUENCE OF THE YANGTZE AND THE ZHO CHHU

金沙江與無量河合流

The Zho Chhu or Wu-ljang Ho enters the Yangtze at the apex of the loop. Li-chiang, Yung-ning and Chung-tien territories meet here.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 106.—THE WESTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP

金沙江西支轉曲

The Yangtze makes two sharp bends ere reaching the apex near Shang Feng-k'o. Photographed from the central spur elevation 9,400 feet. Pines cover the hillsides.

[p. 188 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 107. — THE EASTERN ARM OF THE YANGTZE LOOP (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

金沙江大弯曲

The river flows here in a deep gorge which separates Li-chiang from Yung-ning territory. The bend seen in the picture is north of Feng-k'o. The high mountain in the distance is Wuz-ha over 15,000 feet in height. Photographed from an elevation 10,100 feet. Pines in foreground.

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PLATE 108.—THE YANGTZE NEAR P'A-LO

金沙江岸巴塘

The river (looking upstream) flows here in an arid gorge; the Li-su hamlet of P'a-lo (Chinese Pa-lo), also called Tse-mi, can be seen on the steep slopes above the alluvial fan, about center of picture. Left is Li-chiang, right, Yung-ning territory. Photographed from a bluff elevation 6,800 feet.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 109. — THE YANGTZE AT CHIANG-WAI

江外渡口

The arid gorge is dreary and a waste of rock and grass. A ferry plies here between Bu-yi-gkv in Yung-ning and Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) in Li-chiang territory (left). The latter village can be seen on the slopes (left margin of picture). La-bpu mbu whence Plate 100 was taken is beyond the gorge, about center (left) of picture.

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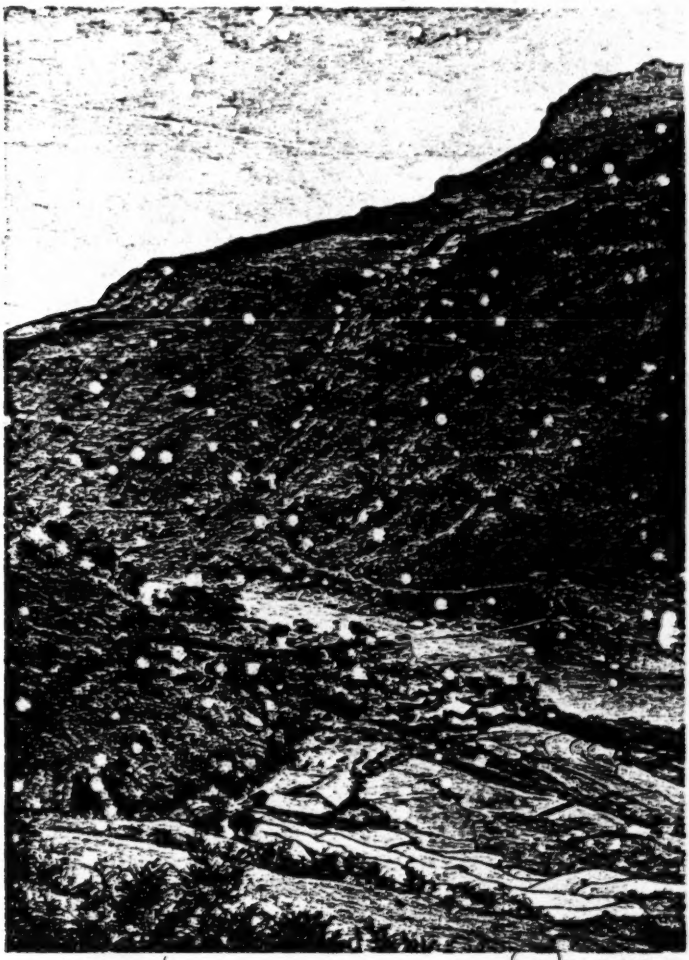

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 110. — THE ONLY BRIDGE ACROSS THE YANGTZE

[illegible]

The Chin-lung ch'iao (Golden dragon bridge) spans the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang. The village above the bridge is called Chin-lung-ch'iao-ts'un or Gku-k'u-ndu in Na-khi. The mountains on the other side of the river are in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) territory.

[p. 188 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 111.—THE CHIN-LUNG CH'IAO CHAIN SUSPENSION BRIDGE

金龍橋或梓里鐵索橋

The bridge called Dsi-li shu-ĕr ndso in Na-khi, rests on 18 iron chains anchored to boulders buried in the ground. It sways considerably when traversed by pedestrian or mule. The Yangtze flows here at 4,600 feet.

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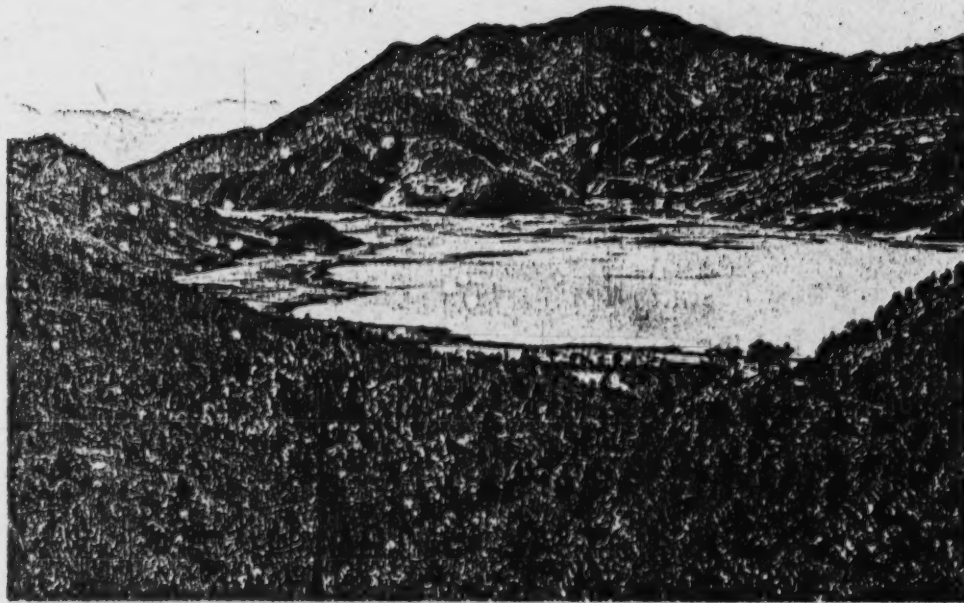

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 112. — GEAW-NGAW LAKE

乾海子

The lake, situated at the southwestern end of the Yü-lung Shan, has a subterranean outlet. In the summer the meadows surrounding it are a blaze of color. It is the home of *Primula Viali* and many other lovely flowers. Pines in foreground. Elevation of lake 10,300 feet.

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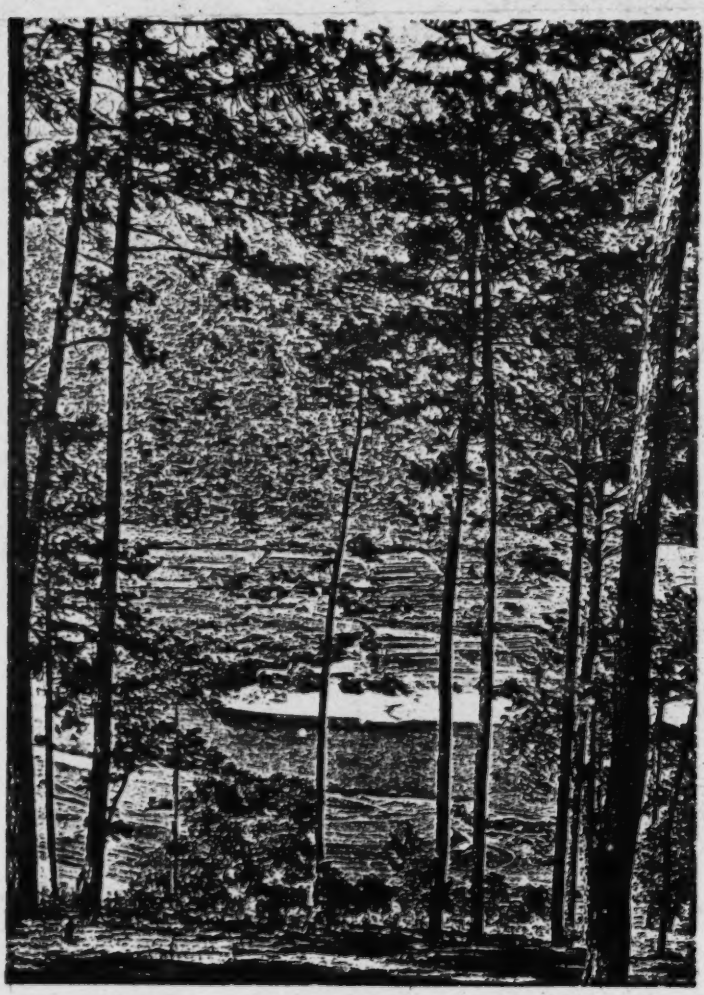

PLATE 113. — THE YANGTZE WEST OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

阿茶里金沙江

Photographed from near 'A-gko-gyi-k'o looking west to the Chung-tien side of the river, with the village of La-zhêr-lo in center of picture. Pines cover the valley slopes. Elevation 6,600 feet.

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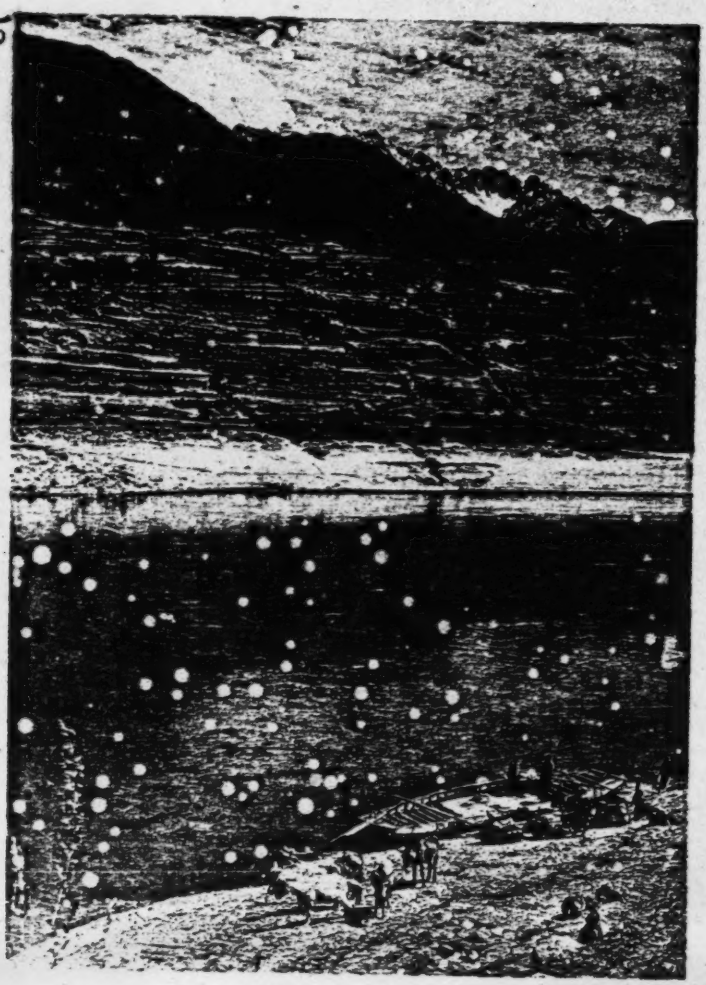

PLATE 114. — THE FERRY ACROSS THE YANGTZE AT YU-LO

雲集村金沙江渡口

Photographed from near the hamlet of Ggô-lo elevation 6,070 feet, looking east towards Yu-lo (upper extreme left). The Yü-lung Shan with Shan-tzu-tou in the distance.

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PLATE 115. — THE YANGTZE AT GOŌ-LO

The river is here considerably broad; at the foot of the mountain mass, overshadowed by the snowpeak Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the Yangtse makes a sharp bend to the right and cuts through the Yü-lung Shan.

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[p. 188]

PLATE 116. — CHUNG-CHIA TRIBESPEOPLE FROM LA-MUAN-DZE

大火山种家

The Chung-chia are natives of Kuei-chou; the village of La-muan-dze is in the crater bowl of Ta-huo Shan, a detached extinct volcano back of Yu-lo.

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[W 881, 4]

PLATE 117. — THE ENTRANCE TO 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

金沙江入玉龍山峽口

The Yangtse entering the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge which it has carved for itself through the Yü-lung Shan. Left, Chung-tien; right, Li-chiang territory. In the winter, the dry season, sand islands appear in the riverbed. Photographed from a terrace south of La-tsa-ku, Chung-tien district.

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PLATE 118. — CONFLUENCE OF THE CHUNG-CHIANG HO AND YANGTZE

金沙江與中江河合流

The Chung-chiang Ho or Yü-ndo gyi descends from the highlands of Chung-tien and debouches into the Yangtze where the latter enters the great 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Looking south, upstream; Li-chiang territory left, Chung-tien territory right.

[p. 188 N]

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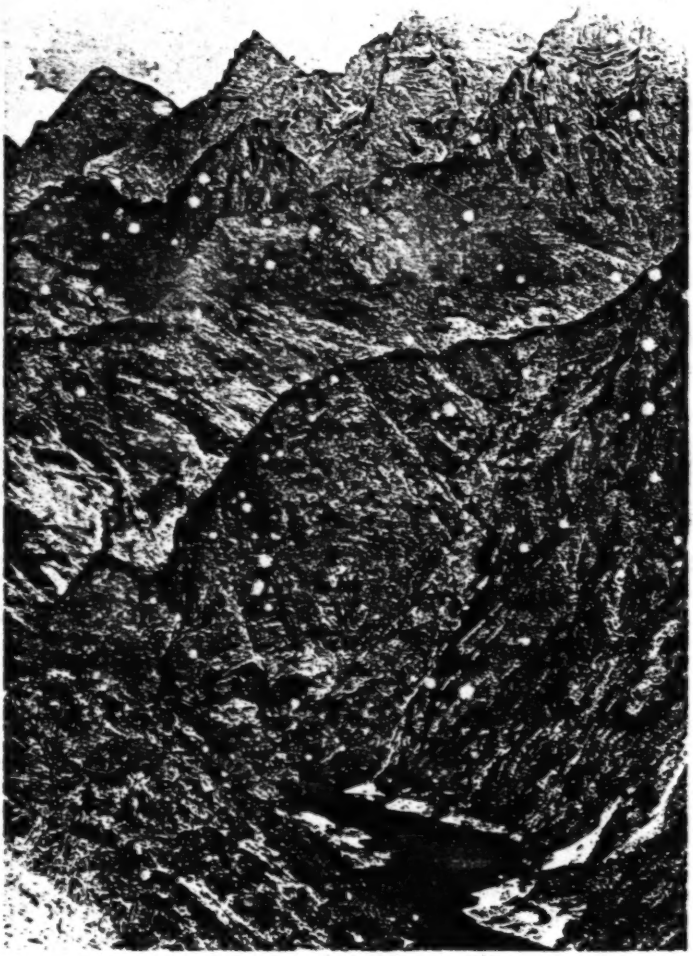

PLATE 119. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE NEAR NO-YÜ

金沙江玉龍山脈峽內

The river flows placidly at the foot of stupendous limestone cliffs opposite No-yü. In the deep lateral ravine called Muaŋ-gko-hsi a few Li-su families eke out a precarious existence.

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PLATE 120. — THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

Looking south-west, back towards the entrance of the gorge from a lateral spur or bluff. 8,000 feet elevation. Pines in foreground.

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133 This pond, which only exists in the summer, is called Tsu-k'aw-khü; when it is full it descends as a waterfall over a vertical cliff several hundred feet high, the water having cut a terrific, narrow channel in the rock. This waterfall is called 'A-nggü-t'an (Floor of the split cliff).

The name Yü-lung Shan was first mentioned by Pauthier in *L'Universe* (*Chine*) in 1837,[14] and appears on the Chinese maps and in Chinese geographies as well as in the Li-chiang Records. The following appears in the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 113, fols. 15a–16b.

"The Yü-lung Shan is situated 20 li north-west of the military and civil prefecture of Li-chiang. It is also known as Sung hsüeh-shan 松雪山 (Lofty snow mountain) and commonly as Hsüeh-shan. The entire range extends for about 100 li, and about ten high peaks rise to the skies. It looks down on the Li Shui 麗水 (Beautiful River) [Yangtze]. The snow which accumulates during the summer never melts. Its cliffs rise to the height of 10,000 jen 仞 [one *jen* = 8 feet]. If one looks at it from beyond 1,000 li, it seems as near as the distance between a foot of eight and a foot of ten inches. It is connected with the mountains of Sung chou 松州 of Ssu-ch'uan."[15]

The Meng family 蒙氏 (of the Nan-chao Kingdom) bestowed the name of Pei-yo 北嶽 (North sacred Mountain) upon it, and also called it Hsüeh-ling 雪嶺.

133 175 During the reign of T'ang Te Tsung, period Cheng-yüan (785–804) Wei Kao agreed with Yün-nan to attack jointly the T'u-fan (Tibetans) and drove them beyond Yün-ling 雲嶺, that is beyond the Hsüeh-ling (Li-chiang snow range).

In the beginning of the Yüan Chih-shun 元至順 (1330) period, one of the rulers of Yün-nan, T'u-chien 禿堅,[16] and others rebelled against the Mongol

[14] On p. 7 of his work a list is given of all the snow mountains of China, which is headed by Yün-nan. The fifth mountain mentioned is the Li-chiang snow range, and he states: "Siuè chan (montagne de neige) ou Yu-loung-chan, 26° 33'–97°. Cette montagne colossale est visible à une distance très-considérable; elle est couronnée par plusieurs glaciers élevés."

[15] This is the present day Sung-pan hsien 松潘縣 in the extreme north-west of Ssu-ch'uan, It is, of course, not connected with the mountains of that district, unless one considers all mountains to be so connected.

[16] The *Tien-yün li-nien chuan*, ch. 5, fols. 55a–57a, states: "History relates that T'u-chien and the Wan-hu 萬戶 (Rulers of 10,000 families) Po-hu 伯忽 and A-ho 阿禾 rebelled and attacked Chung-ch'ing Lu 中慶路, (the circuit of Chung-ch'ing = Yün-nan fu), and killed the secretary of the judicial commissioner, whereupon he called himself King of Yün-nan. This happened in the third moon of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun of Yüan Wen Tsung 元文宗." The *Hsin Yüan Shih* 新元史, ch. 22, fol. 1a, says that T'u-chien rebelled in the first moon of the spring *ting-ssu* 丁巳 of the 1st year of the period Chih-shun (January 24th, 1330); he made himself King of Yün-nan in the second moon *chia-wu* 甲午 (March 2nd, 1330). Po-hu became the Ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 (Assistant minister) and A-ho became the P'ing-chang 平章 (Minister of State). In the fifth moon the Yün-nan Hsüan-wei-shih 宣慰使, Lu-yü 祿余 [he was the native official of Wu-meng 烏蒙, the present Chao-t'ung hsien 昭通縣 in north-east Yün-nan], rebelled and joined T'u-chien.

"History further relates that Lu-yü acquired merit by killing T'u-chien. He thereupon was made Hsing-sheng ts'an-chih-cheng ssu 行省參知政事.

"The Lo-lo and all the savages who had joined T'u-chien started rebellions everywhere and the P'ing-chang T'ieh-mu-erh Pu-hua 帖木兒不花 [grandson of Kublai] met his death.

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133 175 dynasty, and the Ssu-ch'uan army was ordered to punish them. In the defiles of the Hsüeh-shan they defeated the army of the Lo-lo-ssu 羅羅斯.[17] According to the *Tien-chih* 滇志, I-mou-hsün proclaimed himself Jih-tung Wang 日東王 (King of the Orient) in the fourth year of T'ang Cheng-yüan (788) and under pretext bestowed titles on five mountains, and four rivers. The eastern one, or Tung-yo, is called Chiang-yün-lu Sung-wai Lung Shan 江雲露松外龍山 and is situated 280 li north-east of the chou (department) of Lu-ch'üan 祿勸州 in the prefecture of Wu-ting 武定府, adjoining the border of Tung-ch'uan fu 東川府, Ssu-ch'uan (now Hui-tse 惠澤 in Yün-nan); it is also called Wu-meng Shan 烏蒙山, Yün-lung Shan 雲龍山 and Chiang-yün-lu Shan 絳雲露山.[18] The northern part of this range overlooks the Yangtze. Its twelve great steep peaks, extend for more than 70 li. In the twentieth year of T'ang Cheng-kuan (546) the military governor of Sui chou 嶲州, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, said that the various Man beyond Sung, i.e., Sung-wai, only temporarily submitted and later revolted again. He petitioned the government to attack them in order to open the road to Hsi-erh Ho 西洱河 (Ta-li Lake) and India. This he was permitted to do. The following year the government sent Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 to mobilize the army of the 12 chou of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and punish the various Man of Sung-wai. Over 100,000 barbarians were killed and captured. Thereupon the various Man, severely frightened, dispersed to live in the valleys of the mountains. An envoy was then sent to Hsi-erh Ho, who, by proclamation, ordered the native leaders to submit. The chief Meng-yü 蒙羽 of Sung-wai was also ordered to pay tribute to the T'ang dynasty.

Afterwards T'u-chien's younger brother Pi-la-tu-mi-shih 必剌都迷失 and his whole family drowned themselves in the Lake (Yün-nan fu Lake). Two more of his younger brothers and his three sons were captured and executed while Lu-yü fled and all the rest were pacified."

[17] The Lo-lo-ssu were the aborigines ruled by a native chief who lived one li east of Chien-ch'ang 建昌, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 in Ssu-ch'uan. The *T'u-i k'ao* 土舉考 says that during the period Yüan Chih-cheng (1341–1367) there was established the Hsüan-wei-ssu Tu-yüan-shuai-fu 宣慰司都元帥府 of the Lo-lo, the Meng-ch'ing 蒙慶 and of other places. They and their chief dispersed and lived to the west of the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河. The grandson of the Lo-lo-ssu Hsüan-wei-ssu, An-p'u-pu 安普卜 by name, submitted with all his people in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371). He was given the title of T'u-chi-hui-shih 土指揮使 and ordered to administer the affairs of the military station of Chien-ch'ang (wei). He was, however, given neither letters patent nor a seal. He controlled territory 15 horse-stages in extent and ruled nine tribes, viz.: P'o-jen 獘人, Lo-lo 羅羅, Pai-i 白夷, Hsi-fan 西番, Mo-so 麼些, Lu-lu 猓玀, Mongols, Mohammedans and Yü-jen 漁人. The Lo-lo were the most refractory and all these tribes scattered to the mountain valleys. The territory extended for more than 1,000 li each way; north to the Ta-tu Ho, south to the Yangtze, east to Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung), and west to Yen-ching 鹽井, the present Yen-yüan hsien 鹽源縣. The grandson six generations after him died without issue and the tribes all rebelled. The stronger lorded it over the weaker, and feuds caused constant murder, until all was quiet again after a long lapse of time.

[18] The *Tung-ch'uan fu chih*, ch. 4, fol. 5a, states that the mountain is 200 li south-west of the city of Tung-ch'uan, and is also called Yün-lung Shan 雲弄山. From Hsün-tien 尋甸 and Ch'e-hu 車湖 a branch extends 300 li as far as San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. Much snow remains on the mountain, hence it is called snow mountain. It is also called Wu-lung Shan 烏龍山. This name appeared first in the western Han dynasty. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Chiang-yün-lu Shan. Now it is known as Wu-lung-hsüeh-shan 五龍雪山. It is very steep and imposing, its 12 peaks extending through the clouds. On its summit is a lake called Hui-niao Hu 惠鳥湖.

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The South mountain, or Nan-yo 南嶽, is called Meng-lo Shan 蒙樂山 and is situated 80 li north of the prefectural city of Ching-tung 景東府. It is also known as Wu-liang Shan 無量山. The West mountain, or Hsi-yo, is the Kao-li-kung Shan 高黎共山, and the North mountain, or Pei-yo, is the Yü-lung Shan. The Central mountain, or Chung-yo, is the Tien-ts'ang Shan 點蒼山 west of Ta-li. Although the east and south mountains are not very important, yet they are quite the largest in their respective districts. 133

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* confirms that in the middle of the reign of Cheng-yüan (794) Wei Kao made an agreement with the Nan-chao Kingdom to attack the T'u-fan and drove them from the Hsüeh-ling, *i.e.*, snow mountain. The army of the Lo-lo-ssu was defeated at the snow mountain by the troops of Ssu-ch'uan at the beginning of the period Chih-shun (1330) of the Yüan dynasty. This snow mountain is none other than that of Li-chiang. A branch of it extends south, and this is the Ts'ui-wei Shan 翠微山. Still further lies the Sleeping elephant Mountain or Hsiang-mien Shan 象眠山 at the foot of which the Lung-wang Miao is situated. This branch ends at Yü-ho-ts'un 玉河村.

3. THE MOUNTAIN GOD AND THE TEMPLE OF SA-DDO

Nearly every snow peak in Tibet has a name, it is usually that of a spirit or deity belonging to the protective type which deity is often believed to dwell within the peak. The Li-chiang snow range does not seem to have any other but Chinese names, which would indicate and confirm the belief that the Na-khi were immigrants in that region. The many Na-khi names which the various alpine meadows, forests, etc., on the slopes of the snow range bear, were given by Na-khi shepherds who were obliged to move their flocks of sheep from one little meadow to another. The shepherds are mostly children, directed by their parents as where to pasture their flocks, and this necessitates names for these places. But proper Na-khi names in the true sense of the word for the range or individual peaks do not exist. 103

The name of the highest peak is a Chinese one, though it is true that it is also called in Na-khi, Boa-shi nv-lv. *Nv-lv* means silver rock, hence snow mountain, and Boa-shi is the Na-khi name for the market-place Pai-sha-kai situated between Li-chiang and the last village, Nv-lv-k'ö, on the north-western branch of the plain, at the foot of the range. But the name is only a few hundred years old and relates to an episode when the Boa (Hsi-fan 西番), from the north, invaded Na-khi territory and were killed (*shi* = dead) there by the Na-khi.

However, the Li-chiang snow range does represent a spirit or deity, and the deity in this case is not a local one, but one which had its origin in the far north, the grass-lands of Eastern Tibet whence the Na-khi migrated south during the latter part of the Han dynasty. Thus the name of Sa-ddo, the Tibetan Sa-tham, was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and applied in all probability first to the Li-chiang snow range, or rather the spirit of Sa-ddo was made the mountain god and protector of the Na-khi settlers. Only later as the town of Li-chiang came into being was the name Sa-tham extended to it.[19] We see

[19] It must be stated, however, that according to Sir Charles Bell and his Lhasa informant, Ge-ear is said to have lived during the reign of the Tibetan King To-to-ri nyen-tsen in the

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thus that the spirit of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham) is a stranger in Li-chiang, a co-immigrant, of the Na-khi.

The famous Ge-sar epic tells of the battles fought by Ge-sar against Sa-tham. The latter was the King of Jang. The word Jang is written in Tibetan in two ways, viz: ljang and hjang. The first stands for Mo-so and appears in a Tibetan manuscript of the Ge-sar legend (ms. in the possession of Roerich [Rolf Stein]), while the words ljang-mo, according to S. C. Das, *Tibetan — English Dictionary*, p. 470a, represent a district in Li-t'ang beyond Kham. The second, hjang or hjangs appear in *Dictionaire Thibétain — Latin — Français*, p. 351b, "*Tribus et regionis nom. in N.W. provinciae Sinar. Yunnan. cuj. urbs principalis est* Sa-tham *seu* Ly-Kiang-fou. *Tribus vocatur Mosso a Sinensibus et* Nashi *ab ipsismet incolis*, nom de tribu et de pays au N.-O. du Yun-nan." Now S. C. Das, *l.c.* p. 452b, gives hjang as a place in N. W. Tibet which once formed the Kingdom of Hjang. He further gives hjangs-shabs as a name of a place in Kham, and Hjangs-sa-tham also as the name of a place in Kham. This latter is, however, our Sa-tham or Li-chiang.

The popular legends about Ge-sar do not mention armies against which Ge-sar fought. The war he fought with the Jang (ljang) has its counterpart in the popular legend in which Ge-sar is fighting the giant demon of Byang. (*See* J. F. Rock, "The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo," etc., in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. VII, pp. 35, 48–49: also "Studies in Na-khi Literature I," in *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII, pp. 26 and 37.) The word byang denotes the North: Byang-thang are the grassy or undulating plains of North Tibet. A. H. Francke, in *Der Wintermythus der Kesarsage* (1902). p. II, states that. strange to say, the word byang = north is pronounced jang in lower Ladakh. The celebrated legend of Ge-sar's war with the Jang, Francke, believes to be identical with Ge-sar's popular combat with the demon (giant) of Byang. This combat has its counterpart in the Dto-mba Shi-lo legend where he encounters the giant demon Dtu-ndĕr-tkhyu-bpa-la-llü, the Tibetan bDud-khyab-pa-lag-ring. Rolf Stein a student of Ge-sar legends informed me that he found the word *byang* for the *Jang* (Mo-so) only in one passage, *i.e.* in the Ge-sar Ms. c. Roerich.

The Na-khi, as has been proved by their voluminous literature which I have translated. have much in common with the people of N. W. Tibet. It

fourth century of our era. Sa-tham must have lived at the same time. This particular Tibetan period is, however, not reckoned as a trustworthy historic one. Real Tibetan history does not begin until about the eleventh century A.D. The dates of the birth of the above king vary with various authors. Sarat Chandra Das gives 441 and his name as Lha Tho-tho-ri nyen-tsen (gnyan-btsan); Schlagintweit in his "*Die Koenige von Tibet*, p. 806, gives the name as Lha-tho-tho-ri-snyen-bshal and the year 463 as the first of his reign. Waddell, in his *Buddhism of Tibet* (*Lamaism*), p. 18, states: "Tibet emerges from barbaric darkness only with the dawn of its Buddhism, in the seventh century of our era." Ge-sar, after all, seems to be a mythical character and so perhaps is Sa-tham, and it is very likely that their legends date much farther back than the third or fourth century of our era. It is thus very probable that the Ch'iang 羌, of which the Na-khi are a branch, brought the Sa-tham legend with them south during their great migration. The name Sa-tham (written in Chinese, San-t'an 三耽), according to the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, was applied to Li-chiang during the Sung dynasty (960–1126). In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) it is stated that the Na-khi chief Mai-liang 麥良, also called A-liang 阿良, was made the San-t'an Kuan-ming-kuan 三耽管民官. In the same work it also states that San-t'an was the ancient name for Li-chiang and that the P'u-hsieh tribe dwelled there.

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may also be possible that the Chinese Ch'iang 羌, a formerly large tribe of which the Na-khi are a branch, are identical with the Jang of the Tibetans. That Sa-tham is looked upon as a warrior spirit by the Na-khi can be gained from the texts found engraved on stones in his temple at the foot of the Li-chiang snow range, of which translations are here given.

I do not agree with Madam Alexandra David Neel[20] that Sa-tham once ruled over the place which to-day bears his name, but that, as already remarked, the story of Sa-tham was brought by the Na-khi to Li-chiang and his name given to the town afterwards. The legend relates that his *spirit* descended from the land of Gya-aw-dü (the Gya-de of the Tibetans). That is as much as to say that the Na-khi brought the name of Sa-ddo, of their legends, with them to their new home.

North of the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村) there is situated at the foot of the snow range a temple dedicated to the god or spirit of the range, Sa-ddo (PLATE 61). The temple, which was constructed during the T'ang dynasty (618–913), actually by the Nan-chao King I-mou-hsün between 784 and 785, is known as the Pei-yo Miao 北嶽廟 (Temple of the North sacred Mountain). Tradition relates that there were three brothers, who came originally from the region of Gyi-aw-dü, the Chinese Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[21] The spirit of Sa-ddo, the youngest, called Sa-tham by the Tibetans who know Li-chiang only by that name, was said to have lived on the western slopes of the range, among the cliffs and crags of Gko-zo-lo. His eldest brother, Aw-wùa-wùa (A-wu-wùa) dwelled in a cave also on the western slope, now known as T'ai-tzu tung 太子洞. His second brother was called La-gkyi-la-khü and dwelled on a black mountain called Na-ngyu-wùa in La-shih-pa 刺是壩, to the west of Li-chiang (*see* Chapter VI, 7, on T'ai-tzu tung). Of the history or legends of his two brothers nothing is apparently known, for I could find no mention of them in Chinese records, and what has been related of them above I have received from old Na-khi peasants by word of mouth.

The Na-khi Sa-ddo is a national hero on whom emperors have conferred titles.

The Pei-yo Temple manuscript. — In the Pei-yo Temple is preserved a manuscript which tells of the legends of Sa-ddo, which I translate here in full. The legends are followed by numerous prayers to the spirit of Sa-ddo and laudatory expressions. He is called the creator of the universe, the defender of peace, protector against calamities such as fires, floods, plagues and wars. He is eulogized by saying that his power is as high as Heaven, his light shines like lightning, his mouth spits fire, and his appearance is as white as snow. His

[20] *The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling* (1933), p. 230, footnote 1. The places she mentions are actually in Yün-nan and not situated north of the present Chinese province of Yün-nan.

[21] This is the Tibetan rGya-sde ཀྲ་སྡེ. It comprises the central part of Eastern Tibet. The limits of this country are given as a broad band of 60 miles from north to south, stretching eastward from East Nagchhukha, in longitude 92° 40′, to the western confines of the principality of Chha-mdo (Chhab-mdo), *circa* longitude 96° 25′ E. By far the major portion of the people within the region profess the Bön creed. The Gya-de tribes are also called Khyung-po-pa, mainly because one of their deities is the Khyung (Garuḍa). In the Na-khi religion the Garuḍa plays an important role, he is called by them T'khyu, or Dtu-p'ĕr Khyu-t'khyu, that is, "the Khyu-t'khyu as white as a conch."

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173 appetite is such that he can consume three animals daily. Many years ago a fire laid waste the temple of Sa-ddo and the clay figure (PLATE 62) representing Sa-ddo was damaged. Embedded in the clay figure was found a manuscript, only parts of which were decipherable; these were copied and kept by the caretaker of the temple. Excerpts of this manuscript were printed in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* (1743) Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b. It represents part of the legend and historical notes entitled:

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE ESTEEMED PRAYERS OF THE GREAT SACRED SNOWY STONE OF THE PEI-YO TEMPLE, ON WHICH WAS CONFERRED BY IMPERIAL DECREE THE HONORARY TITLE OF *TING-KUO AN-PANG-CHING-TI* 定國安邦敬帝 (AUSPICIOUS GOD OF NATIONAL PEACE)

"In the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung 代宗 and the period Ta-li 大曆 (766–779) of the T'ang dynasty, I-mou-hsün, appointed by Imperial order king of the Nan-chao Kingdom, conferred on thee the most respectful title of *Ta-sheng Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖北嶽定國安邦敬帝 (Great sacred Pei-yo, auspicious god of national peace).[22] Originally, thy spirit descended to us from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti 加寬地.[23] Thy body was covered with white armour; thy head wore a white helmet; thy hand held a white spear; beneath thy feet thou didst ride a white horse. Thou camest from the north-west direction. On arrival at the border of our district, thy behavior was quite unusual. At that time there lived a king, to whom thou didst say, 'You should offer sacrifice to me, and you will then be greatly benefited by it. However, every day I require a sacrifice of three animals.'

"That king did as he was bidden, but no benefit came to him. His wife privately murmured, saying, 'Since this man came to our kingdom, all our cattle are being consumed. Now we see nothing good has happened to us. What profit have we obtained by offering sacrifice to him?' Meanwhile, the god appeared to the king, and said, 'Your family worships me, and I intended that half the kings of the whole world should reverence you as their king. Why have you murmured, and said that all your cattle were going to be consumed? Now I am going back to Yü-lung Shan. All the cattle and the paper money you have offered to me, will be returned to you with honor.' After so saying, he disappeared like a whirlwind. All the animals and paper money, which the king had offered to him, were returned in their original condition, and were

[22] In the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 下, ch. 6, fol. 46b, it states that when Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Mongol dynasty (Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈, or Kublai Khan) attacked Ta-li coming from Li-chiang, he conferred on the white rock which represents the god or spirit Sa-ddo the name of *Hsüeh-shih Pei-yo an-pang-ching-ti* 雪石北嶽安邦敬帝.

[23] Chia-k'uan-ti is the Chinese transcription of the Na-khi name, Gya-aw-dü. A literal translation of the name means "water collect land," the word *gya* really standing for *gyi*, water. The character 加 is read by the Na-khi, *gya* or *gyu*, and is always used in transcribing such syllables in Na-khi names. The character *k'uan* has been selected not for its phonetic value, but for its meaning, of vast, spacious, truly descriptive of the region. The Tibetans call it the Gya-de, according to SARAT CHANDRA DAS (*Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, p. 205), which extends from the high road of Nagchhukha to Hsi-ning 西寧 in Kan-su. (*See* note 21, page 193.)

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even multiplied tenfold. All the people were much surprised at this, and none of them could explain its meaning. Thenceforth that kingdom became weaker day by day. Its people then began to understand that the stranger was a god, and they realized that their repentance came too late.

"In the meantime, the same stranger appeared in a dream to Mai-tsung 麥琮[34] and said, 'Mai-tsung, Mai-tsung, my name is San-to 三多 [Sa-ddo, Sa-tham]. I was originally the spirit of the northern regions. I come from the land of Chia-k'uan-ti for the purpose of helping you in your battles. You are an upright southerner and have expressed your sincere desire to benefit your kingdom. Whenever you go to battle, I shall come to help you. Don't be double-minded.' After saying these words, he changed himself into a white musk-deer, and was gone like a whirlwind.

"Thenceforth, every time that Mai-tsung was on the battlefield, there appeared suddenly a man. of stalwart demeanor, who was dressed in white armour, wore a white helmet, held a white spear in his hand, and. mounted on a white horse, rushed furiously in the front line of battle. When the fighting was crowned with victory, there would come a whirlwind, and a great rain-storm, casting so deep a shadow over the whole land that nothing could be seen. Later on, the same man would occasionally appear in the magistrate's yamen, and secretly assist Mai-tsung.

"Again, at certain times there appeared and disappeared a white musk-deer in the valleys of the Yü-lung Shan. When Mai-tsung went hunting, he saw it, and would let his hunting dogs fly after it. They would chase it till the midday meal, when it would disappear, and nothing more would be seen of it. This happened repeatedly. The musk-deer could be neither caught or trapped, nor could its track be discovered. However, one day his hounds stopped and surrounded a white stone, which surprised all the people very much, and they wondered. They then lifted this white stone on to their backs, but it was as light as paper. However, half-way down the mountain, they put it on the ground, and rested a little while. Afterwards, they found that it suddenly had become as heavy as 1,000 catties, and they could not move it at all. Meanwhile, they took some rice and garlic out of their travelling-bags, and offered it as a sacrifice to the stone, and prayed saying, 'Here is not the right place for a spirit to stay. We wish your weight would become light again.' It then actually became as light as before. Once more they carried it on their backs to the place where the present temple has been built, and there it again became so heavy that nobody could lift it.

"After the temple was completed, the Mu family became very prosperous; their territory became very extensive; all tribes turned in allegiance to them; all people were content with their lot. So numerous were the sacrifices to this rock that there was no moment when offerings were not being made. During the time when Kublai Khan, the Emperor Shih Tsu 世祖 of the Yüan dynasty, personally led his troops to conquer Ta-li, the spirit of this white rock often came to help him in battle, therefore he conferred on it by an Imperial order the honorary title of *Ta-sheng hsüeh-shih Pei-yo ting-kuo an-pang-ching-ti* 大聖雪石北嶽定國安邦景帝.

[34] Mai-tsung is identical with Mou-pao A-tsung, second of the Na-khi chiefs, who ruled in Li-chiang during the reign of the Emperor Li Tsung 理宗 (1225–1264).

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346 782 173 *The Pei-yo Temple.* — The Pei-yo Temple is of Chinese architecture, with nothing to distinguish it from other temples. Over the main entrance are four large wooden tablets with the following characters engraved on them: En P'u San-to 恩溥三多 = Gracious all-pervading San-to (Sa-ddo). The characters were written by the Na-khi calligrapher Huang Ch'i-hsi 黃耆熙 a native of Pai-sha-kai. The building is in bad repair, and often Tibetan families live in its spacious but ruined courts. In the main court is a huge bronze incense-burner (presented by the Mu family in the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1619), in which worshippers burn pieces of juniper wood as offerings to Sa-ddo. The main figure in the central shrine, behind a screen, is a sitting statue of Sa-ddo with a black beard, very much like some of the Chinese gods; the two female figures represent: on his left his wife, on his right his concubine (PLATE 62). Over the central shrine are two *pien-lien* 匾聯 or horizontal inscriptions tablet. The upper one reads: Yu-hsien fu-te 佑賢輔德 (Show favor to the worthy and aid the virtuous). The lower one bears only two characters Hsüeh-liang 雪亮 (Bright as snow). To the left of the central altar on which Sa-ddo sits enthroned stands a square, box-like shrine, black with age and soot. In it is the figure of a hunter, Aw-bpu gkaw-dti by name. His aspect is that of a fierce dog charging, upright, but with body bent forward and wearing a spiked helmet. Tradition relates that it was he who carried from the mountain the white stone, on which the figure of Sa-ddo now sits.

After bad dreams people will come before Aw-bpu gkaw-dti's shrine and, prostrating themselves, beseech him not to send such dreams — although a good look at the figure in the black shrine is enough in itself to cause them, so fierce and ferocious is its expression. He is said to have been Mai-tsung's hunter. He was a native of Dü-gkv mbe-gkyi, a small Na-khi hamlet to the south-west of Dü-gkv, at the foot of the southern spur of the snow range. His descendants used to take care of the temple until recently, when they were barred by the Mu family, who listened to slander spread by bad elements of Dü-gkv village.

173 In the two lateral buildings flanking the outer court, embedded in the crumbling walls, are two marble stones, one dating back to 1535 and inscribed by the Na-khi chief Mu Kung (1494–1553), the other to 1748, giving an account of the miraculous deeds and apparition of Sa-ddo.

The first memorial stone. — This stone (dated 1535) reads as follows:

"Record of rebuilding temple of Pei-yo, the North sacred Mountain.

"The North sacred Mountain is another name for the Jade-dragon, the snow mountain. This majestic snow mountain is a great spectacle to the whole of Yün-nan. Its spirit or vapor is godly. When the vapor is clear, the spirit manifests itself supernaturally. When the spirit is miraculous, the people become heroic. Now our Mu family has hereditarily guarded Li-chiang. Is this not due to the endowment of the sacred mountain and the nourishment of the spirit? Oh! Glorious is the sacred mountain! It is covered with snow throughout the four seasons and stands like a piece of jade 10,000 jen 萬仞 high. Is this not a spectacle for the whole of Yün-nan to look at?

"In the 14th year of the period Ta-li 大曆 of Tai Tsung 代宗 of the great

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T'ang dynasty (779), I-mou-hsün [25] removed to the town of Yang-chien-chü 羊險苴 [26] and changed the name of the year to Shang-yüan. It was not until the latter part of the Ming dynasty that the name of Pei-yo (North sacred Mountain) was bestowed on the Jade-dragon. He is prayed to under the name of 'Auspicious god spirit of Yo.' 193

"Therefore a temple was built at the foot of the mountain. When the chiefs, officials, and peasants humbly worshipped in the temple, the god was always efficacious and answered every prayer. The temple stood majestically, its hall high and deep, in a dense forest, striking awe in everybody who beheld it. All people made obeisance to the god. In the year *i-wei* 乙未 of Chia-ching of the Ming dynasty (1535), our prefect Mu Kung, having perceived a supernatural vision, engaged workmen to rebuild the temple, making everything look as new. This was only achieved through the devoted sincerety of our Prince.

"Oh! sacred god! Bless our people, defend our territory and protect the descendants of the Mu family for hundreds of thousands of years, so that they may continue to worship thee just as we do in the present day.[27]

"Written on an Auspicious Day in the Spring,

By the Prefect Mu Kung" [28]

The second memorial stone. — This stone, dating from 1748, is entitled: Tablet recording the dedication of sacrificial fields of the Pei-yo Temple:

"The snow mountain stands straight through the clouds. [Clothed] with perpetual snow, it is the most wonderful view in Yün-nan. It is well known that this mountain has been miraculous. Since the name Pei-yo was conferred upon it by the Yüan dynasty, the border region has been glorified by the presence of another Heng Shan 恆山 [the author means the North sacred mountain of Shansi]. In the Ming dynasty the Mu family was appointed by the Throne as hereditary lords of the land, to guard this territory and to be responsible for the offering of sacrifices in the temple in recognition of military exploits. It is traceable from tradition that the power of the god was often relied upon in the defense and development of the territory. The present

[25] I-mou-hsün the sixth ruler of the Nan-chao Kingdom, ascended the throne at the age of 24 in the 13th year of Ta-li (778) and the following year changed the title of his reign to Chien-lung 見龍 and afterwards to Shang-yüan 上元. The inscription states that this happened in the 14th year of Tai Tsung; now the 14th year of Ta-li commenced on January 22nd, 779, and did not end until February 12th, 780; so it is possible, as no definite date is given, that it could have been in the beginning of 780. His capital was the present Ta-li.

[26] This is synonymous with Yang-chü-mieh 羊苴咩 and Yang-chien, which is the present Ta-li.

[27] It was the custom, even to the present time, for the ruling T'u-ssu (chief) of the Na-khi to come to the Pei-yo Temple on the 8th day of the second moon to worship Sa-ddo. In olden days when the Na-khi chiefs were the native prefects of Li-chiang, and they came to the temple to worship, none of the peasants were allowed to remain in the neighborhood, still less in the temple. It is believed that Sa-ddo was born in the sheep year, and so on a sheep day in the second moon the Na-khi peasants flock to the temple by the thousand. Much wine is drunk and many brawls ensue, as gambling takes place on that day.

[28] He was born in 1494, began his rule in 1527 and died in 1553.

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M3 Emperor made the frontier region a cultured place, and changed the tribes-people to a cultured race. Just and upright officials followed one another. A city wall and offices were built, farming and planting of mulberry trees were encouraged. If rain impeded work, or a drought brought hardship on the farmers, the god was always beneficent whenever prayers were offered. A rule was therefore made to sacrifice to him in the spring and autumn in token of the people's indebtedness to the deity.

"I am a mediocre and rustic native. In the reign of K'ang-hsi, in the winter of *chi-hai* 己亥 (1719), I was under orders of Governor Chiang 蔣 to lead the native troops and follow the vanguard of Lieutenant-general Wu Yung 伍雍 to Chung-tien to ascertain the condition of the road. In the year of *keng-tzu* 庚子 (1720), I was promoted to second captain. I led more than 500 native soldiers to follow Lieutenant-general Wu Wu 伍吳 in the western campaign and approached Lo-lung-tsung 洛龍宗. Then an Imperial decree was received to the effect that the insurgents be pacified along the highway between Ch'a-wa-kang 察瓦崗 [29] and Kung-pu 工布; that roads be built and that food supplies be escorted. Upon the return of the troops I had a boat-bridge made at the Mu-lu 木魯 ferry.

"In the spring of *chia-ch'en* 甲辰 (1724) of the reign of Yung-cheng, I was instructed by governor Kao 高 to lead the native troops to co-operate with Commander Ho 郝 in advancing westward as far as Chia-lang 甲浪,[30] whence we were ordered to proceed to Ch'a-wa-peng 察哇崩 [and] Ta-pa-shu 打巴樹 to deal with the rebels. After the rebel chieftain Chia-sung-weng 加松翁 and his followers were executed, I moved back to Ch'a-mu-tao 查木道.[31] In the autumn of the year *i-ssu* 乙巳 (1725), I was promoted garrison commander

[29] Lo-lung-tsung 洛隆(龍)宗 (in Tibetan Lho Dzong ལྷོ་རྫོང་ or Lho-rong Dzong ལྷོ་རོང་) is the farthest west that Ho Kuo-chu, our tribal captain, penetrated with his Na-khi troops. It is on the main highway to Lha-sa from Chha-mdo (Ch'ang-tu 昌都) and west and south of the Salween (the Salween flows here east and then south). Ch'a-wa-kang is to the east of Lo-lung-tsung 730 li distant. From A-tun-tzu in the extreme north-west of Yün-nan to Ch'a-wa-kang is a distance of 1,188 li.

The territory of Kung-pu is south-east of Chiang-ta 江達, the present T'ai-chao 太昭. It is under the control of a T'u-ssu (chief) and is west of the old Tibet — Hsi-k'ang border, and north of the Ya-ru-tsang-po (Ya-ru-gtsang-po), the Chinese Ya-lu-tsang-pu Chiang 雅魯藏布江, which becomes the Brahmaputra.

The Mu-lu ferry our captain mentions is identical with the Mu-lung 木龍 of the maps. It is on the left bank of the O-i River 喔宜阿, the Ui Chhu (written Dbui Chhu) of the Tibetans, a tributary of the Salween in the south-easternmost province of Tibet, Tsha-wa-rong ཚ་བ་རོང་.

[30] The *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, fols. 117b–119a, gives the stages from A-tun-tzu to Ch'a-wa-kang: A-tun-tzu to Mereshü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), 160 li; thence to Chia-lang, 230 li; thence to Pi-t'u 必兔, 120 li, and to Ch'a-wa-kang, 678 li, a total of 1,188 li. One road leads from Chung-tien, Yün-nan, to Tibet via Peng-tzu-lan, Ch'a-wa-peng and Lo-lung-tsung.

[31] Ch'a-mu-tao is identical with Ch'a-mu-to 察木多, or Ch'ang-tu 昌都 [its ancient names were K'o-mu 喀木 and K'ang 康], the Tibetan Chhab-mdo (Confluence of [two] waters). It is situated in the triangle formed by the two branches of the Mekong; the eastern branch is called Tsa-ch'u Ho 雜楚阿, and the western branch Ang-ch'u Ho 昂楚阿, the word *ho* (stream) is superfluous, for the word *ch'u* is equivalent to *chhu*, the Tibetan for river. They are the Dza Chhu and Ngom Chhu of the Tibetans, the former being the real Mekong and the latter a tributary. South of the confluence, in Yün-nan, the river is called La Chhu.

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and had charge of the regular troops. I had hardly withdrawn the troops when the governor's order again came in *ping-wu* 丙午 (1726) that I lead troops to follow Brigadier-general Nan 南 in taking up the garrison post at Ch'a-mu-tao. We did not return until the summer of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (1729). 173

"In the autumn of the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 (1730), Governor Ngo [O] 鄂 started a campaign to extirpate the insurgent Lo 猓 [Lo-lo] of Wu-tung 烏東 [Wu-meng (Chao-t'ung) and Tung-ch'uan are meant], and I was again ordered to coöperate with Commander Chang 張 at Tung-ch'uan and to recapture Ch'iao-chia 巧家.[32] We pursued the rebels to the Niu-lan Chiang 牛欄江,[33] where we built a bridge and crossed at night. We reached Wu-meng 烏蒙[34] and Lu-tien[35] 魯甸 and captured the rebel chief Weng Chü-tsu 翁宜卒 and others. After that our troops were stationed at Tung-ch'uan until the spring of *hsin-hai* 辛亥 (1731), when we returned.

"During the autumn of the year *jen-tsu* 壬子 (1732), Governor Kao ordered me to lead the native troops to follow Brigadier-general Yang 楊 to proceed to Hsin-p'ing 新平[36] to capture fortresses. We searched the mountains and fought the rebels at Man-kan-pa 漫干壩[37] and defeated them. In the winter I was again ordered to mobilize troops to coöperate with Major Ha 哈 in marching down to Ssu-mao 思茅 and Pu-erh 普洱.[38] We advanced to Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江[39] and attacked Meng-lieh 猛烈[40] and La-tsung 腊縱. We at last captured the lairs of the robbers. It was not until the autumn of the next year that we returned in triumph.

"Now, incompetent as I am, I have been frequently cited for military exploits in the South-west. These could not have been accomplished had it not been for the prestige of the country and the bravery of the tribal troops. When we slept during snowy nights, using our spears for pillows, or when we attacked fortresses on a malarial river, the god was said to have appeared at our

[32] Tung-ch'uan is in eastern Yün-nan and Ch'iao-chia in the Tung-ch'uan district, is situated on the east bank of the Yangtze which here forms the border between Yün-nan and Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, the independent Lo-lo country in Ssu-ch'uan.

[33] The Niu-lan Chiang forms the border between the Tung-ch'uan and Chao-t'ung magistracies in eastern Yün-nan. The river has its source near Yang-lin 楊林 and flows into the Yangtze near Hsiao-niu-lan 小牛攔.

[34] Wu-meng is the present Chao-t'ung. It was thus called in the T'ang dynasty (618–906) and was inhabited by Man or Lo-lo tribespeople. In the Ming dynasty it was called Wu-meng fu and belonged to Ssu-ch'uan. It became Yün-nan territory in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) and became known as Chao-t'ung in the ninth year (1731).

[35] Lu-tien is south-west of Chao-t'ung, near a small lake called Ma-ch'ang Hai 馬廠海.

[36] Hsin-p'ing is directly north of Yüan-chiang 元江, south-west of K'un-ming.

[37] Man-kan-pa, also called Man-kan, is north-west of Hsin-p'ing between two spurs of the Ch'e-ts'ung Mountains 徹樅山.

[38] Ssu-mao and Pu-erh are two stages apart in the southern part of Yün-nan.

[39] Chiu-lung-chiang is equivalent to Ch'e-li 車里, inhabited by Tai or Shan people on the Mekong in the Hsip-song-pa-na near the Burmese border.

[40] Meng-lieh is on the Mekong, but in Burmese territory and north of Meng (Muang) Hsing in French Laos.

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173 critical moments, in the form of white horses, and sometimes to have assisted us with supernatural banners and soldiers. There were countless occasions when the god manifested his miraculous power. When we fought the rebels close to their lairs at La-tsung, they tried to assail our camps at night. They said themselves that they were prevented from approaching our camps by a a god with a long beard and round eyes, leading ferocious beasts around the camps.

"There were many Chinese as well as tribal soldiers in our ranks who also saw the miracle. They unanimously realize that it was the appearance of the god of the sacred mountain. I am further convinced that what I had heard was not inaccurate after all.

"When the heavenly soldiers saved our people from floods and drought, there was already established the practice of regular worship in the temple. I myself have been sheltered on numerous occasions, so how can I forget the kindness of the god? I therefore dedicate to him two fields adjacent to the temple. The fields are situated in Shan-jen-li 山人里 [41] bordering on K'ai-mai 開買 [42] on the east, the field of Ho Ts'e-pao 和册寶 [Ho-mbö-bo is the Na-khi name] on the south, and to the rear of the field of Ho Pao-shan 和寶山 on the north-west. Every year the amount of 0.034 silver taels shall be paid to the priest Ho Ti-chu 和地住 [this is a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ho-ddü-dzu] of the temple. The fields shall be cultivated and the proceeds therefrom shall be spent in keeping lamps (lighted) in the temple. In this way the illustrious virtue of the god may be perpetuated with the snow mountain.

"Written on an auspicious day in the spring in the 13th year of *mou-ch'en* 戊辰 in the reign of Ch'ien-lung of the Great Ch'ing dynasty (1748)."

> "Reverently written by Ho Kuo-chu 和國柱, of the Prefecture of Li-chiang, second captain of the tribal troops, promoted one rank for meritorious military services and with two Records of Merit."

This translation shows how far the Na-khi troops were sent under their officers to fight, not only in the snow mountains of Tibet, but also in the malarial regions of Burma, and in the eastern and southern-most parts of Yünnan.

[41] The words Shan-jen-li are a transcription of the Na-khi name, Ssaw-zhi-llü.

[42] This is a transcription of the Na-khi words, K'a man = the tail-end of the ravine.

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CHAPTER III

Lamaseries and Buddhist Temples of Li-chiang

1. The Karma-pa Sect and its Hierarchs

The Karma-pa, a sub-sect of the Kargyu-pa, founded about the middle of the twelfth century, look upon rDo-rje hChhang as their supreme deity. He is regarded as a reflex of Buddha himself. He is the metamorphosis of Indra and is called Vajradhara in Sanskrit. Directly inspired by rDo-rje hChhang was Ti-lo-pa (Tai-lo-pa), who had Nā-ro-pa as disciple. Thence followed Mar-pa, who was the teacher of the famous Mi-la (Mi-la-ras-pa, pronounced Mi-la-re-pa), the Cotton-clad. Mar-pa was born in 1010 (Bacot in *La Vie de Marpa*, p. 2, n. 1, gives 993 as the year of his birth and 1081 as that of his death); Mi-la-re-pa was born in 1038 and died in 1122.

His disciple was Dwags-po. This latter's disciple was Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa who became the actual founder of the Karma-pa sect. He was born in 1109 and died in 1192.

There have been 15 incarnations, including the present one, of Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (pronounced Dü-sum khyen-pa).

Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's disciple was hGro-mgon Ras-chhen; the latter's disciple was sPun-brag-pa.

The first incarnation but second head of the Karma-pa sect was Karma-pa-zhi (1203–1282); he was invited by Kublai Khan to China. His disciple was mKhas-grub U-rgyan-pa (the abbot writes A-rgyan-pa.)

The second incarnation was Rang-byung rDo-rje (1283–1338); he was the third head of the Karma-pa Church. He was invited to Peking by the Emperor Tohan Timur, Shun Ti 順帝, or Hui Tsung 惠宗 (1333–1367). The third incarnation was Rol-pai rDo-rje (1339–1382); he was the fourth head; the fifth head (fourth incarnation) was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1383–1415); in the abbot's list he is called De-bzhin-shes-pa; he was invited to China by the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 (Yung-lo 1403–1424); the sixth head was mTshong-wa Don-ldan; the seventh head Chhos-grags-rGya-mtsho; the eighth Rang-byung mTsho-skyes; the ninth Mi-bskyod rDo-rje; the tenth Chhos dbyings rDo-rje; the eleventh Ye-shes rDo-rje; the twelfth Byang-chhub rDo-rje; the thirteenth bDun-bdul rDo-rje; the fourteenth Theg-mchhog rDo-rje and the fifteenth mKhah-khyab rDo-rje.

The sixteenth head but fifteenth incarnation of Dü-sum Khyen-pa was found nearly a decade ago. His name is Rod-pas rDo-rje[1] pronounced Rö-pe-dor-je.

[1] རོད་པས་རྡོ་རྗེ

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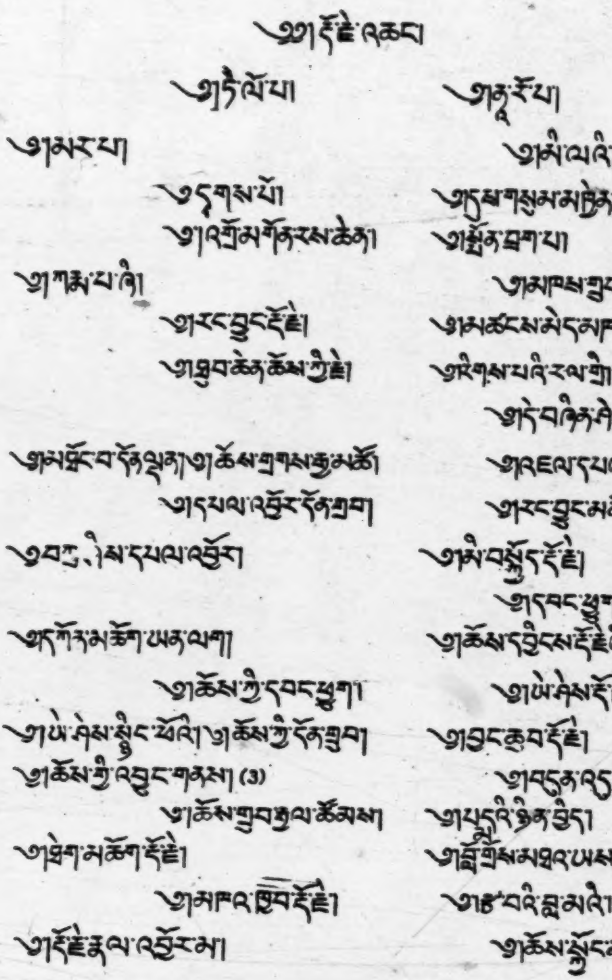
795 Herewith is the succession tree of the Karma-pa hierarchs, including 14 incarnations as given to me by the abbot of the Yü-feng Ssu 玉峯寺 Karma-pa Lamasery of Li-chiang.[2]



[2] The list must be read from left to right; all names not occurring among those of the sixteen hierarchs are those of their disciples. The final syllable *hi* is not part of the name, but represents the genitive.

[3] Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas, he was the Guru Karma-pa who came to Li-chiang; *see* p. 204.

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2. TWO FAMOUS GURU

In the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* 維西聞見錄[4] we are told that, "There are 13 different sects of the Red Lama Church [Hung-chiao la-ma 紅教喇嘛] and that of these only one is to be found in Wei-hsi,[5] namely, the Ko-ma 格馬 (Karma-pa) sect. This latter sect has five heads, or chief lamas, who are known as the Wu-pao 五寶 (Five treasures). They are reborn in Tibetan territory through successive transmigrations; in all more than ten generations now have appeared without danger of extinction.[6] They are thus called Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddhas)." There are in Wei-hsi five monasteries composed of 800 Red sect lamas, who adhere to the rules of the Ko-ma Ssu-pao la-ma 格馬四寶喇嘛 (Lama of the four treasures of the Karma-pa sect). We read further that "the adherents of the Karma-pa sect are mainly Mo-so. Among them strife becomes daily more common, as the Yellow lamas oppress them considerably. . . ." During the Ming dynasty it was the Red lamas who oppressed the Yellow.[7]

La-ma Shan-chih-shih. — In the same work we read (fol. 14b) about Shan-chih-shih 善知識 lama, who was a *Kao ti-tzu* 高弟子 (Exalted disciple or Sthavira) of the Karma-pa Ssu-pao lama. His previous births and incarnations, however, are not known. He was born in the year *chi mao* 己卯 of the Ch'ien-lung period (1759) in the village of Liu-ts'un 六村 in the family of the Mo-so interpreter, Wang Yung-shan 王永善. Before his birth the wife of Wang Yung-shan dreamed that the brightness of the sun illuminated her chest, the warmth so penetrating that she could not be awakened. Afterwards Shan-chih-shih was born. His appearance was remarkably beautiful and had no resemblance to a Mo-so. When he sat down on the ground he crossed his legs Buddha-fashion; he could also speak, and he said to his mother, "The ancient homeland of your son is cold, but it produces apricots, raisins and *p'u-lu* [the red woolen cloth woven by the Tibetans]. I cannot offer you anything now to mark this rebirth which I owe to you, my mother, but after a few years I shall be able to make you rich." His mother understood nothing of this discourse. In the year *ting hai* 丁亥 of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1767), the Ssu-pao lama ordered a number of lamas to take with them gold, silver, horses and mules to the value of 700 (oz.) of gold, and travel to the home of Wang Yung-shan.

[4] The *Wei-hsi Wen-chien lu* is to be found in the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備徵志 of which it forms the 18th chapter. The part concerning the lama sects occurring in Yün-nan is to be found also in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 204, *Nan-man chih* 南蠻志 and *Chung-jen* 種人, 6, fols. 13a–19a.

[5] This lama sect has also settled in Li-chiang and other parts of western Yün-nan.

[6] This was written about 1769, as the author, Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, resided at that time in the yamen of Wei-hsi during his elder brother's incumbency as ruler of that district.

[7] In one of a set of six Chinese illustrated tribal albums in my library there is one plate representing the Hsi-tsang Ta-pao with the following statement: "In Tibet there are the Ta-pao, Erh-pao and San-pao who are Huo-fu (Living Buddhas). Out-side Tibet are the Ssu- and Wu-pao lamas."

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795 When Shan-chih-shih saw them coming for the purpose of paying their respects to him he was overjoyed. The ancient utensils which had served him in his previous existence he selected from among other objects absolutely identical and with which they had been mixed. When the Mo-so peasants of the village of Liu-ts'un became aware of this they all came, hat in hand, to pay him reverence. Shan-chih-shih, sitting cross-legged, Buddha-fashion, placed his hands on the heads of those who came to worship him. He understood and conformed to all the rules. His father, Wang Yung-shan, accompanied him on his journey to Tibet. At every stage of the route, although he had never passed that way previously, Shan-chih-shih always could describe in advance the aspects of the mountains and rivers.

Shan-chih-shih is not the personal name of this lama, but translated into Chinese it signifies the degree of his personal nature, namely: Perfect knowledge.

Guru Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas. — Much venerated by the Li-chiang Karma-pa lamas is a certain Gūru of the Karma-pa sect who, four generations back, came to Li-chiang (PLATE 63). To this day places are still pointed out where he rested during his journey, and in a cave in Yung-ning territory (*see* p. 396) his staff is still shown wedged in the rocks of the ceiling. His Tibetan appellation is Chhos-kyi hByung-gnas.[8] There were three incarnations of this saint, and they are known by the following names: Pad-ma Nyin-byed,[9] Pad-ma Kun-bzang[10] and Pad-ma dWang-chhen.[11] The latter is still alive and resides in the lamasery called dPal-po gling[12] in Dege sDe-dge),[13] the Chinese Te-ko 德革.

3. THE FIVE KARMA-PA LAMASERIES AND SMALLER TEMPLES

771 It may be said that the Na-khi are unreligious rather than irreligious, yet at the same time they are exceedingly superstitious. While this is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding their ancient religion, the pre-Buddhistic Shamanism, which has survived among them in all its ancient purity, yet it must be remarked in connection with the history of the Karma-pa sect in Li-chiang, that the Na-khi are adherents of none of the various religious sects which have tried to obtain a foothold in Li-chiang, and this is also true for the Christian religion. Religion is with them a matter of outward behavior or "face," rather than an inward conviction. At marriages, where in former days native priests (sorcerers) officiated, to-day mostly Taoist ceremonies take their place. At funerals, lamas of the Karma-pa sect, as well as Chinese Buddhist priests, are employed. The ancient funeral ceremonies which were very elaborate are now seldom performed by the Na-khi of Li-chiang, but are still in vogue in the outlying districts, such as La-pao 剌寶, and elsewhere in the Yangtze valley where Na-khi exclusively are settled.

[764]

795 Some of the Na-khi clans, like the Lü-khi of Yung-ning 永寧, are adherents of the Gelug-pa (Yellow reformed lama sect), while those of the Tso-so territory in Ssu-ch'uan are adherents of a now much degenerated Bön lamaism.

8 ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས 9 བདམ་ཉེན་བྱེད 1 པདམ་ཀུན་བཟང 11 བདམ་དབང་ཆེན 12 དཔལ་པོ་གླིང 13 སྡེ་དགེ

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Among the Yung-ning Lü-khi, a very ancient form of Bön Shamanism, called by them *Nda-pa*, is still practiced. The priests wear similar head-dresses to those worn by the Dto-mba of Li-chiang, but, unlike the latter, they have no literature and all their prayers, etc., are chanted from memory. (PLATE 222). 795

The ancient religion of the Li-chiang Na-khi, and that of the Lü-khi or Hli-khin Nda pa of Yung-ning, will be treated in separate publications. We are here only concerned with Karma-pa lamaism, a late introduction into Li-chiang. Excepting the Na-khi who have become lamas, and live in the few lamaseries in the district, there are few if any followers among the lay population. It may be said that in Li-chiang they are in a decadent state and the number of lamas is constantly decreasing. In the Wei-hsi district are both sects, the Red Karma-pa, and the Yellow Gelug-pa (dge-lugs-pa); the former preponderates. In the Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) and Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌 lamaseries, the lamas who are adherents of the Yellow sect are nearly all Tibetans. It is in the Red or Karma-pa lamaseries of the Wei-hsi and Li-chiang districts that Na-khi lamas predominate.

In the Li-chiang district proper there are five Karma-pa lamaseries. In order of importance they are: 795 778

1. *Chieh-t'o-lin* 解脫林 (Monastery of Emancipation). — This lamasery is called in Tibetan, 'Og-min-rnam gling [14] (pronounced O-min-nam-ling). During the reign of the Ming Emperor Hsi Tsung 熹宗 (1621–1627) the name of Fu-kuo Ssu 福國寺 was bestowed on it by Emperor Hsi Tsung himself. The actual date of its founding is not known as it was once destroyed by fire and all records were burnt with it. It was said to have been rebuilt in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873) and that 53 years had elapsed between the fire and the rebuilding of the monastery.

Chieh-t'o-lin was originally founded by the 9th incarnation of Dü-sum-khyen-pa (Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa) whose name was Chhos-dbyings rDo-rje.[15] Dü-sum-khyen-pa himself, the founder of the Karma-pa sect, was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192.

Before the founding of the lamasery, the land on which it was built was the execution ground during the rule of the Mu chiefs; later a small Chinese Buddhist temple was built on the former execution ground. The Na-khi name of the place was Bbue-na-k'o, written in Chinese Pei-na-k'o 背拿課. Other names are Nao-tu-lin 腦獨林 and Wu-mei-nao-tu-lin 吾妹腦獨林 — the latter is the Chinese transcription of the Tibetan name. The monastery is beautifully situated on Chih Shan 芝山, called in Na-khi, Khyu-t'o-llü Ngyu (PLATE 64).

In the Ming dynasty the Ssu-pao 四寶 lama came from the Ta-pao 大寶 [16]

[14] འོག་མེན་རྣམ་གླིང་ [15] ཆོས་དབྱིངས་རྡོ་རྗེ

[16] Shortly after Kublai Khan ascended the throne, he invited the very scholarly and wise nephew and successor of Saskya Paṇḍita the famous hPags-pa-bLo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (born in 1234) to China. He wished to discuss with him the form of government of Tibet and also the conversion of the Mongols to the Lama Buddhist church. He thereupon appointed him as head of the entire clergy and bestowed on him the titles of King of the Law in the three realms, venerable Lama and Ta-pao fa-wang 大寶法王 = King of the great and precious law (Mahāratna-dharma-rāja). He is usually known in Chinese literature as

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795 778 of Wu-ssu-tsang 烏斯藏 (the name of Tibet during the Ming dynasty) to Chi-tsu Shan 雞足山 to worship. *En route* they passed through Li-chiang when the reigning Na-khi King extended a warm welcome to the Erh-pao 二寶 (Second precious one), who pointed out that Chih Shan was an excellent place on which to build a lamasery. Thereupon the Na-khi King presented the land to him. On his return journey he took with him six disciples to enter a school in Tibet. After their studies had been completed they returned to Li-chiang and established the Lama religion and built the lamasery. On a stone, set into the wall immediately beyond the main entrance to the principal temple, is engraved a detailed description of the mountain; every ridge, ravine and prominent rock is mentioned by name, but no definite date when the lamasery was built. The rock is dated T'ien-ch'i 天啓 *ting-mao* 丁卯 of the Ming dynasty, which corresponds to 1627. The temple was built by Mu Sheng-pai, whose official name was Mu Tseng. As he was born in 1587, took office in 1598 and died in 1646, the building of the temple must fall within the period 1598–1646 — in all probability in the early part of the seventeenth century. The *Yün-nan Hsü-t'ung-chih-kao* (Supplementary Topography of Yün-nan) does not give the date of its erection, but states that it was repaired in the eighth year of Kuang-hsü (1882) by the lamas. (*See Chih Shan*, page 184).

2. *Chih-yün Ssu* 指雲寺. — Called in Tibetan, Nges-don-phun-tshogs gling, pronounced Nge-dön-phün-tsho-ling,[17] (Lamasery of perfection and absolute knowledge of the truth). It must not be confused with the big lamasery called Phun-tshogs gling in Tsang Tibet, belonging to the Jonang-pa sect. It is situated on a mountain called Mo-tu Shan 秣度山, 20 li west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih 剌是, and was built in the fifth year of

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Pa-ssu-pa 八思巴. In the *Yüan Shih* (Mongol History) ch. 202, fol. 1b, he is called Ti-shih P'a-k'o-ssu-pa 帝師帕克斯巴 or Imperial Tutor P'a-k'o-ssu-pa. His biography is contained in the above-mentioned chapter. He received a jade seal from Kublai Khan who also appointed him Kuo-shih 國師 (Preceptor of the realm). He invented a new Mongol script of about 1,000 signs with 41 radicles. He died in the sixteenth year of the period Chi-yüan 至元 (1279).

While the first Ta-pao fa-wang was a Saskya Lama, the Ta-pao here in question was a Karma-pa Lama. It was in the year 1405 that the Ming Emperor Ch'eng Tsu (period Yung-lo) at a time when the reformer Tsong-kha-pa had already appeared, bestowed on a Karma-pa ecclesiastic the title of Ta-pao fa-wang and not on a Saskya Lama. The lama so honored on account of his sanctity was De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, the fifth head of the Karma-pa sect. He had been ordained in 1403 when in his twentieth year. The title was apparently inherited by the successive incarnations.

From the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* we learn that there are five heads of the Karma-pa sect known as the Wu-pao or the Five Treasures. They are reborn in Tibetan territory. All the lamaseries of Wei-hsi (*q.v.*) comprising about 800 lamas belong to the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect, *i.e.* are subject to the fourth of the Five Treasures.

The Ta-pao fa-wang hPhags-pa of the Saskya sect was a contemporary of the second head of the Karmapa sect namely Karma-pa-zhi whom historians commonly call Bakshi or Karma Bakshi. Both resided at Kublai Khan's court for a time. Thus hPhags-pa and Bakshi are two different persons. Karma-pa-zhi was the first incarnation of the founder of the Karma-pa sect Dü-sum Khyen-pa who built the first Karma-pa lamasery in 1154 north of Lhasa which is still the most powerful of that sect. Karma-pa-zhi established in the hills west of Lhasa a monastery called Tsor-pu-ling.

[17] དེས་དོན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གླིང་

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Yung-cheng (1727) under Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成.[18] He personally contributed money and became the patron for the collection of funds for the building by the lama Li Hsiang 立相 and others.

Teacher Wan Hsien-yen 萬咸燕[19] states that at the foot of a mountain south-west of La-shih li there was in ancient days a water spring which later became obstructed. A western lama from Mo-ka-t'o 摩迦陀 (Magadha, in southern Behār, the cradle of Buddhism down to 400 A.D.) sat down cross-legged by the spring, on a pile of sharp, conical rocks. He took a stick and poked into the empty well, and the water gushed forth. His footprints are said to be still there. The lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu was then built at that spot. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it was rebuilt by the lamas in the sixth year of Kuang-hsü (1880).

In the lamasery of Chih-yün Ssu there are two memorial stones, one dealing with the monastic rules of the lamasery, admonishing the lamas "to respect the old monks and to take care of them, not to drink liquor, to chant the classics morning and evening in the great chanting hall, and to behave well during the ceremonies. The crops of the fields belonging to the lamasery must not be given away to relatives of the lamas. The head of the lamasery must be obeyed and treated reverently. The aged and ill, the naked and hungry, must be cared for, healed, clothed and fed, while living; and when dead, they must be properly buried. The buildings of the lamasery must be well taken care of and repaired. The incense fires must be kept going, and the memory of the founder should be kept alive for ever."

This memorial stone is dated the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756). It also relates that the first lamasery built was Chieh-t'o-lin, and that during the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730),[20] the teacher of the law of the Four Treasures of the western land (Tibet) went to worship at Chi-tsu Shan, and passed *en route* through Li-chiang. He pointed out that in La-shih li 剌是里 in the grotto of Lo-shui-tung 落水硐 where the footprints of the patron saint of Magadha (Mo-ka-t'o) are preserved, there should be built a Buddhist temple

[18] He was a native of Chih-li 直隸, of the city of Ching-hai 靜海 in T'ien-ching 天津. He was a *lin-sheng* 廩生, or former salaried graduate of the first degree or *hsiu-ts'ai* 秀才. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) he became Commissioner of revenue of Yün-nan province.

[19] He was a native of Shih-p'ing 石屏 and held the degree of *chin-shih* 進士 (Metropolitan graduate). He was the fourth school teacher in Li-chiang, and assumed his post in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724). In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739), as he was deserving of special merit, he was promoted to become magistrate of Ching-yen 井研, Ssu-ch'uan.

[20] This date does not correspond with the one given both in the Li-chiang Records and in the Yün-nan Topography, where the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) is given as the date of the building of this lamasery. According to the memorial stones in Chih-yün Ssu, the Karma-pa lamas who passed through La-shih li on their way to Chi-tsu Shan in 1730 pointed out where the lamasery should be built; according to these latter records the lamasery was not built until several years afterwards by Li Hsiang. Which is the correct version is difficult to say, but I should trust the prefectural records rather than those of the monastery itself. As it is stated that the name Chih-yün Ssu was given by magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng, it must have been in the fifth year of Yung-cheng, as in the sixth year, that is, 1728, he was succeeded as magistrate by Feng Kuang-yü 馮光裕, according to the Li-chiang Records, Vol. 上, ch. 5, fol. 58a.

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795 778 for the protection of the country and the people. They recommended that silver to the value of over 700 ounces of gold should be collected for the purpose. The Buddhist priest Li Hsiang listened and obeyed and went to all parts of the country collecting funds. Several years afterwards the foundations were laid. Magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng then gave the temple the name of Chih-yün Ssu.

Another memorial stone in the lamasery refers to the fields belonging to the said temple. It also states that the King of the Law of the Four Treasures 四寶法王 gave 200 taels of silver to buy these fields. (They are mainly situated in the Yangtze valley between Shih-ku and Chü-tien.)

3. *Wen-feng Ssu* 文峯寺. — Also called Wen-feng yüan 院. Its Tibetan name is gSang-sngags-dgah-tshal gling [21] (Lamasery of Secret religious instruction and garden of happiness), pronounced Sang-nga-ga-tshe-ling. This lamasery is situated ten li south-west of Li-chiang at the foot of Wen-pi Shan 文筆山, called in Na-khi, Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv. In ancient days a temple called Ling-shou Ssu 靈壽寺 stood on the site, but later fell into ruins. In the eleventh year of Yung-cheng (1733), the Tibetan lama Ka-li-pu 噶立布 built a hut in that place. In the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739) the Ssu-pao la-ma 四寶喇嘛 of the Karma-pa sect came to Li-chiang to prostrate himself before magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣,[22] and to ask him for funds and to allow the priest Ming Chü 明具 to solicit contributions from all over the country for the building of the lamasery.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the lamasery was rebuilt in the seventh year of Kuang-hsü (1881).

There is a cave on Wen-pi Shan called Ling tung 靈洞 (Spiritual cave). It is related that the Karma-pa lamas crossed the Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze) three times in search of a beautiful place before they found the Ling tung, which they pronounced to be one of the 24 Ling tung of the Nan Chan-pu chou 南贍部洲 (Southern Jambudvīpa) or Southern Continent of the Universe situated south of Mount Meru — as the inhabited world is referred to by Buddhists.

4. *P'u-chi Ssu* 普濟寺 (Lamasery of Universal aid). — Its Tibetan name is Thăr-pai-lam-hdzin gling [23] (Lamasery of the Keeper of the road to salvation), pronounced Thăr-pai-lam-dzin ling.

Needless to say it also belongs to the Karma-pa sect and is located 13 li west of Li-chiang near the village of P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦, called in Na-khi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa, and a short distance south-west of the larger village of Shu-ho, in Na-khi Shwua-wùa.

This, and the monastery of Chieh-t'o-lin, were destroyed by soldiers during the Mohammedan rebellion, with the exception of the large gate to the latter monastery.

[21] གསང་སྔགས་དགའ་ཚལ་གླིང་

[22] He was a native of An-fu 安福 in Chiang-hsi. He became *chin-ssu* (Metropolitan graduate) in the year 1718, and in the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736) was appointed magistrate of Li-chiang.

[23] ཐར་པའི་ལམ་འཛིན་གླིང་

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The head lama of P'u-chi Ssu belonged to the Ho family 和氏 of P'u-chi village 普洪村. His name was Lo 羅. He was middle-aged when he became a lama. His nephew, also a lama, by name Tien 典, was greatly reverenced by the Ssu-pao lama of the Karma-pa sect. He was told that in his previous existence he was a Lo-han 羅漢 (Arhat), and that if it pleased him he should build the lamasery on the mountain, behind the village of P'u-chi. Many mendicant priests became his disciples. He died at the age of 80. After three years, the Ssu-pao lama said he would be reborn in the same family. Later lamas enquired and found the child. When he was six years old they brought him to P'u-chi Ssu. At the age of ten he was taken to Tibet to study the Tibetan classics while the priests looked carefully after him. When he had finished his studies he returned to P'u-chi Ssu and became its abbot.

Although no exact date of the building of P'u-chi Lamasery is recorded it must have been during the reign of Ch'ien-lung. Both the priest Lo and his nephew Tien studied at Fu-kuo Ssu in the beginning of Ch'ien-lung. Lo was asked by mendicant priests of the Ssu-pao lama to become head of the Fu-kuo Ssu, but this he refused and said he would build his own lamasery. This he built on the mountains of La-shi. This seems to contradict the records of Chih-yün Ssu, where it states that it was built by the priest Li Hsiang and others, unless he is included under "and others." In the P'u-chi Ssu records it states definitely that Lo 刺是山成大叢林卽今指雲寺 "completed on La-shih mountain the large Buddhist monastery which is now Chih-yün Ssu." It is possible that Li Hsiang was the first to collect funds, but that he was only enabled to lay the foundations, and that later in the Ch'ien-lung period it was completed by Lo.

P'u chi Ssu, as stated, must have been built after the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung, as it is the only lamasery not mentioned in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, which was published in the eighth year of Ch'ien-lung (1743).

5. *Yü-feng Ssu* 玉峯寺 (Jade peak Lamasery). — Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling,[24] pronounced Tra-shi-chhö-phe ling.

It is situated on the eastern slopes of the Li-chiang snow range to the west of the village of Yü-lung-ts'un 玉龍村 (Dü-gkv) and the temple of Sa-ddo (Sa-tham). It was built during the Ming dynasty, probably during the Wan-li period (1573–1619). No memorial stones are extant in the temple grounds and the lamasery shelters now only seven or eight priests. It has an incarnation, or Huo-fu, who is now in Tibet, but they have no money to bring him back. Most of the lamas were addicted to opium and they are nearly all on the last rung of the ladder.

Yü-feng Ssu is really beautifully situated on the slopes of the snow range, embedded in a forest of old *Pinus Armandi* trees (Yün-nan white pines). A lovely little pond, encircled by huge trees, is in front of the main entrance to the temple. The latter itself is in a most dilapidated condition. It is the home of rats, whose excrements lie inches deep in the building and on the seats, testifying that the lamas very rarely occupy them in praying as the rules require. In the upper story of the main temple, dangerous to visit on account of the decayed condition of the floor and ceiling, is a small library, the books

[24] བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གླིང་

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wrapped in dusty silks, a picture of neglect. It is, in fact, the most forlorn and forsaken lamasery I know of.

An-lo Chi-hsiang lin 安樂吉祥林. — This lamasery, which is unknown to me, is called in Tibetan bKra-shis-spro-bde gling[25] pronounced Tra-shi-tro-de ling (Monastery spreading happiness and bliss). As the Chinese name indicates, it is supposedly located near the villages of An-lo and Chi-hsiang in the li of La-shih 刺是.

The smaller temples. — In addition to these five larger lamaseries, there are several smaller temples under the Karma-pa sect which are of interest. The most important ones are here briefly discussed. The various Chinese temples found in the Li-chiang district are omitted.

To the east of the market town of Boa-shi (Pai-sha-kai), there are two Lama temples, one on the eastern outskirts of Pai-sha-kai proper, and one some distance north-east of it. The nearer one is called Pai-sha Ta-pao-chi Kung 白沙大寶積宮 (Temple of the collection of the great treasure of Pai-sha). The Ta-pao-chi has undoubtedly reference to the collection of the 49 sutras known as Mahāratnakūṭa, arranged by Bodhiruci, a Śramaṇa (ascetic) who came to China and Lo-yang in particular in A.D. 508. It is known to the Na-khi as Boa-shi Dta mä-lo, and is also called Hu-fa T'ang 護法堂 (Hall of Dharmapāla) and Hu-fa ch'ieh-lan 伽藍 (Hu-fa monastery), the monastery or temple of the Defender of the faith.[26] Beautiful murals decorate the walls of the temple, they were executed during the Ming dynasty by the same artist who painted the murals of Hsüeh-sung An now destroyed, *see* pp. 156, n. 8; 219.

According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, the temple was built during the Ming dynasty. A tablet states that the Na-khi chief Mu Wang 木旺 built it. Mu Wang was born in 1551, became hereditary ruler of Li-chiang in 1580 and died in 1596. It must have been built between 1580 and 1596, as the tablet bears his title as magistrate 知府.

In the temple, now decayed and dilapidated, but still inhabited by two Karma-pa lamas who hail from the lamasery of Chieh-t'o-lin, is a shrine containing a figure of Mahākāla (mGon-po nag-po མགོན་པོ་ནག་པོ, or the Black Lord), one of the defenders of the faith. His sanctuary is closed the entire year, except on the 20th day of the first moon when the box-like shrine is opened, and a live chicken is thrown in, which is said to die instantly. All the peasants from the Li-chiang plain as well as some from the Yangtze valley at A-hsi 阿喜 come to worship on that day.

Further to the north-east of Pai-sha are two temples close together, one called the Chin-kang Tien 金剛殿 (Hall of the Diamond sutra) and the other the Ta-ting Ko 大定閣 (Hall of Great abstract meditation). Both were rebuilt by the famous Na-khi chief Mu Tseng during the Ming dynasty. Mu Tseng ruled between 1598 and 1646, and the rebuilding of these two temples

[25] བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྤྲོ་བདེ་གླིང་

[26] The Dharmapāla are demon-generals who execute the will of the tutelaries, or demon-kings. They are hideous and fierce-looking and each commands a horde of demons. In this case the Lord-demon Mahākāla is meant.

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falls within that period. The temples, according to memorial stones found in them, existed in ancient times, that is, before 1587, which is the year of Mu Tseng's birth. The record states that they were rebuilt by Mu Tseng but not finished at that time. They were later finished by Mu Pen-li 木本立 and 32 others.

4. ANCIENT NA-KHI ALTARS

At Pai-sha-kai there is said to be an altar or 坛 [*muaṉ-bpö d'a*[27] in Na-khi], called Hsien-t'ao t'an 萊陶坛, built during the T'ang dynasty. The name of the altar is derived from a Na-khi chief called Hsien-t'ao A-ku 萊陶阿古; he lived during the time of Yeh-yeh, who is considered the first ancestor of the Mu chiefs. It was Hsien-t'ao A-ku, chief of the natives of the village of Boa-shi (Pai-sha), who recognized in Yeh-yeh signs of nobility. This happened during the reign of the Emperor Hui Tsung 徽宗 (1101–1125). Although the *t'an* (altar) bears the name of Hsien-t'ao A-ku it could hardly have been built by him, for the records state that it was built in the T'ang dynasty and Hsien-t'ao A-ku lived in the Sung dynasty.[28]

Another altar at Pai-sha-kai is the Yüeh-chün t'an 月均坛, which was built during the reign of T'ang Chao Tsung 昭宗 (901–904). The name of the altar most likely refers to one of five village chiefs whose name was Wa-chün 瓦均, and *Yüeh* 月 is perhaps a misprint for *wa* 瓦. He lived during the Sung dynasty, at the same time as Hsien-t'ao A-ku. In the first moon the native officials used to lead their clansmen to this altar (in all probability also a *muaṉ-bpö d'a*) to worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, earth and grain (PLATE 65).

Behind the village of Shu-ho 東河, at the foot of the cliff, and overlooking a pond is the small altar called Tzu-che t'an 子宅坛 15 li west of Li-chiang, built in the 46th year of Ming Wan-li (1618). In the third and seventh moon of each year the peasants of Shu-ho li 東河里 repair to that temple to worship the spirits of the Shih Pao 十保神 (Ten Protectors).

Outside of the former east gate of Li-chiang there is an altar called Hsien-nung t'an 先農坛. It was built in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) by the Chinese magistrate Yüan Chan-ch'eng 元展成. Another is called She-chi t'an 社稷坛 (Altar of the spirits of the land and grain) and was built in the fifth year of Ch'ien-lung (1740). These are Chinese altars and not Na-khi *muaṉ-bpö d'a*.

[27] A *muaṉ-bpö d'a* is a place where the Na-khi propitiate Heaven in the first moon of every year.

[28] It is, of course, possible that Hsien-t'ao was the clan name. Every Na-khi clan has its own *muaṉ-bpö d'a* wherein they propitiate Heaven in the first moon, and so it is very likely that it was built by the ancestors of Hsien-t'ao A-ku during the T'ang dynasty.

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CHAPTER IV

Li-chiang Snow Range and Territory South of the Yangtze Loop

1. THE SOUTHERN END OF THE SNOW RANGE

*133 *137 The entire Yü-lung Shan is of limestone, but in the extreme southern end this stone is partly superimposed by volcanic rock.[1] The range completely encloses the Li-chiang plain to the west and joins Wen-pi Shan (Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv) by a low spur over which a pass called Gkaw-gku leads to the Yangtze, via La-shih-pa. Here are situated the hamlets of Tsi-man (Tz'u-man 茨滿), La-ssaw-dzhi, P'u-ts'ü-wùa (in Chinese, P'u-ch'i-wa 普七瓦), Shwua-wùa (the Chinese Shu-ho, but pronounced Ssu-ho in Li-chiang).

The li of Boa-shi (Pai-sha li), with its largest village called Pai-sha-kai, comprises many villages, such as Mbe-man (of which there is an east and a west village), Llü-mä-ndaw-ts'an (PLATE 66), Mbe-lü, Ḳhü-ndu, 'A-k'ö (first residence of the Na-khi kings), Dzhi-man, Dzhi-lo, Gyi-ts'ä-ndso and Dzhi-gkv-ggŏ. These places are on the main road from Li-chiang to the snow range; west of the road, and at the foot of the long spur which extends south from the snowy crags, are other hamlets, such as Ndz(ĕr)-gkan-ndz(ĕr)-k'ö, Mbe-gkv, K'a-mä-gyi-k'u and Mbe-gkyi; east of the latter village is a marshy meadow called O-ggü-ddü on which the Na-khi of the neighboring villages herd their live-stock. On this southern spur, also, are situated three lamaseries belonging to the Karma-pa sect.[2] Then comes the village of Dü-gkv (Yü-lung-ts'un) with its temple to Ssa-ddo, the spirit of the Li-chiang snow range. North of Dü-gkv, at the very foot of the snow range, is the last Na-khi hamlet, called Nv-lv-k'ö (Foot of the [Silver rocks] snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村. This is the highest village on the Li-chiang plain and has an elevation of 9,400 feet. Foreign travelers mention it usually as Ngu-lu-kö.

[1] The upper part of the snow peak consists of massive unfoliated limestone. Large blocks of cæspitose reef coral (*Thecosmilia* cf. *fenestrata* Reuss) occur in the southern end of the Hsiang Shan [Gyi-wùa Ngyu of the Na-khi]. This coral is of the triassic age. While the Li-chiang plain is alluvial, the southern part of the Yü-lung Shan consists of basalts resting on Minchia limestone. Boulders in the Sa-ba moraine [*which see*] contain a Devonian coral (*Idiostroma*). The presence of fragments of a coral belonging to Stromatomorpha indicates that the massive limestone also belongs to the triassic age. The western slopes of the low spur which connects with Wen-pi Shan and over which the pass Gkaw-gku leads, are of basalt; the southern side of this pass is a volcanic neck composed of limburgite tuff and agglomerate. These rocks rest on Minchia limestone. The limburgite is supposedly kainozoic in age (GREGORY).

PROF. GREGORY adopted the name Minchia Series for rocks which cover an extensive area in north-western Yün-nan, after the tribe in whose territory it is widely developed. The characteristic ... ture of the Minchia Series is the association of a dark gray to bluish limestone with white calcite veins along a network of cracks, with black shales, purple, red and green sandstones and grits. These rocks are often associated with various porphyries and coarse porphyritic basalts and diabase. The series is unfossiliferous and the limestone has been largely recrystallized. The only fossil from the Minchia Series is a Devonian *Uncinulus* (GREGORY). This rock forms the main building material (foundations) in Li-chiang.

[2] See Ch. III Lamaseries, and Buddhist temples of Li-chiang.

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Between Dü-gkv and Nv-lv-k'ö is a meadow called Mba-mă. Here a large spring called Boa-shi gko-gyi issues from the mountain-side under a grove of century-old maples (*Acer cappadocicum sinicum*), where Na-khi sorcerers perform *Žü-mă*, a ceremony for the propitiation of the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits). The spur behind Dü-gkv is called A-na-lo. The spur north-west of the Yü-feng Ssu lamasery is called Hăr-lĕr-man (End whence the wind is called). A trail leads across this spur to the western slopes of the snow range and the Yangtze valley, described separately.

For every crag and spur, pond and meadow of this beautiful snow range the Na-khi have names, which shows that they must have occupied this region for many hundreds of years. Every nook of the mountain has its name and story connected with it, yet they have no name for the entire range, nor real Na-khi names for the highest peaks.

The southernmost and first limestone crag of the snow range, overlooking the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, is called Hua-lă-bpu (H-M., Ûnlupe); west of the crag is an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-lo. At the foot of and south of the crag, is a deep ravine, Dzhi-k'o-lo, which is crossed by a trail to Hăr-lĕr-gkv, a pass over which the wind howls in fury during the winter and spring months. To the north of the valley is a cliff resembling a stairway or ladder, and hence known to the Na-khi as 'A-lă-gyi (Cliff stairway). Beyond is a waterfall which has its source on Hua-lă-bpu and flows over a gravelly slope called Shou-mbyu-lo.

Below and east of Shou-mbyu-lo is a small lake or pond called Ts'u-k'aw, supplying a waterfall which flows over a steep cliff, with a deep, narrow cleft, called 'A-nggü-t'an. Adjoining Hua-lă-bpu, north of the Ts'u-k'aw Lake, is a very steep, hanging alpine meadow called 'A-lă-dte, which merges into fantastic crags forming the backbone of the mountain. From this meadow extends abruptly a deep, impassable valley with a stream called Lo-mă-lo. This valley can only be entered from the plain below. To the north of 'A-lă-dte is a ravine which joins Lo-mă-lo. This is called 'A-lă-dte-k'u-k'ö; it can be crossed only in two places, but no animal larger than a goat can pass. Below 'A-lă-dte and north-east is a steep meadow with tall luscious grass and marvellous flowers. A large, dark limestone boulder, which once upon a time had fallen from the heights above, stands guard in this meadow, which is called La-dtu-gkaw. Above it, passing through a rock gate, one can reach the immense screes sloping from the moss-covered crags above. There are two of these screes, a black one called Nv-lv-na, or Na-dshwuà, and a white one called Nv-lv-p'ĕr. North of Nv-lv-na is a small waterfall, frozen in the winter, but descending in the summer to an alpine meadow called Gko-zo-mbu, where leeches abound. The source of this waterfall is a flat terrace called Khi-t'a-gkv.[1] It passes first over a basin-like meadow called Ndv-lo (H-M., Mdwolo; Poison valley), on account of the abundance of aconite (*Aconitum volubile*) growing there, and then into a small ravine in a meadow known as A-nùn-t'khü-k'ö (Sharp bill of the cliff).

To the east of Ndv-lo is an Abies- or fir-crowned hill, with a small meadow called Mbĕr-hoa-lo dzü-gkv (Yak pen on top of the hill). Adjoining Nv-lv-na,

[1] This name is part Chinese and part Na-khi, the first two words being the Chinese *hsi-t'ai* 戲臺 (theater, stage).

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*133 *137 but separated by a black limestone spur, the ground is composed of gravel and resembles small terraced fields. These are called Khi-llü-p'u-dshwuà ([Terraced] rice-field partition). This is the depression at the foot of Nv-lv-na and Nv-lv-p'ĕr. Here in the gravel and scree grows the peculiar composite resembling a shako, *Saussurea laniceps* H-M., formerly mistaken for the Himalayan species *S. gossipiphora* (PLATE 67).

[136] The lovely alpine meadow of Gko-zo-mbu, commonly known as Ma-huang pa-tzu 蚂蟥壩子 in Chinese (Leech meadow) on account of the leeches which abound there in the summer, is surrounded by beautiful fir trees (*Abies Forrestii*) with dark greenish-black needles, silvery beneath. These exude a delicious fragrance of balsam. Here grow also wonderful rhododendrons and primulas, and in the summer the meadow is often one mass of *Strobilanthes versicolor*, with bluish-purple flowers. Above the meadow and the encircling forest to the north-west is a hanging meadow with a mass of limestone rocks hidden in the grass. Crossing the little stream of A-nûn-t'khü-k'ö, a trail leads first to a spot called Zhwua-mă-shi-gkv, with a spring, and thence to the steep, rocky slopes of P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö (Gate to the white barrier).

Opposite, to the east, is Ho-san yi-gkv, a high, limestone crag 15,500 feet in height, with long scree and talus slopes. A Buddhist priest once spent a night on the top, hence the name, Where the priest slept (*ho-shang* 和尚, priest). The name is half Chinese and half Na-khi. Beyond P'ĕr-dshwuà-k'u-k'ö is another lovely meadow, 14,500 feet in elevation, known as P'ĕr-dshwuà. In the month of July it is covered with the most beautiful alpine flowers and prostrate rhododendrons (*Rhododendron prostratum*) with large salver-shaped, wine-colored blossoms. From here one can ascend still higher to 17,000 feet and look down upon Ho-san yi-gkv; the region is called P'ĕr-dshwuà-gkv-lu.

The tremendous gorge of Sa-ba lo-gkv (H-M., Lo-kü) which extends to the very foot of the vertical limestone wall beneath Shan-tzu-tou, stops one's progress (PLATE 68). On the edge of the gorge, which is 4,500 feet deep, lie masses of loose boulders; one passes over a pile of rock, split by the action of ice into thousands of fragments, and then over a talus slope, the last stretch of which leads to the brink of the overhanging crags composed of loose, flat limestone slabs. The edge appears crenellated, due to dislodged boulders which found their way to the depths below. Avalanches of rock and ice from the hanging glacier below Shan-tzu-tou descend continuously into the gorge, and the resulting roar reverberates like distant thunder from the abyss below. Huge boulders are precariously balanced on the edge of the gorge and the lightest touch dislodges them. Here at 17,000 feet is the limit of vegetation. At this height we find the beautiful turquoise-blue-flowered crucifer *Solmslaubachia pulcherrima* growing between limestone rocks, while on the screes and among loose rock occur shako-like species of Saussureas (*S. laniceps*, *S. leucoma*), their flowers buried in a conical mass of cotton which rises from rosettes of prostrate leaves.

Halfway up the mountain mass of Ho-san yi-gkv is a belt of fir forest called Nv-lv boa-gkü (Belt of the snow range), and to its north a broad talus slope descends steeply into a valley or, rather, ravine called Zhwua-k'o lo (Gorge where the horse was killed). On this long talus slope is a broad strip of black fir forest growing for some distance down into the ravine. The latter leads

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steeply out onto a scree slope adjoining the foot of a limestone bluff called Ggŏ-gko 'a-k'ö, at the edge of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv. The lower part of the ravine debouches, at the foot of Ho-saṇ yi-gkv, into a meadow called Maṇ-dzu-gkv. 133* 137*

Maṇ-dzu-gkv meadow (PLATE 69) is very beautiful and contains a spring beneath a large boulder. It merges, in its lower part, into a gorge called Bu-mă lo, which in turn opens into the Li-chiang plain. The meadow stream flows by the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-hua-ts'un 文化村) and is known as the Ssaw-ssu gyi (Waters of Ssaw-ssu). The word *ssaw* is now often pronounced *ssaṇ*.

Over the northern spur, which hems in Maṇ-dzu-gkv, a trail leads through beautiful fir and spruce forest with rhododendron undergrowth; a meadow extends the length of the first terrace of the spur. This beautiful spot, from which a lovely view unfolds, is known to the Na-khi as Ghügh-bö lo (Cattle-pen valley). From here we ascend through forest of fir and spruce with several species of tall rhododendron trees (*Rhododendron rubiginosum* predominating) as undergrowth to a spring which issues from the hill-side along the trail known as Vu-zi gyi-k'o-k'ö (Bird spring). Arrived on the top of the spur, the trail crosses the head of a valley called Gkaw-chĕr-k'o lo whence one can reach three meadows: the highest is called Ggŏ-gko (Top one); then comes Lü-gko (Central one), above the head of the valley; while the third, across the valley, is called Muaṇ-gko (Lower one).

These three meadows, as well as the region in the immediate neighborhood, are collectively called Lü-ghügh-gko. From Muaṇ-gko the trail crosses a succession of little meadows surrounded by low, forested spurs, and continues east to the edge of the deep gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv, which extends to the foot of the highest peak of the snow range. These little meadows, as well as the larch- and fir-forested spur overlooking the gorge, are called La-zo-gko-dshwuà (Homes of the baby tigers).

The elevation of La-zo-gko-dshwuà is 12,300 feet, while the floor of the gorge immediately below is 12,000 feet above sea level. From this vantage point a wonderful view is obtained of the deep gorge and of the Li-chiang snow peak at its head (PLATE 70).

2. SA-BA GORGE OR SA-BA LO-GKV (PLATE 71)

At about the center of the Li-chiang snow range, that is, in the part south of the Yangtze gorge ('A-ts'aṇ-gko), are two long, deep canyons, a western one called Gyi-p'ĕr k'a, which extends from the foot of Shan-tzu-tou into the Yangtze valley; and an eastern one called Sa-ba in its lower, and Sa-ba lo-gkv in its upper part, which extends exactly opposite towards the Li-chiang plain. The eastern gorge, once glacier-filled has no outlet, as it terminates in a moraine. There is a difference of 2,650 feet in the height of the floors of these two gorges at their head.

The Sa-ba moraine and the head of the gorge Sa-ba lo-gkv is easily approached from north of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö at the foot of the snow range, but it may be remarked that a steep trail descends from the meadow La-zo-gko-dshwuà, to the upper half of the gorge. The best approach to the lower part and the beginning of the gorge called Sa-ba, is over the north-eastern foothills.

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133 Past the little artificial pond called in Chinese Yü-hu 玉壺 (Jade jug), to which the Na-khi add the word *ḳhü* or lake (Yü-hu Ḳhü),[6] we come to a meadow called Bi-ndu-tsü-gko, alongside a little, shallow gully; to the left, or west, debouches a small ravine called Gka-gkv, the waters of which flow into the Yü-hu (Ḳhü). The trail ascends 'A-mä-nun a scrub-covered slope with pine forest on both sides.

A high limestone mountain, called Zhwua-dzo-gkv, covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) rises to the left (west); the trail follows at its foot into the Bu-mä lo ravine. In the winter the ravine is dry, but below, where the trail crosses it, is a steep drop and there it is filled with trees; a broad stream gushes forth from beneath the rocks at all seasons. This stream disappears and reappears several times on its way to the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a to the south-east of Nv-lv-k'ö.

After crossing the Bu-mä lo and a short slope, we arrive in a depression with pines and scrub oak, bounded on the east by a limestone spur; here are two small lakes, or rather, ponds, one to the left of the trail and one below the trail, somewhat north, with graves near the banks. This latter pond called Bpa Ḳhü (Frog Lake), overflows during the rainy season, into the Bu-mä lo. From here the trail skirts the scrub-covered slopes, with a forested ravine to the east called Gyi-mbu-kgv. This ravine has two sources, one in Sa-ba and the other north-west on the mountain slope called Ba-ndĕr gko, in a small meadow, but water is to be found only in the ravine below the trail. We climb the rocky slopes over a rough, white, stony trail; cross a dry, white stream-bed which has its source in Ba-ndĕr gko, and ascend among pines and spruces along a gully called Sa-ba lv-t'khye-aw, where there is a great amount of loose white gravel and rock. Thence we strike the southern end of the moraine and a little meadow called Sa-ba dü-man, and later come to the large moraine and a beautiful meadow without a single rock, the soil being pure marl, resembling a cement floor. This meadow, surrounded by lateral moraines which are now pine-covered, extends north-east and is called Sa-ba dü-la-lo (PLATE 72). A glacier once covered it from the head of the gorge south towards Nv-lv-k'ö and also north-eastward. The glacier has retreated now to the head of the valley, where it is fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the summit of Shan-tzu-tou (PLATE 73).

The entrance to the main gorge of Sa-ba beyond the grassy expanse is guarded to the north by an enormous limestone mountain, about 16,000 feet in height, called Ch'wua-lo-gku (Where the stags cross). On its eastern face is a depression once filled by a glacier. Immediately behind it is a still higher limestone crag which I called Sa-ba nv-lv and which, with Ch'wua-lo-gku, forms part of the northern wall of Sa-ba lo-gkv. From the base of Ch'wua-lo-gku a trail leads through dense spruce forest along the foot of the snow range to the glacier stream and valley called Pai-shui 白水 (White water), and Gyi-p'ĕr lo-gkv in Na-khi. This latter region is described in detail under 4. Nga-ba Depression.

[6] It is believed that a jade jug is buried in the pond, hence the name. The real Na-khi name, however, is Bi-ndu Ḳhü (Forest Lake). There are no trees now in the immediate neighborhood, but extensive forests covered this region several hundred years ago; a remnant of spruce forest still exists around the village temple a little to the south of the pond.

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The floor of the valley is 12,000 feet above the sea, the entire southern length being occupied by forest, first pine, then spruce, and, near the head of the gorge, fir (*Abies Forrestii*) and larch (*Larix Potaninii*). In the center is a broad stream-bed which narrows in its upper part owing to extensive avalanches of rock and huge boulders from the vertical northern wall of the gorge. Its rocks are pure limestone, of a dazzling white; except in its upper part, it carries no water — the stream disappears underground about halfway down the gorge. The upper part of the gorge which is called Sa-ba lo-gkv (At the head of the gorge Sa-ba — *lo*, gorge, valley, *gkv*, inside) is blocked by a gravel-covered glacier which extends from north to south, the stream-bed winding around it at a sharp angle. A waterfall descends into a basin of ice and disappears underground. Here Sa-ba lo-gkv is 13,250 feet above sea level. From its north-western corner the limestone wall rises in a series of tiers 6,000 feet above the valley floor, bearing masses of ice, fed by the hanging glacier immediately below the main peak into which it culminates (PLATE 73). At the foot of this wall grows the gorgeous larkspur *Delphinium likiangense*, associated with the blue-flowered *Adenophora coelestis*.

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3. THE NORTHERN EDGE OF THE LI-CHIANG PLAIN

The north-western part of the Li-chiang plain is bordered on the east by a fairly high limestone range which is a continuation of Hsiang Shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), the Na-khi Gyi-wùa Ngyu. It is furrowed by several ravines or steep valleys which debouch west into the Li-chiang plain. At the foot of this range, which extends parallel to the Yü-lung Shan, there are situated several Na-khi hamlets. The southernmost, and immediately north of the Li-chiang Lung-wang Miao (Dragon-king Temple), is the hamlet of Gyi-wùa where there are many springs known as Gyi-wùa gyi-t'u-gkv. Ten li or more beyond to the north is the large hamlet of Gko-lo, subject to the larger village of Tung-wen-ts'un 東文村, the south-eastern end of Pai-sha. Beyond is La-ma-llü, consisting of about eight families. It belongs to the larger hamlet west of it called in Chinese Mu-tu-ts'un 木都村, which in turn belongs to Pai-sha li. Then comes the hamlet of Dto-k'ö, with a few families only and subject to Mu-tu-ts'un. Beyond Dto-k'ö used to be a small settlement, now abandoned, called A-yü-ngyu-k'ö (At the foot of monkey mountain). This was the last village on the eastern margin of the plain at the foot of the limestone range.

The central part of the plain between these villages and Pai-sha is either occupied by fields or uncultivated areas. The large stretch of perfectly level ground called Wùa-dtv k'o-dü is uncultivated. *Wùa-dtv* is the name of the person who owned it, and *k'o-dü* means any uncultivated area. It would form one of the finest aviation fields possible, as it is about two miles long, over half a mile wide and as smooth as a billiard table.[5] It is only ten miles from Li-chiang. [508]

Immediately to the north of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü is the last hamlet in the central part of the plain, called Ssaw-ssu-k'a, named after the stream Ssaw-ssu which

[5] It was on this field that our plane, the "K'un-ming," landed in 1936 on the historic first flight around the snow range. It has served as an airfield during world war II, and a weather station was established there but is now (1946) abandoned.

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flows along its eastern margin — *k'a* being a ravine. The Chinese name of the hamlet is Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村. Formerly it was known as San-chia-ts'un 三家村, as originally only three families lived there. To-day there are eighteen.

The most northerly village on this part of the plain, situated at the actual foot of the snow range at an elevation of 9,400 feet, is Nv-lv-k'ö, consisting of about 100 families (PLATES 74, 75, 76).

South of Wùa-dtv k'o-dü, on the main road to Li-chiang and east of Pai-sha, is the hamlet T'a-bbu-d'a, called in Chinese T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村. T'a-bbu-d'a was originally one of the 12 *d'a* (residences) owned by the Mu family. It was the place where they worshipped their ancestors; when performed in the sixth moon, the service was known as *T'a-bpö*. To the east of T'a-bbu-d'a is a small hamlet of seven or eight families called Nda-la-k'o-dyü, also belonging to Mu-tu-ts'un.

Another larger village consisting of over 100 families, called Nyi-mä-t'u-ts'an in Na-khi, and in Chinese, Hsiang-yang-ts'un 向陽村 (Facing the sun village), is north-east of Pai-sha.

Rice cannot be cultivated on this northern part of the Li-chiang plain, as the soil is too stony and there is not enough water to irrigate the fields, furthermore the altitude is too great. The Na-khi plant wheat, maize, potatoes, barley, oats, beans and peas also the rape-turnip *Brassica rapa depressa* which they call *ngyu* (the *man-ching* 蔓菁 of the Chinese). The tuber itself is called *'a-k'ö*. Opium was also grown for Chinese consumption. South of and in the actual neighborhood of Li-chiang, opium was grown in the spring, and rice during the rainy season.

Gv-bö, in Chinese, Chiu-tzu-hai 九子海 (Nine lakes) is a district lying east of the long limestone spur which hems in this part of the plain. It has been settled only recently. Peasants from the village of Pai-sha-kai have started homesteads and planted fields. Previous to the settling of the Na-khi, a few Li-su and Lo-lo had built their poor huts there and carried on cultivation. The Chinese name is derived from the several circular basins which are filled with water all the year round.

The range in which is situated Gv-bö, better known as Gv-bö la-zhěr gko [the name appears also in Na-khi literature, and has reference to the tigers which once roamed in its forests and meadows: *la* = tiger, *zhěr* = sound, noise, *gko* = alpine meadow], is composed of old limestone. The sharp rocks projecting through the mass of scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), give it a peculiar aspect. The highest point of this range is the triangular peak Lv-zhěr-dsu (H-M., Lajatso), approximately 12,000 feet in height. The best approach is from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö or Ssaw-ssu-k'a, whence the ascent can be accomplished in about three hours. From its summit one obtains a glorious view of the entire Yü-lung Shan, that is, the part south of the Yangtze gorge. The northern end of the Li-chiang plain is covered with low pines and oaks (PLATES 77, 78), especially scrub oak; many herbaceous plants with beautiful flowers form lovely carpets in the summer months, and enliven the otherwise grey, stony waste.

Immediately east of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö is a low, circular mound, looking for all the world like an extinct volcanic cone. It is known to the Na-khi as La-lo-dtò-gkv, including a small ravine to the north of it. On the top of this

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On the top of this hill, in its crater-like depression, the Na-khi of the village of Nv-lv-k'ö in ancient days used to cremate their dead and bury their ashes. The first burial *à la chinoise* took place from the village of Shu-ho 束河 (in Li-chiang pronounced Ssu-ho) in 1723, when the mother of one Ho Tsung-shun 和宗順, headman of Shu-ho, was placed in a coffin and interred. To-day cremations still take place but only of women who have died in child-birth, or within 100 days after. They are no longer cremated on the top of the hill, however, but in the little ravine at its foot.

North of the hill is the little artificial pond called Yü-hu Ķhū (*see* p. 216) constructed by one of the early Na-khi kings, and in it is a small islet with a solitary tree. It was here that a Na-khi king exposed his sister in a cage, as related in the history of Nga-ba (*see* p. 221).

A neat village temple (now dismantled and changed into a forestry station) surrounded by a grove of *Picea likiangensis* trees is west of the pond. These spruces are the remnant of once extensive forests which here covered the plain. The temple contains an image of Buddha in Tibetan style, in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā = Earth-touching or Witness attitude. A marble slab in its court, now broken and merely giving certain rules of conduct, bears the date Ming Wan-li 36th year (1608); it may however have been built earlier. The temple is known as Nv-lv kwuà-d'a to the Na-khi, and as Hsüeh-sung An 雪嵩庵 to the Chinese. It was one of the 12 *d'a* (*see*: note 155, p. 148) of the Na-khi chiefs, in which a certain specified part of each year was spent. The great chief Mu Sheng-pai kept here a herd of deer (*Cervus albirostris*) in captivity at Nv-lv kwuà-d'a; a place a little below the temple is still known as Ch'wua-k'o-lo (Garden of the stags), the pond Yü-hu Ķhū serving them as drinking pool.

The inner walls of the little temple were once covered with beautiful frescoes, of which only a small portion remains (now totally destroyed). In the third year of the Republic, when anti-religious feelings ran riot, the ancient statue of Buddha was carried up the snow range and hidden in a cave to save it from destruction. It again sits peacefully on its throne erected centuries ago, while the old quinces still bloom in the little court as of yore.[6]

Beyond the village of Nv-lv-k'ö the region is wild in the extreme, lonely forests alternating with stretches of meadows, rocky wastes, pine-covered spurs, and deep ravines. Every hill, spur and cliff has its Na-khi name, some of which figure in their ancient manuscripts.

To the north of Yü-hu Ķhū is a grassy knoll with graves, at its foot a marshy meadow drains into the pond. This hill is called Wua-nà mbu-dtò — *Wua-nà* being the name of an ancient Na-khi, and *mbu-dtò* meaning hill. From the hill a trail leads down to the stream called Ssaw-ssu gyi, also Ssaw-ssu gyi-na gyi, crossed by a small stone bridge. Beyond the little bridge the trail loses itself over a stony waste called Na-dò-k'o, also Lv-na-k'o (Place with the black rocks) which merges into a lovely pine forest known as T'o-dshwua-mbu. The trail, again distinct, leads on to a stream called Bpō-lū k'a, also Gyi-p'ĕr gyi; its source gushes forth from beneath a layer of rocks on the eastern slopes of the snow range at a spot called Gyi-mbu-gkv. Crossing it, we reach open country,

[6] The statue of Buddha had been removed when the temple was taken over by the forestry department and placed elsewhere in the village. Thus one of the old landmarks has ceased to exist.

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*133 while the ravine to our left is filled with hazel-nuts, spiræa, viburnums, etc.
*137 We then come to the main gulch of Bpö-lü k'a (gyi) now dry, as the water has been diverted.

We next reach very rocky ground, the entire region having been once a lake bottom. The protruding limestone is of the weirdest shape and sharp as razor blades. Small scrub-oak bushes with spiny leaves fill the gaps between the rocks, making walking rather disagreeable. This region is called La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò (Place of the small oak bushes). From here a trail leads to the foot of the limestone range of Dza-dza mbu, which hems in the eastern margin of the plain. To the south of this mountain between spurs extends a magnificent meadow larger than Nga-ba, called Ts'a-ts'a dü, which adjoins Gv-bö in the north. Beyond La-bpa-dto-lo-gkò the plain becomes still rockier and is here called 'A-man-ndv (Broken tail [end] of the rocks), meaning that beyond 'A-man-ndv, along the main highway, the sharp rocks cease.

From 'A-man-ndv the trail descends into a dry, rocky ravine called 'A-lo (Cliff valley), with steep sides of limestone. The rocks are covered with *Selaginella involvens*, which in the dry season roll up into balls, and spread out into beautiful dark green rosettes during the rains. To the west of 'A-lo, among the low, rocky hills, is a cave, the home of many bats.

In a limestone cliff a little to the north of 'A-lo are peculiar miniature caves which play an interesting role in the religious life of the Na-khi. The place is known as Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv. In these caves the Na-khi deposit pine twigs carved to represent human beings, the needles left on to represent hair. These twigs, called *nv*, represent the body of a departed spirit. They are deposited during the great funerary ceremony called *Khi-nv*, a sort of All Souls' Day rite performed during the eleventh moon. I hope to describe the ceremony in a work on the religion of the Na-khi, giving the translation of the hundred odd books chanted during its performance.

From Nv-gkyi-k'o-ndv we finally emerge onto a stony meadow. The rocks of white limestone seen from the distance give the meadow the appearance of being covered with snow. A rocky ravine extends here into the foot-hills of the snow range, the entire region, lonely in the extreme, being known as Zhěr-p'ěr-gyi-tsi. On the eastern margin of this plain, near where it joins Dza-dza mbu, is a small spring — hence the place is commonly used as a lunch-stop by Tibetan caravans *en route* to Li-chiang. The northern end is closed by a ridge which projects from the foot-hills of the snow range and forms the southern margin of Nga-ba. From Zhěr-p'ěr-gyi-tsi the trail ascends a pine-covered spur and leads over undulating country covered with open pine forest, along a deep, tree-filled gorge to the east — a regular riff or fault, known as Sä-bpi lo-mä (grea. Cinnamon gorge). The gorge has its source to the north in a basin-like depression called Mběr-ò-gko-ho, and ends miles below on the eastern margin of the Li-chiang plain at a spot called Mbu-lo-màn. The place where the trail to Gv-bö crosses it is called Ssi-dzi-lo-k'o.

We now descend to Mběr-ò-gko-ho, a small, circular basin, its slopes wooded with spruces. A little spring issues from beneath the spruces on its western slopes. It is a lonely, spooky place, shut in and weird in the extreme. Its northern outlet is through a narrow defile with a cave in the cliffs to the west. The Na-khi themselves believe that the place is haunted by ghosts and will

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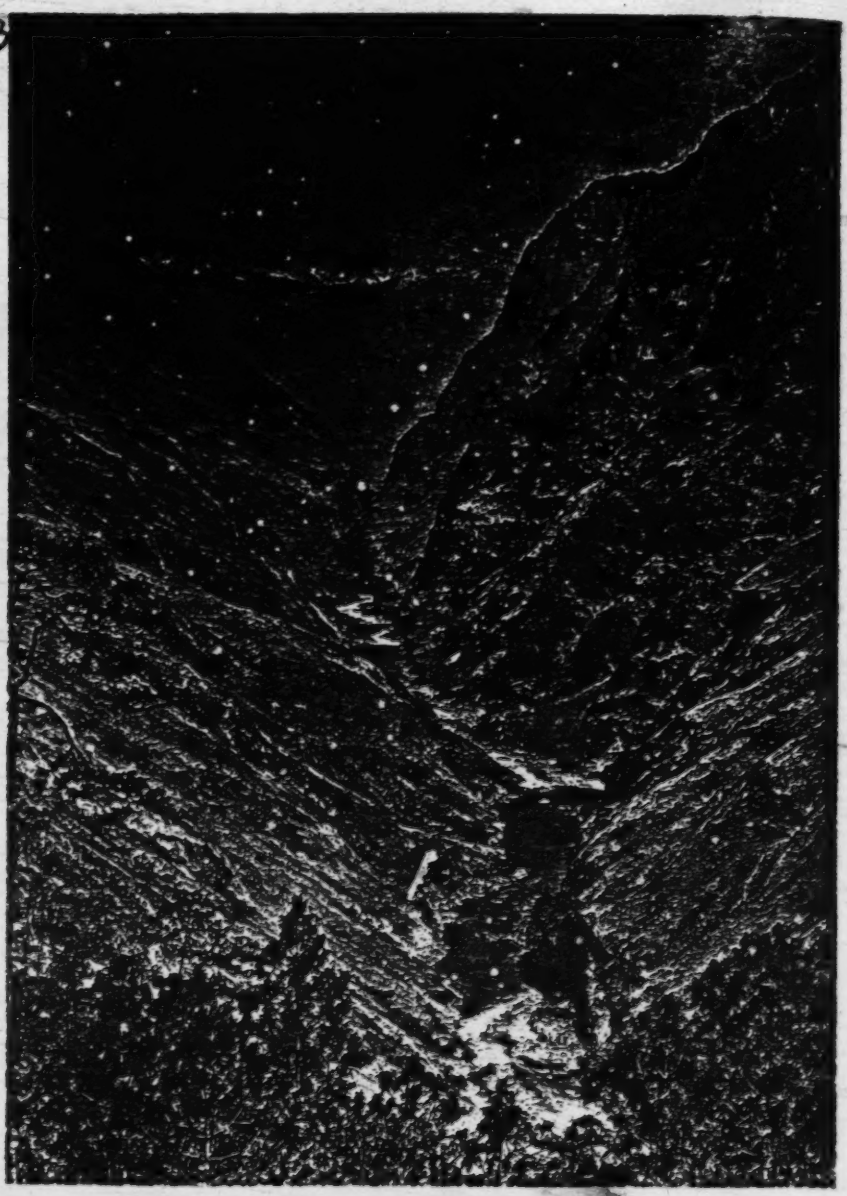

PLATE 121. — THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

張昌角峽區

Looking north-east, downstream, from a bluff 8,000 feet elevation whence plate 120 was taken. There are in all 34 rapids in the gorge. The Yangtze strikes the snow-capped range Dzu-ku nv-lv (visible in center of picture), and flows north. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220 A]

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Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 122.—THE NA-KHI HAMLET GYI-P'ER-LO IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

丞昌角麥丝爾家村

The isolated village consists of seven families and is built entirely of rock; its elevation is 7,775 feet, and is in Chung-tien territory.

[p. 220 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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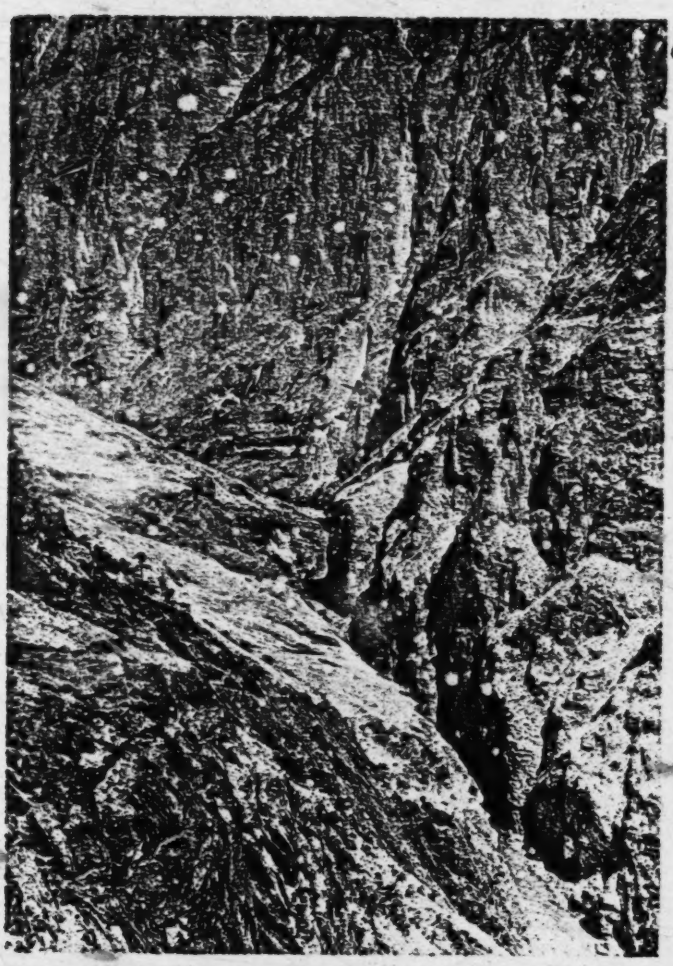

PLATE 123.—THE YANGTZE IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE 'A-TS'AN-GEO GORGE

[illegible]

The river is a narrow blue-green ribbon only a few yards wide, but very deep. The famous Hu-t'iao-t'an or Tiger-leap rapid is visible in the center of the picture. Photographed (with front-lens removed) from a lateral spur elevation 8,350 feet

[p. 220C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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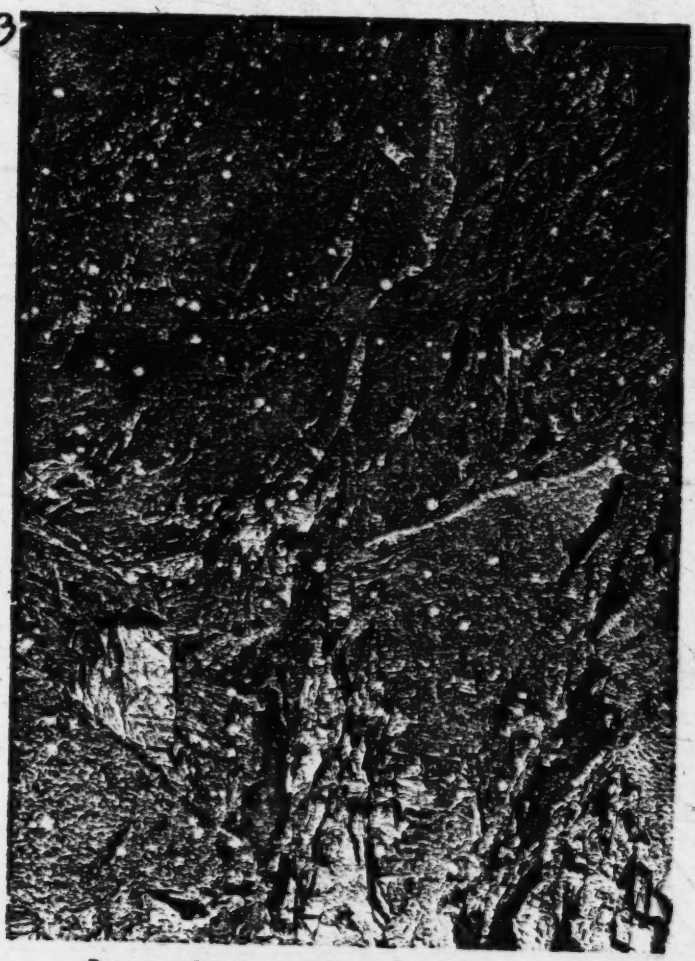

PLATE 124. — THE CELEBRATED HU-T'IAO-T'AN OR TIGER-LEAP RAPID

金沙江虎跳滩

The narrowest part of the Yangtse in the entire 'A-tz'ang-gko gorge. It is so narrow that a tiger could jump from wall to wall, hence the name. The rock is old limestone.

[p. 220 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

PLATE 125.—THE YANGTZE IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE LOOKING UPSTREAM FROM NEAR THE HU-T'IAO-T'AN

[illegible]

In this stretch, the river is one succession of rapids; in the summer or early spring, the volume of water is immense and tons of water are thrown up into the air at every rapid.

[p. 220 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 126. — THE PINNACLED LIMESTONE WALL OF THE YANGTZE GORGE OPPOSITE TA-SHEN-KOU

[illegible]

The right bank of the Yangtze is hemmed in by the vertical cliffs of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge.

[p.220F]

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PLATE 127.—THE END OF THE TRAIL IN THE 'A-TS'AN-GED GORGE

漢拔橫山口

The gap called Han-p'o-ling is at an elevation of 10,000 feet; there is a sheer drop of over 4,000 feet to the Yangtze. Rhododendrons and pines cling to the vertical wall of rock.

[p. 220G]

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PLATE 128. — VIEW INTO THE 'A-TS'AN-GKO GORGE

桑昌角金沙江鹽量

From near the Han-p'o-ling gap the Yangtze, roaring 4,000 feet below, appears as a small stream, a solid wall of limestone rock rises thousands of feet vertically from the Li-chiang side of the river.

[p.220H]

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PLATE 129. — THE YANGTZE IN THE TA-KU PLAIN

金沙江進入打箭壩

After emerging from the 'A-ts'ag-gko gorge the Yangtze flows across the conglomerate plain at Ta-ku. Photographed a little north of Han-p'o-ling gap, elevation 10,000 feet. The village of Ta-ku is on the terrace upper right. Pines in foreground.

[p. 220-I]

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PLATE 130. — PINE FOREST IN THE HA-BA DISTRICT

哈巴森林

Unlike the Lo-lo, the Na-khi are lovers of trees and disturb the forests as little as necessary. The trees are *Pinus yunnanensis*.

[p. 220 J]

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PLATE 131. — HA-BA NDSHÊR NV-LV, THE FOURTH HIGHEST PEAK OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

哈巴大雪山

As seen from a spur called Wa-'a mbu in the Ha-ba district, elevation 9,250 feet. The peak is 18,700 feet in height.

[p. 220 K]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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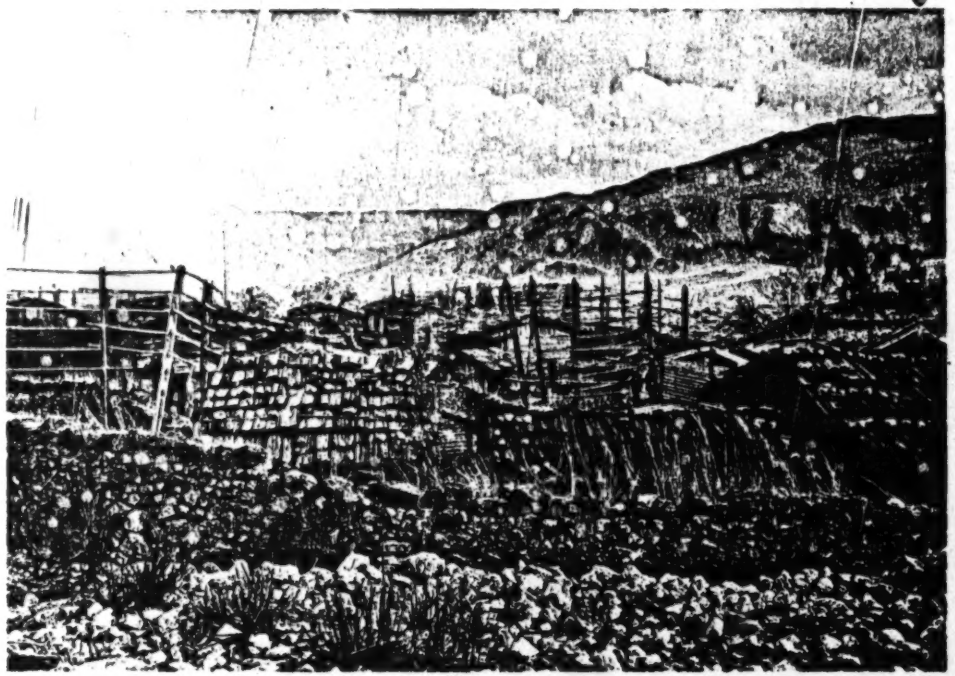

PLATE 132.—THE BBĚR-DDĚR NA-KHI VILLAGE OF WU-SHU-WÙA

北地麼些村

The houses are built of mud bricks with a superstructure of wood. The roof is of boards weighted down with rocks. On the racks they dry their grains and turnips.

[p.220L]

PLATE 133. — THE MOUNTAINS OF GKÜ-DÜ NORTHEAST OF BBĚR-DDĚR

The range is snow-covered in winter only and its highest peak is 15,420 feet. Photographed from near T'khi-dtü in Ha-ba, elevation 9,000 feet. The forests are composed mainly of pines and oaks.

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[p. 220 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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PLATE 134.—NA-KHI FROM THE VILLAGE OF BU-SU-WÛA

It is the first village in Bbêr-dêêr (coming from Ha-ba) situated at an elevation of 7,600 feet. The people were painfully polite and knelt on our approach.

[p. 220 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

PLATE 135.—THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BBĒR-P'ĒR-DTĒR

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *k'o-byu* on which are painted various *Lü-muŋ* or Nāga, serpent spirits, whom the dto-mbu propitiate.

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[p. 220-0]

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PLATE 136.—THE SINTER TERRACES OF BBĒR-Ŋ'ĒR-DTĒR

The carbonate of lime-bearing waters of the spring shown on plate 135, have built these marvelous terraces and basins. They are composed of thousands of thin layers of carbonate of lime deposited by the water which flows noiselessly over them. The entire terrace, where covered by the water, is of a rich cream color.

[p. 220 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*133 hardly ever be persuaded to spend the night there. They are even afraid to
*137 cross that place alone by day. When escorting the spirits of their ancestors north, to their ancestral homes where the cranes lay their eggs, in the distant grass-lands of the Ko-ko Nor, they believe that if their souls once pass Mbĕr-ô-gko-ho all is well. The cave and narrow ravine which leads north out of Mbĕr-ô-gko-ho is called Ds'ĭ-p'a 'a-k'o (Goat-face cliff cave). Beyond the cave was in ancient days a huge forest; the place is still known as Mbĕr-ô-bi-mā (Vast forest of Mbĕr-ô). The trail, lined by pines and spruces, now merges into a white, rocky road, full of clinker-like limestone; this is called Nga-ba lv-t'khye-ô (Narrowing stony throat of Nga-ba). A short distance beyond we emerge onto the southern end of Nga-ba, covered with pines and spruces.

4. NGA-BA DEPRESSION

Nga-ba is a large basin-like depression at the foot of the eastern slopes of the snow range at an elevation of 10,500 feet. It extends from the northern slopes of the Sa-ba moraine to the edge of Pai-shui 白水 or Gyi-p'ĕr k'a (not to be mistaken for the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a of the western slopes) (PLATE 79).

Nga-ba, once the bed of an ice lake, is now usually dry, except in summers of unusual rain when the greater part becomes a beautiful blue sheet of water in which the snow range is reflected (PLATE 80). Nga-ba is over two miles in length and bounded on the east by forested limestone hills, the trees being mainly pines. To the west of the basin are great forests of pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*) which merge into dense forests of spruces, *Picea likiangensis* of large size predominating. These in turn give way to forests of larches (*Larix Potaninii*), with undergrowth of *Arundinaria*, or cane-brake, a small slender bamboo, rhododendrons, etc. Above the larches are patches of *Abies Forrestii*, easily distinguished by their dark foliage.

The region of pine forests is known as Nga-ba t'o-k'o (*t'o*, pine tree, *k'o*, land, ground); the slopes forested with spruce and larch are called Llü-na-bi-gkv (Where the forests of the black spruces are) these forests furnish the Na-khi with timber used in the construction of their houses. The pine and larch logs are transported on very primitive two-wheeled contrivances (PLATE 81).

173 It was on this meadow that the Hli-khi̱n [7] and Hsi-fan warriors of Yung-ning camped with their chiefs ready to attack Li-chiang. Tradition relates that the sister of one of the Na-khi chiefs,[8] who was given in marriage to the chief of the Hli-khi̱n tribe, instigated the attack, suggesting the day of Ch'ing-ming 清明 [9] when all the male Na-khi would be away visiting the graves to

[7] The Hli-khi̱n (people of Hli, or Hli dü, or Yung-ning) are a branch of the Na-khi speaking a Na-khi dialect (*see* section on Yung-ning).

[8] It was Mu Ting who gave one of his four sisters, the eldest, called Mu Shih-hsien 木氏先, to the Yung-ning chief, A-ch'o 阿卓, in marriage. In the chronicle it relates that Mu Ting conquered Yung-ning between 1521–1523, and this would coincide with the Yung-ning Chronicle, in which it is stated that the chief A-ch'o came to power in the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (1484), succeeding his elder brother. The name *Boa-shi*, however, dates back to the Sung dynasty (*see* Chapter III, 4), and therefore the incident here related must have happened much earlier.

[9] Ch'ing-ming falls either in the second or third moon, oftener in the third moon, usually about April 5th. On that day the people visit the graves and make food offerings to their

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worship their dead. The Hli-khi̱n and Hsi-fan people came down from the north and camped at Nga-ba, which the Hli-khi̱n people call Gha-ba dü. A great mounted host had assembled on this huge meadow and before the attack staged a war dance, dressed in armor (PLATE 82) and bearing swords, lances, cross-bows and poisoned arrows. Below Nga-ba, on the northern end of the plain, is 'A-lo, or 'A-ma̱-ndv, the plain covered with razor-sharp limestone outcroppings resembling a rough lava flow (*see* p. 220). Their charge, at 'A-lo was delayed by the sharp rocks which cut the feet of their horses, laming them. The delay lost them the battle, for when they arrived twenty li north of Li-chiang they were met by the Na-khi chief's army and annihilated, every Hsi-fan being decapitated. The place is known to this day as Boa-shi (Dead Boa, or Hsi-fan) and the scene of the decapitation is called Lv-wùa-k'ö (Place where the rocks are piled up). For every decapitated head a stone was thrown on the spot, till a considerable pile accumulated; the tumulus still exists. Another Lv-wùa-k'ö lies one li south of the village of Ssaw-ssu-k'a (Wen-huats'un) and is also known as Ḳhü-wùa-k'ö (*ḳhü* = lake), referring to the immense pool of blood of the executed.

The Na-khi chief then brought his traitorous sister to Li-chiang. On the artificial islet of Yü-hu Ḳhü, or Bi-ndu Ḳhü, he imprisoned her in a cage, feeding her with dry barley flour, but giving her no water whatever: surrounded by water she died of thirst. So much for historic events in Nga-ba.

Several spurs with intervening meadows separate Nga-ba from the northern end of the north-western part of the Li-chiang plain. The first peak, a massive limestone mountain, which flanks the southern end of Nga-ba on the west, is the same which guards the entrance to Sa-balo-gkv, namely Ch'wua-lo-gku; it once bore a glacier on its eastern face. Behind the latter is a still higher mountain mass which I have named Sa-ba nv-lv (PLATE 79). At its foot in the spruce forest issues a spring and a streamlet which disappears underground on its way down the hill-side. The spring is called Gyi-k'aw-k'ö of Llü-na-bi-gkv.

The trail, which leads through the forest on the middle slopes of the mountain, passes a small meadow called Bpü-gkaw-k'o-ma̱n below a small valley and spring known as Bpü-gkaw-gkv-k'wuà. Between the main peak and the nameless mountain mass is a ravine densely forested with fir at its apex; the ravine and meadow with luscious grass where the shepherds herd their flocks of sheep, are called Ō-hăr ba (Turquoise meadow), while the spur separating it on the north from Pai-shui bears the name Ō-hăr mbu-gkv (Turquoise spur) and overlooks the glacier valley Pai-shui.

On the eastern mountain slopes of Nga-ba there is a meadow called Nga-ba tsi-mä gko, east of the trail leading to the hamlets of Nga-tz inhabited by Na-khi as well as Miao-tzu 苗子. The latter are immigrants from Kuei-chou. From the northern end of Nga-ba a trail leads through forest, after crossing a ravine which issues from the mountains to the east of Nga-ba and is called Nga-ba lua-mba-k'o. There Tibetans often camp and herd their yak, selling the butter in the Li-chiang market.

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dead. The Na-khi buried the ashes of their cremated dead, and placed a stone before the circular mound.

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Emerging from the pine forest we come to an *obo* [10] (*shi-zhi* in Na-khi) at the head of the trail which leads into Pai-shui. The first part of the trail takes us to a small meadow and depression called Hoa-gkyi lo,[11] surrounded by *Picea likiangensis*, and thence down to the stream-bed, spanned by a stone-bridge: elevation 9,970 feet. The stream-bed is lined with spruces, willows and rhododendrons. On the northern bank, and somewhat above it, is a beautiful meadow surrounded by spruce forest which, next to Nda-za gko, is one of the finest camping places in this region. It is known as Gyi-p'ĕr k'a-k'o, elevation 10,000 feet.

The Pai-shui (White water) has its source in the hanging glacier overlooking Nga-ba, and it is rightly so called, for it is of a bluish-white, intensified by the white limestone rocks over which it flows. It is a beautiful stream with tall spruces lining its bank (PLATE 83) as if planted there, and for background the grand peaks of Jade-dragon Mountain crowned with eternal snow. Words fail to describe the beauty of the scene. Here is Nature still undisturbed, here roam bears, deer, leopard, stags and pheasants, in the majestic forest and over meadows starred with myriads of flowers.

Two lateral streams join Pai-shui near its head, the Pai-shui itself is fed by the glacier which spreads out like a fan over the rocks polished by the ice. Here at the head of the stream-bed the elevation is 11,000 feet and the mountain wall rises abruptly, the slopes to the left and right being forested with larches, while above them somber firs cling to the steep declivities, their dark green foliage contrasting sharply with the light-grey limestone scree.

On the spur which separates Pai-shui from the parallel-flowing Hei-shui 黑水 (Black water), called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, rising in the third highest peak, Gyi-nà nv-lv, is situated one of the finest meadows on the entire range. It is called Nda-za gko, elevation 10,700 feet (PLATE 84). There are two approaches to this loveliest of all the meadows, hidden in dense forest on this lateral spur which appears too narrow to harbor such an extensive place.

One approach is by the Pai-shui valley, the trail ascending the northern valley wall; the second is up the broad slope of the pine-covered spur which separates Pai-shui from Hei-shui. The steep trail leads at right angles from the main road into the pine forest, the dividing spur being known as Gyi-p'ĕr mbu in Na-khi and Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 in Chinese, for once upon a time a shrine dedicated to the mountain spirits existed here. Once over the steep slope the trail crosses a rocky flat covered with pines and low, shrubby oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), to a narrow meadow called Nda-za gko dü-man, flanked on the north by a spur with a bluff known as Ting-hsiang 釘像 gkv; the last word is Na-khi and meaning "there," while the Chinese characters refer to the shape of the bluff, which resembles a nail.

From this little meadow it is only a short distance to the magnificent one of Nda-za gko. To the south the spur enclosing it is covered with forest composed of spruces 100 to 150 feet tall and firs, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

[10] *Obo* is a Tibetan-Mongol word and denotes a cairn, a pyramidal pile of rocks on a pass. The Tibetans call it *la-rdsas* (pronounced la-dse).

[11] The *Hoa-gkyi* is an herb (*Oxyria sinensis*) with reddish stems and white flowers, the leaves of which are cooked and fed to pigs.

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From the top of the sharp spur a wonderful view is to be had of Pai-shui. West the meadow extends almost to the foot of the wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and is surrounded by the same type of forest, carpeted with deep moss. The sources of the Hei-shui (Gyi-nà lo-gkv), separate the meadow from the massive walls of the mountain. The latter can be reached by following the forested spur to the south of the meadow.

Only in the summer time is there running water on the meadow, but a little distance to the north is a spring called Gyi-dtà-lä-han [12] (the name embracing not only the spring but also the meadow and immediate surroundings), which furnishes water in the winter. Seen from this meadow, Gyi-nà nv-lv is one huge limestone mass declining to the north (PLATE 85); in the spring when the snows melt, or after heavy rains, waterfalls descend its steep slopes, here and there sparingly covered with firs and junipers.

From Nda-za gko it is possible to reach the northern slopes of this mountain, by descending into the valley parallel to its base and following it to Yu-k'o-lo at the foot of the cliff. The waters from the two ravines at the left and right of its base join and flow east as the Hei-shui; collectively they are called Gyi-nà lo-gkv, and the entire region Gyi-nà gv-ssu gko. Two other ravines, descending from the eastern face of the mountain proper, join the main Hei-shui Stream. The first, or southern one, is dry and is called Bpu-k'a-k'u (Dry embankment), the second, north of it, carries water and is called Gyi-shi k'a (Yellow water valley). These have to be crossed if one wishes to reach the foot of the mountain at Yu-k'o-lo (PLATE 86).

5. THE GYI-NÀ MOUNTAIN, OR GYI-NÀ NV-LV (PLATES 85, 86, 87)

Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly spoken of as Gyi-nà lo-gkv, is the third highest mountain mass of the Li-chiang snow range. Unlike the Shan-tzu-tou range, it is a long, broad mountain with a gradual ascent from north to south, and perfectly flat on the top, in the shape of a long hand, the upper part of which is occupied by a broad glacier hemmed in by low limestone ramparts. The eastern side is composed of a solid limestone wall, almost vertical from its base at 10,500 feet to the summit, 19,356 feet above sea level. Between Shan-tzu-tou and Gyi-nà nv-lv [13] is a lower, but nameless, mountain mass, isolated from both by once-glacier-filled ravines. The rocky mass which I here baptize Nga-ba nv-lv (Silver rocks or Snow mountain of Nga-ba) is visible on plates 80 and 83.

The western flank of Gyi-nà nv-lv is covered with loose limestone and is less steep than the eastern, but with sharp limestone ridges protruding from the

[12] The name Gyi-dtà-lä-han refers to two springs, one on the actual meadow of Nda-za gko, the second on the other side of a low spur to the north of it. *Gyi* is water, *dtà-lä* is a double bag, with two openings similar to a saddle-bag, such as the Na-khi use, and *han* is the method of carrying such a bag, slung over the shoulder — here the spur between the two springs is meant.

[13] While any snow range is called *nv-lv*, the literal meaning is "silver rock," *nv* = silver, *lv* = rock. However, there are other high, steep mountains, not crowned with eternal snow, which are also designated as *nv-lv*, as for example, *Sä-bpi zhěr nv-lv*. The word *zhěr* has two meanings — one is steep, vertical, and the other is the ringing in the ears at high altitudes. Both meanings may be applicable, but the former is probably the correct one.

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screes. Its slopes drop into a valley which has its head near and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv. The other wall of the valley is formed by a spur, culminating in ten separate limestone crags which extend parallel to Gyi-nà nv-lv proper. The three first are worthy of the name peak, for each has a glacier which descends into the valley. The southernmost of this row of peaks, known collectively as 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv, is the second highest of the range, being slightly higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv — probably 19,500 feet — and a close rival of Shan-tzu-tou. It is directly opposite and west of the summit of Gyi-nà nv-lv and joined to it by a sharp limestone crest, to the north of which lies a glacier. This glacier forms the head of the valley, sending down a greyish stream, called the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河 (PLATE 88), into the Yangtze west of Ta-ku. Although the peak is higher than Gyi-nà nv-lv, it is not an outstanding one and is only visible from the north or from the slopes of the former.

As the three southernmost and highest peaks of the 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv Range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge, were nameless, I have given each an appropriate Na-khi name, in memory of the three most renowned Na-khi chiefs. As the most noteworthy was A-ssu, or Mu Tseng, the first of these three peaks I thus baptize A-ssu nv-lv; the second, after A-ku, or Mu Kung, A-ku nv-lv; and the third after A-mbu or Mu Kao, A-mbu nv-lv [14] (PLATE 89).

The entire spur of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv has the character of Shan-tzu-tou mountain and is in fact a continuation of it (PLATE 90). Gyi-nà nv-lv, parallel to 'A-ts'an-gko is a quite different, bulky mountain mass, pushed further east, as it were from the main backbone of the range. Were it not for the sharp limestone crest which connects it to the first peak of the 'A-ts'an-gko Range Gyi-nà nv-lv would really be a separate mountain mass.

The best approach to the foot of Gyi-nà nv-lv, whence it is possible to ascend the mountain, is by following the trail north from Pai-shui — the same trail which leads up into the Yangtze loop. Thus from Pai-shui we climb through beautiful forest of spruces and pines to a spur called Gyi-p'ĕr mbu, at 10,400 feet elevation, the divide between the Pai-shui and the Hei-shui. Over this ridge called Shan-shen-miao in Chinese, a steep trail leads to the alpine meadow of Nda-za gko. We descend into the Hei-shui, quite a disappointment in comparison to the beautiful Pai-shui. Ere reaching the Hei-shui, to the left of the trail, halfway down the slope, is a spring surrounded by pines and oaks. This spring and the immediate neighborhood, where good camping places can be found, is called Gyi-nà zhwua-ts'u.

The muddy trail descends now to the narrow stream of the Hei-shui which is here spanned by a wooden bridge, elevation 9,600 feet, or 400 feet lower than the Pai-shui. After crossing the bridge the trail ascends steepiy to where used to be a Chinese hut, which served as an inn for travelers, a miserable affair at best. No one lives there now and the slopes, which were once cultivated, lie fallow and abandoned owing to the robbers who make this region unsafe. These robbers are mostly Chinese, but Lo-lo and Lü-khi (Yung-ning people) also, are not averse to highway robbery when opportunity offers. From the

[14] Should these Na-khi names prove difficult to be pronounced, their Chinese equivalents may be adopted thus: Mu-tseng Shan 木曾山, Mu-kung Shan 木公山, and Mu-kao Shan 木高山.

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ruins of former habitations we enter open pine forests and emerge at a lovely meadow surrounded by large *Tsuga yünnanensis*, or hemlock trees. This meadow, a rather marshy one, is called Gyi-nà o-nda-mă (Marshy meadow of Gyi-nà), elevation 10,550 feet.

With the entire snow range in full view, we ascend through pine forest to the top of the northern spur of Gyi-nà lo-gkv valley, called Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, to an elevation of 11,000 feet. From this vantage point one of the finest views of the snow range is revealed. The main trail descends the spur through virgin forest consisting of spruces, hemlocks, firs, oaks, birches, sorbus, willows, and rhododendrons, with undergrowth of cane-brake.

Instead of following the main trail, we turn west through pine forest, later entering lovely spruce and hemlock forest, with tall *Rhodcdendron rubiginosum* trees bearing purple to lavender flowers, and finally emerge on the broad spur, a huge meadow of the richest green, bordered by forest. Thousands of flowers wave their heads in this luscious, green meadow called Gv-ssu-gko dü-man (PLATE 91), over which our trail continues overlooking the valleys of Pai-shui and Hei-shui, and the ancient lake-bed of Nga-ba. The entire country to the south lies before us like an open book. To the north of the spur is a valley, very deep in its lower part where it joins the Hei-shui. The region north of the valley is called collectively Gko-ndza-gkv, as lush, rich meadows are interspersed with forest of fir and oak: *ndza* meaning spotted, *gko*, alpine meadow, *gkv*, the region. Of this region the Na-khi have the saying, *Gko-ndza ts'ă-ho-p'a, lv-mă ts'ă-ho-lwua, lwua-gku-muan-dto-dto*, or, "On the 18 faces of Gko-ndza, the 18 assembled shepherds cannot see one another's huts." Numbers of shepherds may herd their sheep on the many separate meadows, without one being aware of the others' presence.

One feels lost in this vast place, which joins the broad, massive base of Gyi-nà nv-lv. Myriads of flowers dot the green turf, on which Tibetans have established their yak encampments. Where the meadow joins the limestone mountain it is called Gv-ssu gko. Elevation 12,500 feet. This entire region was once covered with dense forests of fir (Abies) and junipers of immense size, the haunt of tigers and leopards, as well as deer and stags. Several decades ago someone set fire to the forest, which burned for months and reached the borders of Nga-ba, crossing even the deep gorge of the Pai-shui. Since then tigers have vanished from this region.

Crossing Gv-ssu gko to the head of the gulch Yu-k'o-lo, which becomes the Hei-shui at the base of the mountain, the trail ascends steeply through beautiful forest to a plateau with pure stands of fir forest, thence out on to a burnt-over area with the charred remains of the forest, partly standing and partly littering the steep slopes, which make climbing difficult. The almost vertical slope, covered in s upper part with stunted firs and prostrate rhododendrons, joins the limestone wall of Gyi-nà nv-lv at 13,500 feet. Instead of skirting the broad base, made difficult on account of the soft snow which lies here often 50 feet deep, we climb hand over foot up the grey limestone wall, thence across snowfields, from one spur to another, until an elevation of 15,500 feet is reached. The sharp, limestone rocks stand upright as the leaves of a book. Here a panorama of real grandeur unfolds itself. To the north one can see plainly in this clear atmosphere the three Gangkar ling peaks in Hsi-k'ang,

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rising to over 20,000 feet into an azure sky, while Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv rears its snowy head high over the crags and pinnacles forming the last of the spur to the west, at the foot of which the Yangtze roars some 10,000 feet or more below, ever carving a deeper and deeper gorge. Range upon range is visible, as well as the Yangtze in its trench at Ta-ku after it emerges from the gorge between Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv and the crags of 'A-ts'an-gko. 133* 137* 487*

From 15,500 feet on, the grade is gentle and the going is good. We continue on the top of the wide spur leading to the broad peak, over thousands of tiny, loose, sharp limestone rocks. The entire surface of the hard limestone has been split into myriads of fragments by the action of the ice. The wall of rock which forms the eastern part of the gorge is cleaved several feet deep into a forest of columns as if the entire surface had been chopped up with a giant's axe. From the summit down to 17,000 feet the broad spur is buried beneath a massive glacier, the ice lying in folds like the train of a wedding garment (PLATE 87). The rocks here change in shape, resembling angular sticks several feet in length, and only about two inches in width. They lie about parallel to each other, having been split by the action of severe frosts and ice. Quartz is not uncommon here, also iron-bearing rock and pure white marble. The ascent to the summit of this mountain can easily be accomplished, one needs only follow the western outer edge or rampart which hems in the glacier, and which is usually free of snow. The only obstacles are the terrific gales which blow over these mountains, whirling the snow in huge columns like smoke into the air. If one wishes to ascend Gyi-nà nv-lv, camp should be pitched in the gorge west of it, on a broad shelf or terrace, suitable for a camp, a little below 16,000 feet. At 14,500 feet and even higher we found *Lerwa Lerwa major* on the rocky, barren waste and also several snow chickens, *Tetragallus tibetanus henrici*, neither hitherto recorded from Yün-nan.

6. THE REGION BETWEEN TA-KU (NDA-GV) AND GKO-NDZA-GKV

Ta-ku and the many small villages belonging to it are collectively called Ta-chü li 大具里. Ta-ku itself is situated on a fan-shaped plain mainly composed of conglomerate. To the west the plain is bordered by the Gyi-nà nv-lv and the Chien-t'ai Ho 漸台河. The Yangtze emerges here from the terrific gorge which it has cut for itself through the Li-chiang snow range, and flows east for a short distance through the conglomerate plain and then north at the foot of a mighty range — the Dzu-k'u nv-lv as it is called by the Na-khi of Ha-ba and Bĕr-dděr. The plain through which the Yangtze flows, 600 feet below the man village of Ta-ku, drops in terraces towards the river. It is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, except for a few Chinese settlers. The climate is warm enough for two crops to mature in one year. Wheat, panicled millet (*shu* 黍), cotton, rice and maize are grown. Out of the millet stalks they make sugar known as Sha-t'ang 粉糖. *Cannabis sativa*, the *ma* 麻 (hemp plant) which the Na-khi call *ssaw*, is much cultivated, especially the female plant which gives better fibre and which they call *ssaw-mă*. 133* [132] 241

Ta-ku is 110 li north of Li-chiang. To the west of the village is a large spring called Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 (Dragon spring); in the days of a native official, its water was conveyed in irrigation ditches to the higher fields. Near the [132] 133* 137*

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*133 *137 main village, or to the east of it, are the hamlets of La-mbe and Zaw-muan. From Ta-ku we go south across an arid, uncultivated stretch, the ground appearing to be hard, cemented limestone, which sounds hollow when riding over it. The plain from Ta-ku village to the foot of the hills is six li across. The village of P'ä-da (Chinese, P'ei-tan 培埠) is the last on the southern edge of the plain at the foot of the hills. From P'ä-da we ascend the hill-side over a steep and more or less indistinct trail through a xerophytic vegetation of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, Berberis, Wikstroemia, etc., up to an elevation of 8,500 feet where the trail enters pine forest. It then skirts ravines, past a lovely meadow in the pine forest with a spring, which affords an excellent lunch-stop as well as camping place.

Skirting another ravine we emerge on the top of a spur with a dry pond, in dense pine forest at an elevation of 9,250 feet. Looking between the trees down over the Ta-ku plain, we spy to the west on a terrace the hamlet Gka-dzè amidst green fields. Higher we ascend, where we meet with individual larches, with *Rhododendron heliolepis*, oaks and pines, all forming a somber forest through which the trail zigzags. Winding around ravines we enter a broad, densely forested valley from the head of which extend several rounded terraces. Over these the trail leads in and out, to ascend a central spur from an elevation of 10,000 feet, forested with hemlocks (*Tsuga yünnanensis*), *Pinus Armandi* with *Rhododendron rubiginosum* and cane-brake as undergrowth (PLATE 92). Soon spruces take the place of hemlocks, with golden oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), and we emerge at a beautiful meadow, elevation 10,700 feet, surrounded by lovely spruce forest. From here an unrivalled vista opens to the traveler. The peaks of the Li-chiang snow range tower high above us, cold and wintry, wrapped in ice and snow.

To the north in Chung-tien 中甸 loom the mountains of Gkü-dü, and northeast Wua-ha Shan of Yung-ning beyond the Yangtze. This region with its numerous meadows, each isolated and surrounded by spruces and firs, is called Gko-ndza-gkv.

From these meadows, some of which resembled a ploughed field rummaged by wild boars, we descend through forest to the main trail which leads northeast to Mba-yi-wùa.

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CHAPTER V

The Li-chiang Territory within the Yangtze Loop

The Yangtze River after cutting its way through the snow range in a north-eastern direction turns northwards at Ta-ku headed off by the limestone range of Dzu-ku nv-lv which merges into La-pao Shan. Hua-ti-yi nv-lv is an extension of the range and is the highest part of the backbone in the north. At Shang Feng-k'o the river turns due south. Deep and long gorges extend east into the Yangtze as the central mountain mass is closer to the western bend of the loop than the eastern. 137* 133* 487*

The territory north of Li-chiang in the Yangtze loop is quite narrow in comparison to the great triangle which the river encloses. The southern and eastern part of the triangle is inhabited by Na-khi, but the northern part is exclusively occupied by Tibetans. Both banks of the river to the west of the triangle up to Ch'i-tsung are however peopled by Na-khi. [131]

The Li-chiang snow range occupies the western and central part of the loop; it is here pierced by the Yangtze which bulges considerably into the land and is then forced north by the range mentioned previously.

The land within the loop from Li-chiang to Shang Feng-k'o is six stages long and exceedingly mountainous. With the exception of the Li-chiang plain which extends to the foot of the snow range, there is no level land within the loop, save scattered alpine meadows, the longest of which is Nga-ba. As one travels over the high mountains, mostly densely forested, one gains occasional glimpses of the Yangtze on both sides, especially in the northern part of the loop on the road to Shang Feng-k'o 上俸可 (Upper Feng-k'o). On the trail to Feng-k'o 俸可, however, one is forced to travel for about half a day along the barren, rocky slopes of the eastern part of the loop. Coming from Shang Feng-k'o, at the apex of the loop, the trail leads over the central mountain mass, leaving the Yangtze on both sides, without entering either valley.

It is possible to reach Ta-ku 打鼓 from the central mountain spurs within the loop, by a narrow trail from two different places, one being Mba-yi-wùa (Place where there is sugar) called Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾 in Chinese, and the other T'o-k'ŏ-shĕr, called in Chinese Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 (Long pine flat). The trail is negotiable to pedestrians only.

The only large settlements within this territory and north of the Li-chiang plain are at La-bpu (Chinese, La-pao 剌寶), Fu-k'o (Chinese, Feng-k'o), and Nda-gv (Chinese, Ta-ku). The remaining villages are scattered and consist of a few families only.

1. From Hei-shui to La-pao Li

We have followed the main trail from Nga-ba as far as Gyi-nà mbu-gkv, where a small path leads to the heights of Gyi-nà nv-lv, and shall continue north from the bluff overlooking the Hei-shui.

Leaving the pine forest behind, the trail descends from Gyi-nà mbu-gkv into

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*133 *137 *487 virgin forest of a mixed type consisting of giant spruces, hemlocks (*Tsuga yünnanensis*), oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), willows, red birches, Sorbus and rhododendrons, with undergrowth of Ribes and a species of Arundinaria, or cane-brake. A brook crosses the trail which in the winter is a sheet of ice and difficult to negotiate. The elevation is 10,700 feet. The spot is called Mun-p'ă (Winnowing tray). This streamlet joins the Mùen-ts'ă-dto, a brook crossing the trail further north; together they flow near Nga-tz into the united Hei-shui and Pai-shui which is known as Nga-tz gyi-t'a (Water below Nga-tz). We continue to descend through beautiful forest of similar composition, but with additional species such as Acer, Prunus, etc., cross another brook called Mun-p'ă-gko and follow the mountain slope, till we emerge from the mixed forest onto a pine-covered slope whence the confluence of the Pai-shui and Hei-shui is visible. Opposite the mouth of the Nga-tz River, where it debouches into the Yangtze, is a large mountain which Handel-Mazzetti calls Man-tou schan,[1] height 10,300 feet. Near by on the west bank of the Yangtze is situated the hamlet of Dshi-hö gyi-ts'ă (Red earth ferry), called in Chinese Hung-men-k'ou 洪門口. Here rules a small chief by name Yang Hsiu-lin 楊修林.

Neither the Yangtze nor the village are visible, as both are hidden in the terrific chasm of the river nearly 100 li distant. The Chinese map places the village opposite the district of La-pao and on the east bank of the Yangtze, a long days journey too far north.

Once more we enter mixed spruce forest, which the Na-khi here call Wua-ssi-bi-ssu-dshwua: the meaning of the first part of the name has been lost, but *bi* is forest and *ssu-dshwua* means three partitions. Pine forest alternates again with spruce forest and a trail leads north-west over Gko-ndza-gkv to Ta-ku, on the Yangtze. Where the trail branches to the left up the spur to Ta-ku the place is known as Mùen-ts'ă-dto after the brook somewhat to the south. Elevation 10,800 feet.

We continue on the main trail, skirting a depression to the east, and ascend the spur K'ö-shĕr-hwoa to an elevation of 11,100 feet. Here is a small, sloping meadow, an agreeable midday halting-place, with water in the ravine below; the place is called Llü-bpu gko, and is surrounded by forest of oaks, spruces and rhododendrons.

Ascending further through forest we strike a broad, gravelly trail, almost worthy of the name of road, and descend over the steep mountain slopes, here covered with larches, pines, oaks and rhododendrons. To the west is a broad depression which separates us from the Gyi-nà nv-lv range of which one enjoys a magnificent view. A-nà Ngyu, a rock dome 15,600 feet in height, is visible north of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv; it is the fifth highest peak of the Li-chiang snow range, but situated across river in the Chung-tien district and divides the Bbĕr-ddĕr Na-khi from the Chung-tien Tibetans. To our left is the broad ravine which leads to the plain of Ta-ku on the Yangtze; from here the river is also visible, flowing north in its deep trench. To our right is a gravelly limestone spur at the foot of which our trail descends, among pines and bushes of the blue-flowered *Rhododendron cuneatum*. Still descending, we turn east through tall pine forest into the former Lo-lo settlement of Ghügh-t'o.

[1] The *Yung-pei chi-li t'ing chih* records no mountain by that name.

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The finest stand of pine forest in this part of Yün-nan was once here. Trees a hundred feet tall, with perfectly straight boles stood here until the Lo-los came from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 to settle. Clan feuds had forced them to wander and they came to this wild region. They cleared most of the forests and, cutting down the magnificent hard yellow pines set fire to them as they lay on the ground. Of the smaller twigs and branches they would make oblong piles, cover them with sod, and then burn them; the ashes they ploughed under. This method of agriculture is mentioned in Chinese records about Lo-lo, as ploughing (cultivating) with fire. They made a desert of the land and the smoke clouds of the burning forests enshrouded the landscape (PLATE 93).

Water is scarce, there being only one small water-hole which is dry in winter, while in a small ravine near by a little brook furnished the only regular water supply for the entire community. From here the women carried the water in wooden buckets to their homes. As they depended entirely on rain for irrigation, they grew mainly potatoes, oats and buckwheat. The potatoes they ate baked in live coals. For over ten years they lived here, cultivating the dry lands, until, on account of almost daily robberies they were forced in 1931 to leave Ghügh-t'o. As the area is easily controlled on account of its being surrounded by the Yangtze on all sides, they could never return. Some went to Bbĕr-ddĕr, some to Yung-ning, the Li-chiang soldiers standing by on the banks of the Yangtze until the last Lo-lo had left with wife, child, sheep and pig. Thus they went east and north of the river with their few belongings to find new places to devastate (PLATES 94, 95). In their abandoned fields, young pines have sprouted again.

From Ghügh-t'o, the trail descends into a dry valley and pine forest. Ghügh-t'o like Lo-shui-tung 落水洞, possesses funnel-shaped sink-holes, the narrow part being lined with limestone; they are, however, not so numerous. Ere reaching the hamlet of Mba-yi-wùa one passes a large, forested, limestone mountain called T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'ŏ (To shake off fear at the foot of the cliff) to the east of the trail. It is said that formerly tigers inhabited this region (leopards are still to be found) and people were afraid when they reached that spot.

Diagonally across the hill is a much lower mound, its slopes covered with pines; on its top a mud fort was erected, that is, a simple encircling low, mud wall. This fortification, called La-bpu Wua-ssă, was constructed during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856, when the Moslems were being slaughtered by the Chinese at Ta-li and elsewhere. As the Chinese officials had fled from Li-chiang, a La-bpu (La-pao) Na-khi headman, by name Wua-ssă, had made himself magistrate and Fu-kuan; he liberated all the prisoners in the jails and slaughtered many Moslems. He forced Li-chiang merchants and well-to-do people, who had lent money to La-bpu peasants at exorbitant rates of interest, to take the place of cattle before a plough, and carry heavy loads. When they were unable to perform such work he addressed them thus: "As you are unable to do the work of a cow ploughing the fields, or to carry a load, you had better drink new milk," and thereupon had them beheaded. By the drinking of new milk he intimated that they had better be killed, to be reborn as babies. Many who had left their old masters, whom they maligned in order to in-

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669 gratiate themselves with him, and hoped to be enrolled as his followers, were also told that it were better they too "go and drink new milk." For if they were now speaking evil of those whose food they had eaten, would they not probably speak evil also of him after having eaten his? And so saying, he had them beheaded. Nothing is known of the end of Wua-ssä's career.

*487 *133 *137 [241] [291] [301] The Na-khi village of Mba-yi-wùa (H-M., Bayiua; Chinese, Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), not far distant from Wua-ssä's fort, is situated on the slopes of a hill at an elevation of 10,160 feet, with cultivated fields surrounding it. Wheat, oats, hemp, rape turnips (*Brassica rapa depressa*), buckwheat and maize are grown by the inhabitants. The village is not a large one and the Na-khi are still more or less uncontaminated. Their women still wear the genuine Na-khi dress, a short, much pleated skirt of greyish-white homespun hemp cloth, with blue borders and horizontal stripes. Heavy silver ear-rings, the size of a large key-ring, with heavy pendants, are inserted into the lobes of the ear, the rings extending below the shoulders (PLATES 96, 97).

The village boasts of a temple situated on the top of the hill over looking it. By far the finest view of the entire snow range is to be had from the temple terrace (PLATE 98). A sunset I once witnessed over twenty years ago from this spot will remain to me unforgettable: As the sun disappeared behind the snowy range, there shone forth magnificent rays above the battlement-like crest, each sharp crag causing the deflection of a ray, while the peaks themselves were enshrouded in cold mist. In the brilliant light of the full moon, shining in a crystal-clear atmosphere, the long snow range resembled a sleeping dragon fashioned of ice.

To the east of Mba-yi-wùa a deep gorge extends towards the Yangtze, called Gyi-t'khi lo, a branch of which is known as Dto-bpo lo; from here a trail leads into the Yangtze valley, whence several ferries ply across to Yung-ning territory.

The highway north continues over lofty mountains in the center of the loop, first turning west at the village of Mba-yi-wùa, and thence north up a narrow valley through beautiful pine forest, the trees 80 to 100 feet tall, until it comes to a peculiar meadow of great beauty. This is called Nda-za dü or Nda-zaw dü (Land of the descending hoar frost), elevation 10,600 feet. It is peculiar because the meadow is really a basin without an outlet, surrounded by limestone mountains forested with pines; its center, a bog, drains into a little brook or stream which has its source to the north of the meadow. The stream gathers together various brooks and disappears near the foot of the western mountain wall into a hole in the limestone.

From Nda-za dü we climb the eastern hill-side through dense virgin pine forest alive with song birds. To the west of the trail the ravine, which opens into Nda-za dü, narrows and is filled with magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*). Continuing at an elevation of 11,000 feet, we leave the pine forest and enter mixed forest of tall spruces, hemlocks and large oaks, associated with maples, rhododendron, *Dipelta yünnanensis*, etc. This stretch of forest is known as Gka-ts'an-ssu-gka-ts'an. Beyond a few larches make their appearance, also firs, but most numerous of all and by far the stateliest tree of this region, is the Yün-nan hemlock, (*Tsuga yünnanensis*). Alas, the finest part of this forest has been burned, and only the black charred trunks remain, some

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prostrate others still erect, tragic witnesses of the once magnificent forest, covering now waste land. Here, at an elevation of 10,700 feet, parrots (*Psittacula Derbiana*) fly in flocks from grove to grove, chattering noisily.

We descend through pine forest to a small meadow, and emerge at the foot of a huge, vertical limestone cliff into a circular basin, in which are several hamlets collectively called T'o-k'ö-shĕr, or Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪 in Chinese (H-M., Tsasopie).[2] North of the last hamlet, situated on a spur, is a small hill with tall pine trees, whence the place takes its name: The flat of the long pine. On the top of the hill is a lovely spring and an excellent camping place. The district is known as La-bpu (La-pao li in Chinese), and comprises not only the small villages of T'o-k'ö-shĕr, on the spur but also the many villages in the deep valley which here extends east into the Yangtze, and those on the western bank of the Yangtze proper.

2. THE DISTRICT OF LA-PAO OR LA-BPU

The district of La-pao (La-bpu), the ancient Pao-shan chou 寶山州, is 245 li north of Li-chiang, and 170 li south-west of Yung-ning. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 24) it belonged to I chou[3] and was the land of the district (hsien) of Hsieh-lung 邪龍. During the Later Han dynasty (25–220) it belonged to Yung-ch'ang Chün 永昌郡. In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) it was conquered by the Mo-so-man. In the beginning of the Mongol dynasty (1253) they submitted and their villages (those belonging to Pao-shan chou) were called Ch'a-han hu-lu-han 察罕忽魯罕. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) there the magistracy of Pao-shan hsien was created. In the 16th year (1279) it was raised to a chou belonging to the circuit of Li-chiang. No changes were made during the Ming dynasty (1368–1643). A native magistrate (T'u chih-chou 土知州), by name Lo 羅, governed its six li (Communes).

Excerpts from the Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao (*ch.* 117, *fol.* 20*a*)

[The brief statement in this work regarding Pao-shan chou makes gross error, when it states that it is east of Li-chiang; this is, of course, wrong, for 245 li east would be in Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), east of the Yangtze. The name Pao-shan chou still occurs on the Li-chiang district map and is to the north of 'A-k'o (Chinese, Ngai-k'o 岩可) on the west bank of the Yangtze. It further says that it is 130 li south to Ho-ch'ing fu 鶴慶府. This is also incorrect, for Ho-ch'ing is 80 li south of Li-chiang and the latter place is 245 li south of Pao-shan chou.]

The region which comprises the present-day La-bpu and known during the reign of Chih-yüan (Kublai Khan) (1279) as Pao-shan chou, was captured by force by seven brothers who belonged to the Mo-so tribe. This happened during the T'ang dynasty. At that time La-bpu consisted of seven stockaded villages of which the largest one was called Ta-kuei 大匱 [the Li-chiang records

[2] Another example of the Na-khi mispronunciation of Chinese words ending in a consonant, Tsa-so-pie = Ch'ang-sung-p'ing.

[3] The Han dynasty I chou comprised parts of Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan.

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state that the ruins of it are still in existence and are east of Pao-shan chou]. The other six were called Lo-pang 羅邦 [this may be the origin of the Na-khi name La-bpu], Lo-ssu (also called Lo-ssu-wei 羅寺圍), Ngai-ch'ang 礙場 [perhaps the present Ngai-k'o, or Na-khi 'A-k'o, south of Pao-shan chou in La-bpu (PLATE 100)], Pien-t'ou 卞頭, Tang-po-lo 當波羅 [undoubtedly the present-day Dto-bpo lo, or Chinese Tung-po-lo 東波落, in the li of La-pao], and, finally, Tang-lang-chiang 當郎將.

It is recorded that these seven brothers separated and resided each in a village. When Kublai Khan came in 1253 to attack Ta-li, that is, the Nan-chao Kingdom, he crossed the Yangtze at Pien-t'ou 卞頭 and came to Lo-pang and thence to Lo-ssu-wei and Ta-kuei, etc. Their headman submitted and their villages received the name of Ch'a-han hu-lu-han.[4] In the 14th year of Chih-yüan (1277) the district of Pao-shan was created and in the 16th year (1279) Pao-shan was raised to a chou.

La-bpu is an ancient historical region. The first Na-khi chief migrated to this district from Lou-t'ou 樓頭, that is, the present Yung-ning, which the Na-khi call to this day Lü dü (Land of the Lü). More than 20 generations of his descendants succeeded him. The name Pao has been retained to this day in its present appellation of La-pao, which the Na-khi call La-bpu.

[So much for the historical part available.]

3. FROM T'O-K'Ö-SHĚR TO THE FENG-K'O FERRY

La-bpu proper is a triangular basin, sloping steeply towards the Yangtze, and is separated from T'o-k'ö-shĕr by a limestone spur. It is composed of many Na-khi hamlets, such as Dshi-shi-wùa, Nda-bpu, La-zä, etc. The mountain spur forming the western wall of the Yangtze gorge is pierced by the Yü-lv-t'o (La-bpu Stream) which divides the La-bpu basin, and flows east through a deep rock gate (Shih-men 石門) into the Yangtze. A trail leads through this terrific ravine to the banks of the Yangtze, 500 feet above which is situated the village of La-bpu 'A-k'o (Ngai-k'o), built on both banks of the La-bpu Stream. The trail into La-bpu from T'o-k'ö-shĕr crosses a gap, elevation 10,400 feet, over the separating spur. It then descends steeply into a deep valley which leads to the La-bpu villages. To the north is a huge limestone mountain with cliffs; it is here that the T'ai-tzu Kuan is situated.

Instead of descending to the ravine bottom we skirt the northern mountain-side high above the gorge through groves of pine, oak and pear trees, a typical xerophytic vegetation such as one encounters elsewhere in the Yangtze valley. Flocks of parrots disport themselves in the pine groves, but other birds are scarce. The trail is narrow and is obliterated in places by landslides. The schistous rocks are split into small fragments. In and out winds the trail at 8,400 feet elevation, skirting lateral ravines, the largest of which, called Ssi-

[4] It seems that the name was originally Ho-lo-ko 和羅哥, and was rendered by the Mongols, Hu-lu-han; the *I-t'ung chih* states that the old Mongol name was corrected to Ho-lo-ko. The name Ho 和 is a distinct Na-khi family name. All Na-khi were known as Ho who did not belong to the ruling class. The Na-khi chief of the seven villages, of which Ta-kuei was the largest, who submitted to Kublai Khan, was apparently called Ho-lo-k'a, and as he belonged to the tribe which the Mongols called Ch'a-han-jang (White Jang) they gave his district the name Ch'a-han hu-lu-han, transcribing his name in Mongol fashion.

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kwuà-lo-gyi, sends a considerable stream into the gorge below. The trail descends to the village of La-zä, probably the Lo-ssu of the Li-chiang records, where in the dim past one of the seven Na-khi brothers had settled. La-zä is situated at 8,000 feet elevation, on a narrow spur which terminates into a steep bluff, giving the hamlet a medieval fort-like appearance (PLATE 90).

The high bluff, north of the Rock Gate which communicates with the Yangtze, is called La-bpu mbu from its summit one is rewarded with a magnificent view of the Yangtze gorge and La-bpu proper. From La-zä the trail ascends gradually to the foot of La-bpu mbu, and afterwards steeply through pine forest to the summit, which is 10,200 feet high. At the foot of La-bpu mbu a saddle-like depression separates it from the spur which forms the left wall of the Yü-lv-t'o valley, and from here, at an elevation of 9,400 feet, one gains a wonderful view into another terrific canyon parallel to La-bpu. This canyon is called Shwuà-wua-gku; its northern wall is vertical and much higher than the spurs which hem in La-bpu, it is on this spur that the historic T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 is situated; the wall facing the Yangtze presents a sheer drop into the gorge, where 5,000 feet or more below the river flows.

At the top of La-bpu mbu is a small, open, mud-brick temple containing a female deity dressed in red. The view from the summit of this mountain is indeed awe-inspiring. Down-stream the Yangtze can be seen for quite a distance to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley near Chiang-wai 江外, where a trail leads to Yung-ning (PLATE 100). The view north, or up-stream, is obstructed by a spur which extends further into the Yangtze valley than La-bpu mbu, so that only a small stretch of the river is visible. The fields of La-bpu 'A-k'o are terraced in narrow strips resembling steps, the land sloping steeply to the river. As the mountains east of the Yangtze gorge are still higher, the river flows at a depth of 7,000 to 8,000 feet. There is no trail through the Yangtze gorge from La-bpu 'A-k'o, and the villages beyond or north of it are only approachable from Lv-ts'o lo.[1]

Continuing our journey north from T'o-k'ö-shĕr, we ascend the spur which separates it from La-bpu and, climbing to the foot of a grey limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, we reach virgin forest of spruces, hemlocks, oaks and pines, and descend 600 feet to the valleys called Shĕr-gv shĕr-lo, literally "Seven circles and seven gulches, the San-ta-wan 三大灣 of the Chinese who transcribe the Na-khi name San-ku-san-lo 三古三羅." It is a circular basin divided into many ravines — hence the name. To the north of it is a high limestone cliff with caves inhabited by Na-khi shepherds, who herd their flocks on the higher meadows.

The region here is wild, and not a breath of air is stirring in the forest of pines, through which our trail leads up into the silent wilderness, where yellow and white pines (*Pinus yünnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*) form pure stands. A deep gorge filled with trees and hemmed in by huge grey limestone cliffs debouches some ten miles to the east into the Yangtze, a forbidding chasm inaccessible in its upper part. The name of this region is Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü, the Chinese Ta-niu-ying-tui 打牛英堆. It is from this spot that the newly opened

[1] A very narrow path leads through the gorge along the cliff, which has to be negotiated by groping sideways facing the cliff, a most dangerous undertaking.

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and historic trail leads to the famous T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, also known as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關. It is the pass of the Heir-apparent, that is Kublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) who led his army over it when *en route* to attack the Nan-chao Kingdom in 1253 A.D. For years I had been searching for that pass, but nobody seemed to know where it was located. In the early summer of 1942 I left Li-chiang for Yung-ning 永寧 to avoid falling into the hands of the Japanese, who were then rumoured to have taken Ta-li. It was only then that I came on to the newly opened trail to the Yangtze.

From Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü the trail leads east across a small ravine and then ascends a densely forested spur, virgin forest, moss-carpeted, and undisturbed. From this forest we reach a ravine with vertical limestone walls and following down the little stream in a northerly direction we climb again through dense forest and then up a cliff, the trail ascending in many short, sharp zig-zag turns to the foot of a limestone wall. A gap in the wall forms the famous historic pass, the T'ai-tzu Kuan.

The man responsible for the reopening and rebuilding of this ancient trail, shorter by over one day than the old trail, was the late Ho Chih-ming 和志銘 a Na-khi and native of Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜). The work was commenced in 1940, and the trail finished early in 1942. He died at Feng-k'o from poisoning, having taken an overdose of medicine the day prior to my arrival at Feng-k'o in 1942. He furnished most of the funds for its construction; a certain Chia-wa 甲凹. a native of Law-k'a-khi-llü (Pu-chio 卜瞿) in Yung-ning territory also contributed funds towards the reopening of that historic trail.

From the pass the trail leads zigzag down a long spur to the village of Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪 and then follows north high up on the slopes of the mountain which forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze. This trail leads in and out narrow ravines which debouch into the Yangtze, high above a lower trail which I followed in 1931 to the villages of Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko when exploring the deep Yangtze gorge north of La-bpu (La-pao) (*see* p. 240, n. 7, also Pl. 104). Near the mouth of Lv-ts'o-lo canyon it rejoins the lower trail and leads to the Na-khi hamlet and bridge of Lv-ts'o-lo.

The old trail winds through majestic forest, up a steep spur to an elevation of 11,400 feet, leaving a deep ravine to the left filled with magnificent trees. Ascending the spur which joins the main western mountain mass, we reach the skeletons of once stately forest trees, now reduced to ashes by careless hunters. Many times I have passed this stretch, and during ten years I have not observed a single young tree taking the place of the charred boles 100 feet or more in height. Leaving the valley to our left we enter a majestic grove of giant spruces and hemlocks, their trunks swathed in moss which also forms a carpet in this forest. Clear, running water is everywhere and a nicer lunch-stop it would be difficult to find.

This forest extends into a ravine with walls of limestone to the west and low, rounded hills to our right or east, gradually emerging at an open pass 13,000 feet above sea level. Gorgeous rhododendrons (*Rhododendron rubiginosum*) brightened the otherwise somber colors of the oaks and spruces, while primulas and peonies dotted the lush meadows. Not a human soul dwells here. To the west high limestone crags and screes of grey rock merge into a deep blue sky, while to the east we behold the chasm in which the restless

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Yangtze hurries on its long journey to the sea. The forest changes now, for the somber spruce and oak give place to larches clothed in the fresh green of their spring foliage, framing a lovely meadow called Ngv-khü gko (Nine pools). Lavender rhododendron bushes (*Rhododendron hippophaeoides*) grow in the marshy part of the meadow, while large pink-flowered ones, *Rhododendron adenogynum*, *Rhododendron sigillatum*, and *Rhododendron orthocladum*, frame the rich green sward, full of primulas, anemones and lady's slippers, at an elevation of 12,600 feet. This fairy spot is situated at the foot of a mighty limestone range called La-bpu Ngyu or La-pao Shan.[6]

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La-bpu Ngyu forms the backbone of the mountain mass which fills the Yangtze loop; it joins Hua-ti-yi nv-lv to the north. It is called Ha-ba su-p'e-zu by the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr and is north-east of the mouth of Ha-ba lo. I could not discover whether that name is known to the people of La-bpu. Its height is approximately 16,000 feet and it is Handel-Mazzetti's Hsuetschou schan.

From Ngv-khü gko we descend a deep ravine filled with larches and stately oaks, opening out towards the Yangtze with steep grey limestone bluffs on either side. Ascending again to 12,500 feet we follow the rocky, open slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, covered with a mass of *Rhododendron racemosum*, a low bush growing among the sharp rocks, with here and there an oak and a pine-tree, also prostrate junipers (*Juniperus squamata*). Higher up on the crags and scree grow black firs mixed with larches. We climb to 12,750 feet over a very rocky stretch to where the trail divides. The upper one leads to the very tip of the Yangtze loop at Shang Feng-k'o, also called San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 on account of three streams debouching there into the Yangtze; the lower trail leads to Feng-k'o, we shall follow it to the Yangtze. A short distance beyond where the trails divide we descend into hemlock forest with cane-brake and tall rhododendron trees as undergrowth; skirting a deep ravine densely forested we emerge into open pine forest at 12,000 feet elevation. Many of the trees in the ravine had been burned years ago, and, as on the southern slopes of La-bpu Ngyu, no young trees have as yet appeared. The trail descends a pine-covered spur separating the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo from a ravine to the west, once inhabited by Lo-lo from Ta-liang Shan.

The spur broadens into a large bluff with steep slopes, which we negotiate over a zigzag trail. It is called Hua-bi-gkv, elevation 11,675 feet, and is mainly sandstone. Here under pine-trees grows a lovely rhododendron, a low, compact shrub with small tubular, pink, flowers arranged in a globose head (*Rhododendron radinum*). From Hua-bi-gkv on clear days it is possible to see the snow peaks of Gangkar-ling some 10 to 12 days' journey to the north.

To our left (west) is the mighty limestone mountain Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, over

[6] This is the mountain baptized Mount Bonvalot by G. COURTELLEMONT (*Voyage au Yunnan*, 1904: 227). He named two peaks of the Hua-ti-yi nv-lv range, the southern one Mount Bonvalot, and the northern higher one, Pic Koua-ly Malou. His Koua-ly may be a misprint for Koua-ti, which is the Na-khi Hua-ti, and his Malou is undoubtedly the Na-khi *so-lv* which means snow range. The Na-khi speak rather indistinctly and it is only after long practice that one learns to differentiate their difficult sound complexes. He marks a village on his map (p. 227), to the north-west of his peak, on the east bank of the Yangtze; this village he calls Koua-tien. It is the Na-khi village of Hua-ti-yi (Chinese, Hua-t'ing-i 花廳衣), after which the mountain is named or vice versa.

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*733 *737 *487 16,000 feet in height; three small valleys descend from it and unite beyond our spur to form with the stream from Ngv-ḳhū-gko, the Lv-ts'o lo canyon debouching east into the Yangtze.

Descending the spur of Hua-bi-gkv over a zigzag trail, we enter the canyon of Lv-ts'o lo. The trail is rocky to a degree and seems endless; the stream-bed is dry in stretches, the water appearing and disappearing underground until we come to an old temple once dedicated to the Lung Wang 龍王 (Dragon King) at 7,500 feet elevation, where a clear spring gushes forth from beneath the path. Here is situated one of the few Na-khi hamlets in this valley. The people are very poor, for the terraces on which they grow their maize are rocky and few in number. The new trail coming from T'ai-tzu Kuan joins here the old Lv-ts'o lo caravan route. Crossing the stream we ascend the narrow trail and follow along the opposite walls of the canyon to a bluff, 8,100 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze, which flows here at 4,900 feet above sea level. Opposite the mouth of Lv-ts'o lo canyon, over the river in Yung-ning territory, debouches the Ba-cha-dji-ki canyon from Wua-ha Mountain, 16,000 feet in height, a high limestone range which forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

From the bluff the trail descends over the open scrub covered rocky slope, through the scattered hamlet of Feng-k'o (H-M., Fong kou). It leads through hamlets and fields and is the most exasperating in this part of Yün-nan. The fields are terraced and supported by rock walls, encroaching on the path so as not to sacrifice an inch of soil, thus reducing it to a mere strip resembling a ditch. In addition all the rocks of the fields are thrown on the trail, which also serves as an irrigation ditch. Nature has taken possession of the rock walls in the form of rose-bushes and other shrubbery, which are, of course, never cut nor even trimmed, and thus hide the narrow track. The Na-khi caravans, brushing constantly against the bushes, keep the trail more or less open, but nevertheless, one's garments suffer considerably from the thorns of the roses, unless one rides a tall horse. The traffic is the steam-roller. Senselessly the trail leads up and down past every hut. Even should such a shanty be situated on the top of a hill, the path must climb up to it, only to descend again to the level whence it started.

Ere reaching the banks of the Yangtze, the trail descends into a valley in which most of the scattered hamlets of Feng-k'o are situated, a stream is crossed over a stone-bridge, and a short distance beyond we descend over arid, red, gravelly slopes, bearing a typical xerophytic vegetation such as *Pistacia weinmannifolia*, Dalbergia, *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, legumes, *Terminalia micans*, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Sapindus Delavayi*, etc. Most of the water in this arid waste is brackish. Close to the river bank, on a small terrace, a few houses form the hamlet called Ndzu-dū (H-M., Tsatue).

505 Near a pyramidal rocky hill which juts into the Yangtze, forming a little bay to the south, is the river ferry. It is here that Kublai Khan must have crossed with his army. There are other ferries to the south below La-bpu, but there he could not have crossed as it is recorded that he met the Mo-so first at the T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 (*see* pp. 97, 236). The ferry-boat, a leaky affair, holds five mules and a few loads, besides two or three passengers. The current is swift and in the summer crossing is very dangerous owing to a large oblong

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rock which is then submerged. The ferrymen are Zhĕr-khiŋ, a clan of the Na-khi (PLATE 101), but the man in charge of the ferry is a Chinese who buys his position from the Li-chiang magistrate. He hires the rowers and charges a certain amount, as 10 to 20 cents silver per animal, and a nickel per man. Of this a certain amount must be given to the yamen at Li-chiang. The magistrate has the right to remove him and can give the position to any one who is willing to pay more for it. Thus he is never certain, although he has purchased the position, how long he may remain in it. The natives of Yung-ning pay half of what the Li-chiang people pay, and the Yung-ning chief also secures a portion of the ferry money. Often the ferry renter is unable to keep the position on account of losses, for the magistrate must receive a certain amount per annum; if there is little traffic on account of robbers, the income is next to nothing — yet the magistrate must have his due. The boat is nearly always built by the renter, who must also keep up repairs: that these are hardly ever made is indicated by the leaky condition of the boat. Infrequently the magistrate contributes something towards the building of the boat — a crude affair at best (PLATE 102). 505

4. THE YANGTZE BETWEEN LV-TS'O LO AND LA-BPU

The Yangtze between Lv-ts'o lo (Lu-tzu-lou 鹿子樓) and La-bpu is approachable only by Lv-ts'o lo. One must, if coming from Feng-k'o, ascend the Lv-ts'o lo gorge to the bridge over the stream, as below, where the gorge debouches into the Yangtze, it is impassable, forming a deep, winding canyon with vertical walls. A narrow trail leads for ten li along the southern flanks of Lv-ts'o lo gorge to a bluff over the Yangtze, whence a full view can be had of the rock gate known as Gv-ho-gu (the Ngv-khū gko of the Li-chiang Na-khi), which separates La-bpu from Lv-ts'o lo. Through this the Yangtze flows again south into the heart of Yün-nan to within two stages of Ta-li Lake, 78 li as the crow flies. The western flank of the Yangtze valley, south of Lv-ts'o lo, slope more gently and are partly cultivated. The eastern bank in Yung-ning territory is precipitous, culminating in the bulky limestone mass of the Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大耀山), a southern extension of which forms the Dzoan-p'u peaks; its precipitous slopes are cut up into steep and deep ravines, like those of Ba-cha-dji-ki and Nda-shi (these are Hli-khiŋ, or Yung-ning, names). 133* 137* 487*

Looking down-stream from across river above Law-k'a-khi-lū (H-M., La-kalo), in Yung-ning, the western face of the gorge appears as one continuous, massive rock wall, though it is formed by two projecting spurs: the first is narrower and separated by a deep ravine with vertical walls, the second is a broad rock wall washed by the Yangtze (PLATE 103). Through the rock gate is visible the La-bpu peak (La-bpu mbu) already described. The gorge is the dividing line between La-pao and Feng-k'o districts. The scenery is awe-inspiring and really magnificent, yet less impressive than the gorge of 'A-ts'aŋ-gko.

Between the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo and the Gv-ho-gu gorge, in Li-chiang territory, are situated two Na-khi hamlets, the lower one is called Lo-k'o, the upper one, Gkyi-da-gko. The women of these villages dress like their sisters

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[291] The women of these villages dress like their sisters
*133 in Yung-ning; they wear pleated skirts and immense dark blue, cotton cloth
*137 turbans. Beyond the last village the valley walls are steep and forested with
*487 pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*). Across the spur west of Gv-ho-gu gorge is a pass known to the Chinese as Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan 雪山門關 (the Snow Mountain Gate Pass), and also by the name of T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent).[1]

On the cliffs of the T'ai-tzu Kuan north of La-bpu, a member of the Mu family engraved ten Chinese characters which, tradition relates, an Imperial heir apparent had visited. On the Chinese map it is given as being along the main trail north of Pao-shan, written 保山, which is not correct, for La-bpu (La-pao 剌寶) was the ancient Pao-shan 寶山.

Between Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko there is a deep ravine which the trail skirts; back of the latter village the trail ascends to the top of the first lateral spur which forms the western wall of Gv-ho-gu, elevation 8,000 feet. Between this spur and a much higher one to the south, is a terrific ravine called Gko-mă; its walls are vertical and it is here that the Na-khi mine saltpetre. Dense forests of oaks, pines and junipers fill the ravine (PLATE 104). The trail leading from T'ai-tzu Kuan to where it joins the old trail through the Lv-ts'o lo gorge, follows the lower one but high above it and the villages mentioned.

Opposite Lv-ts'o lo in the ravine of Ba-cha-dji-ki is the Hli-khin village of Mi-ndu-wûa, situated on a terrace; the second, smaller ravine to the south is called Nda-shi, after the lone village in the valley.

The region on the Yung-ning side between Law-k'a-khi-llû and Nda-shi is known as Ts'o-lo-wu. Here, half-way up the slopes of the mountain, which is crowned by the limestone crags of Wua-ha (H-M., Alo), used to be a small lake, called in Chinese Tang-tsung Ch'ih 雪宗池. This pond has been drained for many years, but it is still marked very prominently, and much too large, on the Chinese military map of 1928.

5. SHANG FENG-K'O IN THE APEX OF THE LOOP

*133 Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o) is at the extremity of the Yangtze loop.
*137 It can be reached by two different trails, one which leads from Feng-k'o along
*487 the banks of the Yangtze, and the other over the mountains along the central
505 spur or backbone which fills the Yangtze loop. We will follow the latter trail from Shang Feng-k'o proper to where it strikes the lower or Feng-k'o path.

There are several ferries over the Yangtze on the eastern stretch of the loop;

[1] The Li-chiang records state that "The Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan is 260 li from Li-chiang, and the pass is north-east of the ancient Pao-shan chou. During the T'ang dynasty, it was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so. It is as of Heaven created, a dangerous precipice. The younger brother of the Emperor of the Yüan dynasty, namely Hu-pi-lieh, when on his way to attack Ta-li, coming from the T'u-fan country, fought the Mo-so at this pass; hence the pass is known to this day as T'ai-tzu Kuan (Pass of the heir apparent)." From this I am convinced that Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) crossed the Yangtze at P'u-dgru in Yung-ning territory to the present Feng-k'o; in order to reach T'ai-tzu Kuan, or the Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan, the Yangtze must be crossed at Feng-k'o. The pass was the border between the T'u-fan and the Mo-so, the latter lived south of the pass where he attacked them; the first Mo-so settlement coming from T'u-fan country was Pao-shan, the present La-pao. As it is stated that after having crossed the Yangtze, Kublai passed through various villages which now comprise La-pao (La-bpu), he could not have crossed but at Feng-k'o and passing first through Hsüeh-shan-men Kuan entered La-pao. The *Tien-hsi* gives an older name for this pass, viz., Yüeh-mieh-kan Kuan 越蔑苷關.

[2] [Lo-k'o and Gkyi-da-gko -- Analyst]

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the most important is at Feng-k'o, the next important one at Chiang-wai further south, and the third at, or near T'o-lă-tsu. A fourth ferry, which serves the Chung-tien and Gangkar-ling country, and the people of O-yü on the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi in Mu-li (Mi-li) country, is at the very apex of the loop, at Shang Feng-k'o. There are several other ferries, that is, improvised rafts, made of inflated goatskins. Unless goods are to be transported they are rarely used; people who merely decide to cross, usually tie their scanty clothing around their head, fasten a goatskin in front of themselves, inflate it, jump in the river and swim across. I have known of Na-khi swimmers, from the southern border of Yung-ning called north to Yung-ning lamasery by their chiefs, to return home by simply tying a goatskin or two around their bodies, inflating them, jumping into the river, and allowing themselves to be carried by the current through rapids and narrows till they reached their hamlets, in preference to walking back over a long rocky trail. This entails, of course, an expert knowledge of the river, otherwise one would be dashed to pieces against the rocks.

The Yangtze is called Gi-dji by the Yung-ning people, and Ha-yi-bi, or La-lĕr Ha-yi-bi, or simply Yi-bi (River), by the Li-chiang Na-khi.

The largest tributary of the Yangtze in this region is the Zho Chhu [8] (Hai-fan), or Shu gyi (Na-khi), the Chinese Wu-liang Ho 無量河; its lower part is in Yün-nan, in the territory of Yung-ning. North of Yu-mi the Zho Chhu is in Mu-li territory (Land of the Yellow Lamas), up to the cantilever bridge (elevation 8,820 feet) at the village of Wua-shi which forms the border between the Gangkar-ling Bun-dzi-bese clan [9] and Mu-li. Handel-Mazzetti calls the river Dou-chu, which is incorrect; there is a Tong Chhu [sTong-chhu] [10] which is an affluent of the Zho Chhu, it derives its name from the district of the Tonyi-bese Tibetan clan through whose territory it flows, south-west of the Gangkar-ling mountain system. The Zho Chhu does not have its source in the Gangkar-ling mountains, as Kingdon Ward surmised, but near Na-wu, 11 days' journey north of Mu-li.

Major Davies gives the source of a river at Na-bu (Na-wu) which he believed to flow into the Li-t'ang River. This is nothing else than the source of the Zho Chhu, which however flows into the Yangtze at Shang Feng-k'o (PLATE 105). It receives a very important affluent, the Gang-kha Chhu (Gangs-kha chhu), from the glaciers of the northern slopes of Mount Chhana-dorje of the Gangkar-ling peaks. South of the Gang-kha Chhu it receives three affluents worth mentioning, namely the Tong Chhu, Lo-nda, and Chwua-

[8] རྫོ་ཆུ།

[9] The Gang-kha-ling (Gangs-kha-gling གངས་ཁ་གླིང་ or Gangs-dkar-gling གངས་དཀར་གླིང་) territory is ruled by a chief who used to be subject to the T'u-sze of Li-t'ang 裡塘土司. His name is Tshe-rab-dpon ཚེ་རབ་དཔོན (pronounced Tshe-rab-pön). Since the Li-t'ang T'u-sze has been abolished the clans are under nobody's jurisdiction and are outlaws or a law unto themselves. Tshe-rab-pön has under him three sub-chiefs, each one controlling a clan. They are known as Rim-bhal-sras རིམ་བལ་སྲས (pronounced Rim-bese), hBum-rdzi-bhal-sras འབུམ་རྫི་བལ་སྲས (Bun-dzi-bese) and sTong-chhen-bhal-sras སྟོང་ཆེན་བལ་སྲས (Tong-chhen, better known as Tonyi-bese).

[10] སྟོང་ཆུ།

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dzu. The latter has its source in a mountain called Dza-bo ran (*ran* in Hai-fan is a pass) which forms the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan, that is, Mu-li — Chungtien, border. Kingdon Ward calls the river the Shu-lo (a Na-khi name), but this is the name of the valley: *shu* = iron, *lo* = valley; the river is called Shu gyi (Iron water). Iron is mined in large quantities, especially near O-yü, where the best iron ore in the Zho Chhu valley is obtained.

The little hamlet of Shang-Feng-k'o is situated directly opposite the mouth of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) and consists of a few houses only. The place or region is also called San-chiang-k'ou (Mouths of three rivers); the three streams which debouch into the Yangtze near the apex of the loop, are the Zho Chhu from the north, the Luë-dzu from the east, and the Ha-lo from the south or within the loop.

[505] In former days there was a ferry where the Zho Chhu debouches into the Yangtze, but now it plies a little north of the mouth of Luë-dzu valley.

Opposite Luë-dzu, a valley called Law-k'an debouches from the Li-chiang side. It is here that a trail leads up into the hills to the central spur.

From the banks of the Yangtze the trail ascends the grass-covered slopes up the valley of Law-k'an past several hamlets where maize and millet is cultivated, and thence to a pine-covered spur at an elevation of 10,100 feet. The trees are mainly yellow pine and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The ridges are dry and gravelly; in one place the rocks are volcanic. The trail now joins the main broad spur, the backbone of the mountain mass in the loop. Here the Yangtze can be seen to both sides. In the west the river makes two sharp bends (PLATE 106) ere reaching Shang Feng-k'o. Beyond, a grey scree mountain rises into the turquoise-blue sky: it is part of the Gkü-dü range, also known to the Na-khi as Gkü-dü gkü-tsu-tsu. To the east, seen from 9,500 feet elevation, the Yangtze makes a sharp bend between Feng-k'o and Luë-dzu valley (PLATE 107). Further south the gorges to the west become visible, the river entering terrific canyons.

Our trail continues on the top of the broad central spur through beautiful pine forest; I consider this the best trail to Yung-ning as one avoids the long hot journey up the dry Yangtze valley. The heat in the Yangtze valley is at all seasons intense, especially in the spring. There are lovely meadows surrounded by wonderful forest, and excellent camping places, the elevation being 10,000 feet. Here clear brooks flow from the foot of a high mountain overlooking the river. Oak and pine forests cover the spur. The trail skirts many deep ravines, but leads steadily up, along the foot of grey limestone cliffs, to the west. At 10,900 feet there used to be a Lo-lo settlement now forsaken, and the destroyed forests can again claim their own. At 11,400 feet the forest is still composed of pines, but with undergrowth consisting mostly of birches, a rather unusual plant association; at 12,000 feet the trail enters forest composed of larches, spruces, oaks, and birches, with scattered pines, hugging a limestone wall at the head of deep valleys which debouch east into the Yangtze. The scenery is superb, the autumn coloring magnificent, the birches yellow, the sorbus trees crimson, and the maples orange-red. The path leads from one spur to another and their intervening valleys, over gently sloping ground forested with spruces and carpeted with soft moss, and an undergrowth of tall, large-leaved rhododendron trees, Lonicera (honeysuckle), Ribes, and cane-

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brake. The somber spruces contrasted sharply with the gay-colored foliage of the deciduous trees which were then in autumn garb. The trail emerges from this beautiful virgin forest into a clearing at the foot of the mighty limestone crags of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv above the Lv-ts'o lo gorge. East of the Yangtze looms high the massive limestone mountain Wua-ha. Water being scarce further on, this proved an excellent camping place at 12,200 feet elevation, for a small stream issues from some rocky bluffs below the clearing. From Shang Feng-k'o to this camp is two full stages. 133* 137* 487*

Further on the entire forest has been burned by the wretched Lo-lo, the enemy of every tree; where once stood vast tracts of spruce and birch is now a black waste. The trail leads along the edge of a spur overlooking the Yangtze valley, till at 13,000 feet we enter pure larch forest which covers the steep slopes to the very foot of the towering limestone crags. Not a single house, hut, or human being is met with on this stretch after leaving the hamlet of Law-k'an. Continuing on the top of the spur at the foot of cliffs and in forests of spruce and larch for 15 li, we come to the gravelly trail which joins the one leading down into the Yangtze valley to Feng-k'o, or Lower Feng-k'o as it is also called.

6. FROM MING-YIN-WU (MBA-YI-WÙA) TO THE CHIANG-WAI FERRY

From Ming-yin-wu 鳴音汙 a trail leads east to the Yangtze and thence to a ferry at Chiang-wai on to Yung-ning via the Tsui-yi valley (called Ts'wue-yi by the Li-chiang Na-khi); it is by far the shortest trail. From Ming-yin-wu a zigzag path leads into the Dto-bpo lo valley; the upper part is covered with pine forest, in the valley itself there are large groves of oaks and *Castanopsis Delavayi*, an evergreen wild chestnut-like tree, at an elevation of 9,200 feet.

Dto-bpo lo is a smaller and comparatively shallow branch of the very deep and large valley, or rather gorge, called Gyi-t'khi lo, except where it debouches into it. It is undoubtedly the ancient Tang-po-lo 當波羅 of the T'ang dynasty Mo-so-man, and was one of seven districts belonging to Pao-shan, the present La-bpu (Chinese La-pao: *see* La-bpu district, p. 233). The hamlets of Dto-po lo are situated in the center of the broad valley floor; some are at its head.

In the Gyi-t'khi lo gorge the hamlets are perched like swallows' nests on the steep valley slopes; their narrow fields are terraced strips, some of them not wider than two or three feet, with a sheer drop of 100 feet or more beneath. The trail which descends this long valley to its narrow mouth, is dangerous indeed, on account of its extreme narrowness and its proximity to the vertical walls of the deep chasm which it skirts. At about 7,000 feet elevation we meet the peculiar conifer *Keteleria Davidiana* with pale green needles and erect, persistent, straw-colored cones. Old trees branch like deciduous trees rather than like a conifer. It is peculiar to the hot, dry canyons.

The trail descends zigzag to the poor hamlet of Bu-dv-dzi-man, a scattered affair, the houses situated on the hill-tops, while the fields are along the river bank. Fairly good oranges are here cultivated. From the village we again ascend a spur to a bluff at 6,800 feet elevation, overlooking the Yangtze (PLATE 108), and six li from the village. The journey in this arid valley of the Yangtze proves usually hot, unless the sky is overcast. The trail is indescrib-

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ably rocky and leads up and down between boulders and rock walls which hem in the wretched fields of the first Na-khi hamlet we strike, here called P'a-lo, consisting of six families. Ere reaching P'a-lo the trail negotiates a lateral ravine, climbing up and down; it resembles more the rocky bed of a stream than a path.

Opposite P'a-lo, in Yung-ning territory, is a tiny hamlet bearing likewise the name of P'a-lo, though the name of Tse-mi is also given it. It is inhabited by Li-su 栗粟 (also written 力些); several clans of this tribe have settled in Yung-ning in the more arid and undesirable regions.

At P'a-lo the trail divides: The upper fork leads to the hamlet of T'o-lä-tsu, which consists of five families, and is the most forlorn-looking place imaginable. The main occupation of the people is gold washing, and the whole hill-side is honeycombed with tunnels. The lower trail leads down to near the river along a conglomerate cliff, everywhere pitted with gold diggers' tunnels, to below T'o-lä-tsu, where a ferry plies to the Yung-ning side of the river. If we follow the upper trail we skirt two narrow ravines, the rocks being mostly sandstone.

In this arid gorge I observed the following vegetation: Ziziphus bushes, *Barleria cristata*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, Vitex, Rumex, and *Opuntia monacantha*. This latter cactus is exceedingly common, and has almost taken possession of the gorge. The most common grass, which gives the hill-sides a bronze to copper-colored appearance, is *Heteropogon contortus*. Several legumes grow with *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, of which the only second species known in the genus occurs on the dry and arid lava flows of Hawaii, and elsewhere in the Pacific. *Debregeasia edulis*, *Broussonetia papyrifera*, *Pteris longifolia*, *Selaginella involvens* — the latter forming rosettes on the cliffs — *Escholtzia polystachys*, Sida, *Phyllanthus emblica*, *Terminalia micans*, and *Amphicome arguta* form the main vegetation, with here and there a *Dalbergia yünnanensis* tree, the creeping *Ficus foveolata*, Berberis, Astragalus, *Solanum verbascifolium* and *Excoecaria acerifolia*.

Opposite T'o-lä-tsu in Yung-ning territory, a valley called Ku-dju debouches into the Yangtze which makes a sharp bend at the mouth of Tsui-yi (PLATE 109).

The Na-khi hamlet of Chiang-wai 江外 (or Chiang-wa 江阿) called in Na-khi Da-dü-gku, is situated on a terrace opposite the little village of Bu-yi-gkv perched on a bluff above the mouth of Tsui-yi, elevation 5,900 feet. A leaky ferry plies here across the Yangtze between the two hamlets.

The region of Chiang-wai is a veritable sea of rock and *Heteropogon contortus* grass. While the forested mountains within this great Yangtze loop are wonderful, the arid gorges of the eastern branch of the loop are miserable and dreary.

North of Chiang-wai (Da-dü-gku) the Yangtze flows through another rock gate similar to the one between Lv-ts'o lo and La-bpu, but smaller.

The huge boulders, fallen from the heights above, have been utilized by some of the poorer peasants to save building an extra rock wall for their houses. The houses are loosely constructed from the rocks which lie about. The entire terrace beyond Chiang-wai, to the mouth of the rock gate, is full of vertical holes of considerable depth; here gold digging operations have been carried on by the natives in the most primitive manner. In the early spring and winter this region is enshrouded in dust which makes travelling anything but pleasant. Corn or maize is the main crop.

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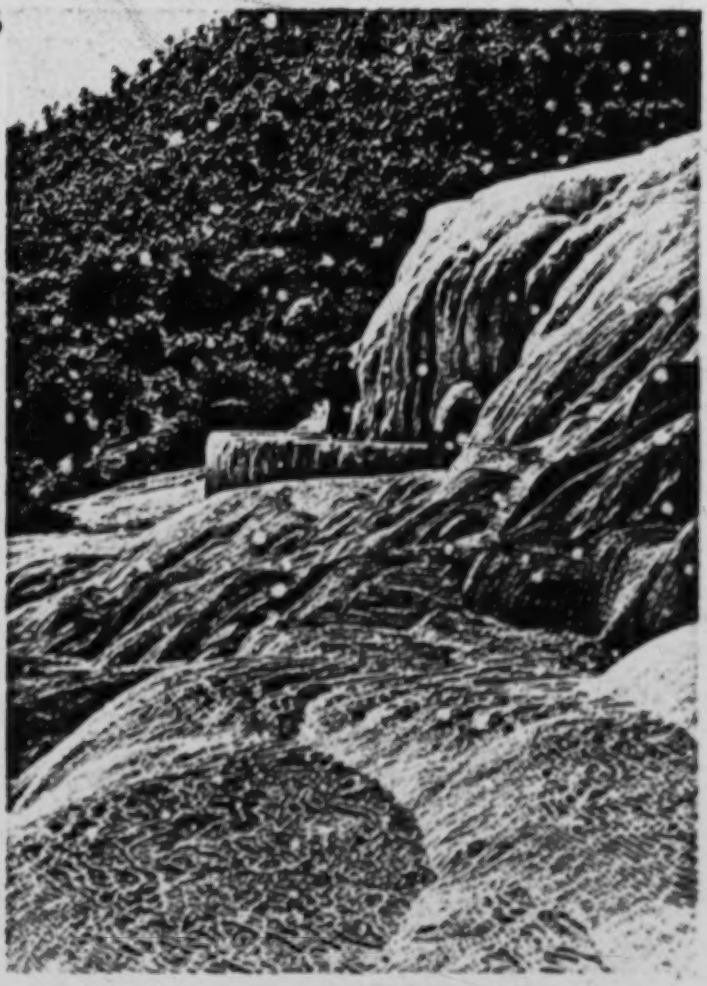

PLATE 137. — THE SILVER CASCADES AND BASINS OF HUA-P'O-SHAN

Stalagmites and stalagtites are formed here. Every ripple and wavelet leaves its cast behind, forever building.

[p. 244A]

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PLATE 138.—THE SEVEN TERRACES OF BAIN-O'HA-OCKS

They have the aspect of artificial terraced rice-fields. The basins are shallow and contain bluish-white water and thousands of pisolites.

[p.244 B]

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PLATE 139.—SINTER BUTTRESSES SUPPORT THE TERRACES OF BBĒR-P'ĒR-DTĒR

北地泉華扶壁構鋪粉佛

Near the base of the hill covered by the Sinter terraces, are huge bulging buttresses mostly hollow. The one on the left is called Mi-le-fo as it resembles the huge belly of the Chinese God of Wealth. Here sterile women come to pray and burn incense.

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[p. 244 c]

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Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
S
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ST
M8

PLATE 140.—THE SACRED GROTTO SHIH-TO NI-K'O

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

[p. 244 D]

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PLATE 141.—NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR INFLATED GOATSKINS

打 [illegible] 的 [illegible] 的 [illegible] 的 [illegible]

The only way to cross the Yangtze to Bhêr-dûêr is by means of goatskin rafts. The men are Na-khi from the village of Za-ba opposite Ta-ku.

[p. 244 E]
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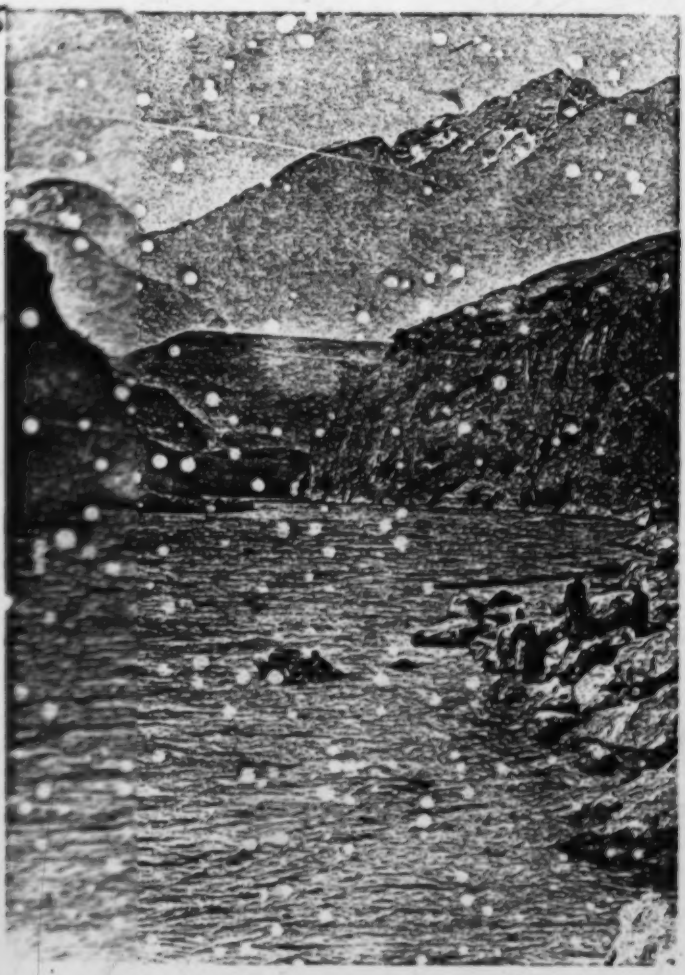

PLATE 142. — A RAFT NEGOTIATING THE YANGTZE

金沙江 [illegible] 角

The Rest of the Yangtse from the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The author's camp equipment is being ferried across from Za-ba to Ta-ku.

[p. 244 F]

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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PLATE 143. — NA-KHI SWIMMERS WITH THEIR RAFT

打 鐵 軍 國 抱 金 沙 江

Every time they plunge into the icy waters of the Yangtse, they must inflate their goatskin bags as well as those of the raft.

[p. 244 G]

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PLATE 144. — ARRIVAL OF ONE OF THE EXPEDITION'S CONTEIN RAFTS ON THE TA-TU SHE

A trunk and a man were ferried across at a time, the swimmers pulling and pushing the raft. The horses had to swim.

[p. 244 H]

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PLATE 143.—THE T'AI-SHU (TUNG) CAVE

[illegible]

An-wa-wa, a brother of Sa-dda, is said to have lived in this cave on the [illegible] side of the Li-chiang [illegible]. His name is also given to the cave.

[p.244 I]

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PLATE 118.—'A-DTO-DAW, THE WESTERN WALL OF THE YÜ-LUNG SHAN

A deep gorge called Gyi-p'êr k'o extends from the foot of 'A-dto-daw into the Yangtze at Lê-t'ang. The gorge is filled with forest, but lifeless in its upper part, owing to absence of water. Shan-tao-kan the highest peak in center. Dying glaciers cover the upper slopes.

[p244 J]

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PLATE 147. — MANY FLYING SQUIRRELS INHABIT THE T'AI-TEU (TUNG) CAVE

Several species inhabited the recesses of the cave. The largest here figured is *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*; after dark they volplaned from the cave onto tall trees to feed on leaves.

[p. 244 K]

[p.244L]

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PLATE 149. — THE BULKY MASS 'A-TS'AN-GKO NV-LV

[illegible]

Flying at a height of 17,000 feet our plane, the K'un-ming, entered the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. The range called 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv forms a huge limestone pyramid with a vertical drop to the Yangtse of more than 10,000 feet. Gyi-nâ nv-lv to left, Shan-tse-tsu in center (background).

[p. 244 M]

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PLATE 152. — HA-BA NDGHÊR NV-LV AS SEEN FROM OUR PLANE

[illegible]

Our plane approached this peak at a speed of 120 miles an hour, flying at an altitude of 16,000 feet. Ha-ba district is at its foot (lower left). The Chung-tien snow mountains in the distance. Ha-pa Shan is 18,700 feet and is the fourth highest peak of the Vü-lung Shan.

[p. 244 N]

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PLATE 150. — THE PEAK OF HA-BA MOUNTAIN SEEN ON HA-BA SHAN

Our plane flying at 17,000 feet, enters the 'A-la'an-gko gorge. Fierce winds sweeping through the gorge caused our plane to flutter through it like a piece of paper. This picture shows the southern face of the mountain which is 18,700 feet in height.

[P. 344-0]

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PLATE 152.—THE PLANE K'UN-MING NEAR WEN-HUA-TS'UN

[illegible]

After making the circuit of the Yü-lung Shan, flying through the 'A-ts'an-gko (Yangtze) gorge, we landed at the foot of the snow range on the natural landing field called Wua-dtv k'o-dü elevation 8,700 feet. Shan-tzu-tou in distance.

[p.244 P]

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*133 *137 *148 Behind the high mountain which flanks the terrace on which Chiang-wai is situated, is the large village of O-mun, the Chinese Wu-mu 悟牧. It is really an agglomeration of villages, such as O-muṇ-ggō-gkwua, Bpō-lo, and O-muṇ-mbe-ddü, the largest. O-muṇ-ggō-gkwua is mainly inhabited by Na-khi who have come from the village of Boa-shi; they belong to the Li 李 family.

7. FROM LI-CHIANG TO THE TZU-LI-CHIANG BRIDGE

From Li-chiang there are two ways of reaching the Yangtze at Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江 (Ching-li 井里 in the Li-chiang records). The river in this region goes by the name of Tzu-li Chiang. One way is by the village of Nda-zaw, and the other by the village of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科. The latter is considered the small road.

The main road, by Nda-zaw, leads from Li-chiang to Wei-lai-ts'un 為來村, 15 li; then to Ta-chü-ts'un 大苴村, 25 li; on to Chieh-mai-ts'un 節買村 60 li; and thence to Tzu-li-chiang village, 30 li.

The small road leads from Li-chiang south across the plain, past the hamlets of Bpa-wùa and Lä-wùa. To the east of the former is situated the village of Wua-lo-k'o in Wu-lieh li. It continues along the foot of Chin Shan 金山 (Golden Hill), a low hill south-east of Li-chiang, to the foot of the mountain range which hems in the plain to the east. On Chin Shan, embowered in a grove of old trees, is the Buddhist temple called Chin-shan Ssu 金山寺. To the west of it is the village of Ssaw-gkaw-ndso, where there is a large stone bridge over the stream called Ssaw-gkaw-ndso gyi, flowing south past a long, rounded hill, called Dtü-ghügh-lü-dzü-gkv, conspicuous for the white pagoda, or *t'a*, built on its summit. South-east of this hill are many Na-khi villages, such as Dtü-ghügh, Mi-zhĕr, Wua-na-nda and Ssi-li-wùa (Hsi-lin-wa 西林瓦); at the latter the Mu 木 family had a temple, now converted into a school. Ere reaching Ssi-li-wùa, one passes their family graves. The large memorial stone engraved with the history of the Na-khi chiefs has been described on page 70.

From Chin Shan the trail continues east to the foot of Wu-lieh Shan, where lies the hamlet of Da-wùa (in Chinese, Ta-wo 打窩 or Ta-wa-ts'un 瓦瓦村), 15 li from Li-chiang. *En route* we pass by some Min-chia villages east of Chin Shan, where the land is called Nyi-'a-gko and where is situated the Na-khi hamlet of T'khi-lä.

At Da-wùa the trail ascends the steep mountain-side, up a deep gorge called Da-wùa lo-mä, to a pass, and thence leads down through a shallow ravine to cultivated fields and groves of oak and pine, and so comes to the hamlet of Tui-nao-k'o 對腦科 (also written 對腦效), called in Na-khi, Bbue-na-k'o, a distance of 25 li.

From Tui-nao-k'o the trail leads south, descending steeply into a ravine through pine forest with oaks, and *Rhododendron decorum* trees as undergrowth. Here, where the rock is conglomerate and the soil a red clay, we meet with the beautiful shrub *Styrax lankongensis*, and two species of Castanopsis. We descend zigzag over an exceedingly steep and rocky trail, on the edge of the precipitous canyon of the Yangtze, whose mighty rapids are visible. The

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*133 *137 *487 vegetation is decidedly xerophytic, and the same plants occur as enumerated on the Mba-yi-wùa — Chiang-wai stretch.

The distance from Tui-nao-k'o to Tzu-li-chiang bridge, the border of the districts of Li-chiang and Yung-sheng (Yung-pei), is 30 li.

Situated on a terrace, a short distance above the bridge, is the hamlet of Chin-lung-ch'iao 金龍橋村; it has two Na-khi names: Gku-k'u-ndu and Gku-k'u-k'ò (PLATE 110). To the west of it, separated by fields and a stream called Sā gyi the Chinese Hui-chi Ho 輝吉河, is another Na-khi village known as Nun-dzā-lū-k'o (Nun dzā = sprouted Mung bean, lū = field, k'o = inside) Chinese Fan-tou-ti 飯豆地. Owing to the large volume of water carried by the Sā gyi in the summer and autumn, a log and chain-bridge has been built; it is called Sā-gyi ndso in Na-khi and Hsiao-ho ch'iao 小河橋 in Chinese. The village of Ching-li-chiang 井里江村 or Tzu-li-chiang 持里江村, the Na-khi 'A-gkv-dahi (Chicken egg market), is east of the Yangtze only a very few li distant, in Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北) territory.

The Chin-lung ch'iao 金龍橋 (Golden dragon bridge) is the only bridge which spans the Yangtze in its entire course. According to the *Yung-pei t'ing chih* ch. 1, fol. 46a–b, this bridge is 150 li from Yung-pei. The Na-khi name of the bridge is Dsi-li shu-ẽr ndso (Dsi-li iron rope-bridge). *Ẽr* in Na-khi means rope, and *shu-ẽr* means an iron chain, for they apparently never had a special name for chain. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 30, fol. 27a–b, the bridge is called Tzu-li t'ieh-so ch'iao 持里鐵索橋. The ancient name of the place where it spans the river was Ching-li tu 井里渡 or the Ching-li ford. The bridge was built in the second year of Kuang-hsü (1876) by Chiang Tsung-han 蔣宗漢, literary name Ping-t'ang 炳堂, a native of Ho-ch'ing and T'i-tu 提督 (Major-general) of Kuei-chou (PLATE 111). It replaced a ferry consisting of two dug-out canoes, lashed together, which functioned during the winter and spring. In the autumn, when the waters were high and the current swift, a rope-bridge was used.

A memorial stone at the bridge-head relates that Chiang Tsung-han used to be afraid crossing the single rope-bridge when bound for Yung-pei. The crossing on the rope was an exceedingly difficult affair. He tells of being tied up like a pig and swung across. Owing to the sagging of the rope one remained suspended over the middle of the river, and natives guarding the rope had to pull one across. Chiang vowed that he would build an iron chain bridge to facilitate traffic. Tzu-li-chiang is a very important and strategic point, as it is on the highway from China to Tibet, and from Ssu-ch'uan and Yung-pei to western Yün-nan. According to the Memorial stone the building of the bridge was commenced in November of the year *ping-tzu* 丙子 of the Kuang-hsü period (1876) and completed in February of the year *keng-ch'en* 庚辰 (1880).

The local story however says that Chiang Tsung-han, eloping with a girl reached the ferry and wished to cross the river. The ferrymen, however, having been warned of the elopement, refused to take them over. Chiang then swore that, should he ever become wealthy, he would build a bridge across the river and reduce the ferry owners to poverty. He kept his vow, and the bridge was built.

It measures 280 Chinese feet (328.3 English feet) in length, and is nine Chinese feet wide. It rests on 18 chains, which are anchored to boulders

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buried in the ground. Over the chains is a roadway of boards, and over these again, in the center, is another set of boards. The bridge sways considerably when crossed by a string of loaded mules.

In 1929, by order of General Lu Han 盧漢, the bridge was practically cut to prevent the rebel, Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, from crossing it. One chain was actually cut through and the boards were removed. The structure collapsed completely, except for two chains, on February 5th, 1935. It has been repaired and opened for traffic on January 4th, 1938.

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CHAPTER VI

CHUNG-TIEN 中甸

634 The district of Chung-tien, situated north of the Yangtze loop, forms an inverted pyramid, the apex being its southernmost point, the broad base of the pyramid adjoining the new province of Hsi-k'ang the former Ch'uan-pien 川邊, or frontier of Ssu-ch'uan, commonly known as the Tibetan Marches. Chung-tien is called Ndzu-dü in Na-khi, and in Tibetan rGyal-thang.

Only the southern half of the region is inhabited by Na-khi, as the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr, which adjoins the Yangtze on the east and the mountain range of A-nà Ngyu (A-nà-ngv, An-nan-ku 安南古, also known as Pei-ti Shan 北地山) to the north; beyond are Tibetans only.

The district of Chung-tien is divided diagonally from north-west to south-east by a stream known to the Chinese as the Chung-chiang Ho 中江河. They call the upper part the Shih-to-kang Ho 碩多岡河, while the Na-khi call the entire stream the Yü-ndo gyi. It is however better known as the Chung-tien Ho 中甸河. It debouches into the Yangtze above the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Its source is to the north of Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu). The lake of Chung-tien is called Ts'ao Hai 草海 by the Chinese and Nda-bpa Ḳhü in Na-khi; the Tibetans call it Na-pa Tsho.

361 The seat of the magistracy is Chung-tien, whence the district derives its name. Chung-tien is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet on a large grassy [243] plain too cold to grow anything but wheat, and is inhabited by about 200 families, mostly a mixture of Chinese, Mo-so and Tibetan. Its geographic [131] position according to Major Davies is latitude 27° 50′ and longitude 99° 45′. [548] To the north of Chung-tien dwell the notorious robber tribe, the Tong-wa (sTong-wa), the Chinese Tung-wang 東旺.

634 The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 12, ch. 9, fols. 11b and 12a, states 173 that during the Han dynasty Chung-tien was in the hsien of Sui-chiu 遂久, subject to Yüeh-sui Chün 越巂郡. Sui-chiu was west of Yung-ning, and is the present Chung-tien. Under the Shu Han (221–264) it belonged to Yün-nan Chün 雲南郡. In the Sui dynasty (590–617) it was the Mi chou 彌州, controlled by the Tu-tu fu 都督府 (Yamen of the military governor) of Jung chou 戎州 (this is the present-day I-pin 宜賓 (Hsü chou 敘州) of Ssu-ch'uan). In the T'ang (618–906) it was also known as Mi chou. Under the Mongols (1280–1367) it belonged to the circuit of Li-chiang. In the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) it was in the prefecture of Li-chiang. In the Ch'ing it remained unaltered. Wu San-kuei 吳三桂 rebelled and gave the land of Chung-tien to the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa.[1] In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it came under the control of Ho-ch'ing. A Chou-p'an 州判 (District judge) from the chou of Chien-ch'uan (a magistracy between Ta-li and Li-chiang) resided there. In the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756) a change was

[1] According to the Mu Chronicle this was in the year 1668, during the rule of Mu Yi (1608–1692), chief of Li-chiang.

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made and a sub-prefect was sent, subject to Li-chiang fu. To-day it is a separate magistracy known as Chung-tien hsien.

The same work, Vol. 18, ch. 25, fols. 5b to 6a, states that Chung-tien in ancient days had no wall, but in the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an earth wall was built, two li in circumference, with four gates. It was rebuilt in the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung (1759) by the sub-prefect Hai Mi-na 海米納.

The Chung-tien district is 360 li broad and 546 li long, that is, from north to south. It is 1,455 li from K'un-ming. East to the Li-chiang border is a distance of 230 li and west to the Wei-hsi 維西 border 130 li. South to the Li-chiang border 284 li and north to the Li-t'ang T'u ssu 裏塘土司 border in Hsi-k'ang 280 li. This is reckoned from the town of Chung-tien. South-east to the borders of the Li-chiang territory is 150 li, north-east to the Li-t'ang border 120 li. South-west to the Wei-hsi border 140 li, and north-west to the Wei-hsi district border 210 li.

There are two towns in the district, the larger being the prefectural city called Ta-chung-tien 大中甸. South 80 li is the territory of Hsiao-chung-tien 小中甸.

Eighty-five li north of the city of Chung-tien is the village of Ko-tsa 格咱 and 200 li west of the city is the village of Ni-hsi 泥西. It is also stated that the land is high and mountains are numerous; frost and snow descend early, the winds are biting and cold; the soil is hard, and the five grains cannot be grown. The peasants are poor and the land unfertile; the lamas are of great importance and are the real rulers of the country.

A large lamasery is situated at the foot of Fo-p'ing Shan 佛屏山 (Buddha screen Mountain) 10 li north of the city. It belongs to the Yellow lama sect and is called Kuei-hua Ssu 歸化寺 (Lamasery of the transformation). In 1901 there were 1,226 lamas living in the monastery. Other lamaseries are: Pai-chi Ssu 白雞寺, Ch'eng-en Ssu 承恩寺 and Ta-pao Ssu 大寶寺. The first belongs to the Yellow sect and is located near the city on the top of Chu Shan 主山, the second is more than 20 li east of the city and belongs to the Red sect, it has over thirty lamas. The third is 30 li south of the city and pertains to the Yellow sect.

It is extraordinary that nothing is to be found in the Chinese records which relates to the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr (Pei-ti 北地) and its marvellous limestone terrace, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr.

I presume that owing to the difficulty travelers experience in reaching certain parts of the district, difficulties which are mainly physical, it has been neglected by the Chinese and therefore next to nothing is to be found in their records.

Few are the travelers who have visited the remote parts of Chung-tien territory and those more difficult of access, as, for example, Bbĕr-ddĕr, which has been reached only by the Dutch missionary Kok, James Bacot, Handel-Mazzetti and the present writer. Handel-Mazzetti doubts that Bacot traversed the entire Yangtze gorge which cuts the Li-chiang snow range, but thinks that he probably penetrated it as far as Pen-ti-wan, to which place one can use pack mules. It is certainly strange that in his book, LE TIBET REVOLTE, Bacot is silent about the narrowest part of the gorge, known as the Hu-t'iao-chiang, and the villages beyond, inhabited not by Mo-so but by Chinese from Ssu-

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S 114 484 ch'uan, who had been settled there for more than 60 years. They, like the Mo-so who dwell in this gorge, do not live, as he says, in "caves à demi enfoncées dans le sol," but in houses built of stone. His map on plate 6 gives the trail as below the villages, while actually it passes above them and not along the river but at times 4,000 feet above it. The great Ta-shen-kou gorge, which the trail ascends and its eastern wall which it climbs in many zigzags, is not marked. According to him the trail leads only a short distance above the river. This is an impossibility. No one could walk along the Hu-t'iao-chiang or cross the Ta-shen-kou gorge without ascending it.

From Ta-ku, as well as from across the river, one can look up the tremendous gorge, and from the village of No-yü near the entrance one can look down it and obtain an idea of its grandeur, though not to the extent as if one actually travels through it. The quickest way to reach Bbĕr-ddĕr is by crossing the Yangtze at Ta-ku. Bacot gives us pictures of the inflated goatskin rafts by which he crossed, but not a single picture of the great gorge itself or of the renowned Hu-t'iao-chiang, nor of the villages in the gorge, as previously remarked.

As the northern part of the Chung-tien district is inhabited mainly by Tibetans no detailed description is here given, but the southern territory inhabited purely by Na-khi is dealt with in the following pages.

1. THE NA-KHI DISTRICTS OF HA-BA AND BBĔR-DDĔR (THE CHINESE HA-PA 哈巴 AND PEI-TI 北地)

S 131 The districts of Ha-ba and Bbĕr-ddĕr are situated in the south-eastern part of the Chung-tien triangle and rest on the Yangtze loop in the east; on the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv peak of the Yü-lung Shan in the south; the Ta-ra mountain in the west and Pei-ti Shan (A-nà Ngyu Range) to the north. The massive limestone range of Gkü-dü also lies within the triangle.

S ST [184] The most primitive type of Na-khi, undisturbed since they first settled many centuries ago, dwell in this region. Here they follow their old religious 771 customs, which is a mixture of Shamanism and the pre-Buddhistic Bön religion S of Tibet. There are neither lamas nor lama temples as in the Li-chiang district, nor are there any Chinese temples, for no Chinese live here.

ST [764] [755] An interesting feature is the total absence of graves in Bbĕr-ddĕr, for here the Na-khi still follow their ancient custom of cremating their dead. They take no medicines of any kind, but rely solely on their sorcerers to exorcize the demons of disease. They also practise in all its purity the ancient ceremony of *Muan-bpö* (Propitiation of Heaven). The district contains one of the S ST finest *muan-bpö d'a*, or sites for the *Muan-bpö* ceremony, situated in a beautiful grove of old oaks.

179 [579] Their territory is most difficult of access and this has kept them isolated and unspoiled. They have not come in contact with the Chinese, but, unfortunately, they are exposed in the north to Tibetan bandit invasion, and several times their villages have been reduced to ashes and their cattle driven off. S Being unarmed, they themselves fled into the hills to save their lives.

631 They are under the Chinese magistrate of Chung-tien, a town in a purely Tibetan district, but that official, when there happens to be one, usually flies

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post-haste on news reaching the town that the Tong-wa Tibetans, who live in Hsi-k'ang 西康 to the north of Chung-tien, are on the war-path. These people not only loot in and around Chung-tien, Bbĕr-ddĕr, etc., but they often cross the Yangtze and invade Li-chiang territory, as in 1922, when they burned the town of Ta-ku, and killed many people, shooting the girls, who had climbed trees to avoid falling into their hands, like pigeons off the branches. When I visited Ta-ku shortly afterwards I found the town in a terrible state; many girls had broken limbs which had ulcerated and were beyond hope. In 1933 the Tibetans came again, but satisfied themselves by occupying Chung-tien for a considerable time, whence they undertook raiding expeditions in various directions.

The present native ruler of Bbĕr-ddĕr is of the rank of Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant), and besides Bbĕr-ddĕr rules also over his own district called Ha-ba (Ha-pa), to the south. His family name is Yang 楊. His Mohammedan ancestors came originally from Shan-hsi province. They lived in Ta-li, but escaped during the Mohammedan rebellion in 1856 and fled to Chung-tien. He again is under the immediate control of the Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Chiliarch, Lieutenant) of Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭, also of the name of Yang, though they are not related. Both positions are hereditary. The latter is directly under the magistrate of Chung-tien, who is usually an absentee. Yang Pa-tsung of Ha-pa is a half-breed, his mother being a Tibetan woman and his father a Chinese Mohammedan. The latter was killed by Tibetan bandits in a raid which they were making into his territory. Unfortunately, the present ruler, who is addicted to opium, lacks all the qualities necessary to control such a district, and one can but pity the poor peasants who have to look to such an individual for help in time of stress. It is impossible for a magistrate to remain or keep order, unless he has a large force of regular troops to rely on for protection. The few militia soldiers, with antiquated, rusty rifles, and bullets which often do not fit the barrel, are no protection against the wild hordes of Tong-wa Tibetans, who are usually well armed.

Strange as it may seem, these Tibetan bandits were often armed by Chinese generals, residing in Ning-yüan fu, Ssu-ch'uan, under whose nominal jurisdiction they come. The generals, being interested mainly in money, sold their old rifles to the highest bidders, in this case the Tibetans and Lo-lo on the Yün-nan border. In 1931 when I was in Yung-ning, the good Tsung-kuan 總管 who, unfortunately for his country, has passed on to the Great Beyond, complained to me bitterly about the sale of arms to the wild Tibetans and Lo-lo by the Ning-yüan generals. They had actually sent for the Tibetans, sold them their surplus or old rifles, and given them a *hu-chao* 護照 (passport) and even a Chinese escort to prevent their being molested *en route*. The King of Mu-li (Mi-li) did not wish them to pass through his territory, but could not refuse them transit in view of their passes from the Ning-yüan generals, under whose jurisdiction the Mu-li King comes.

In 1929 Ch'en 陳,[2] the Tsung-pan 總辦 of Wa-li 窪裏 on the Ya-lung River in Ssu-ch'uan, sent many loads of rifles, commandeering peasants on the road to carry them to Yung-ning in Yün-nan, to be sold to whoever had the money

[2] He was murdered by the Communists in April, 1934, when the latter passed through Ssu-ch'uan from Yün-nan.

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to buy them for more than 100 dollars silver apiece with 25 rounds of ammunition. In order that they should not fall into the hands of the Lo-lo or Tibetans the rulers of Yung-ning had to buy as their finances allowed. When Ch'en Tsung-pan and his party were in Yung-ning on their way towards Li-chiang to sell their remaining rifles, the Gangkar-ling Tibetans, having learned of their presence there with arms for sale, came post-haste to Yung-ning, followed and overtook them at a village to the south. They then attacked them in order to capture the arms. Ch'en, who had some Ssu-ch'uan soldiers with him, resisted, keeping up a constant fire and using up all the ammunition which was to be sold with the rifles. The Tibetans retreated and finding a Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 Tibetan caravan which was returning from Li-chiang, attacked and robbed it. Under such conditions, the poor unarmed peasants have indeed a difficult existence.

From the south there are three approaches to the Ha-pa and Bběr-dděr territories, but the Yangtze must be crossed no matter where one enters them, coming from Yün-nan. The quickest way to reach the district used to be by way of Ta-ku immediately north of Li-chiang, two stages distant. A ferry plied there, but, since the Tibetan bandits used it to cross over to Li-chiang in 1922, it has been destroyed and there is now no intercourse with Ha-pa, at least not from the Ta-ku side. People do cross on goatskin rafts which are hastily constructed, but the skins are kept on the Chung-tien side, none being available at Ta-ku. Thus to cross from the Ta-ku side, although the easiest approach, is now impossible (1932). This still held good in 1944.

The second best approach, only feasible in the summer, is via the pass called Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 (Snow gate cut) over the mountain near Bběr-dděr to the west. The valley which leads to it from the Bběr-dděr side is called Gyi-na lo (Black water gulch). From the pass a trail leads west to the Yangtze above Ch'iao-t'ou (Bridge head). From autumn to spring the pass is deep in snow, and many have lost their lives in trying to cross in the winter season.

The third and longest and most difficult approach is the one by the Yangtze gorges. When mentioning the Yangtze gorges, those known to the tourists at I-ch'ang 宜昌 come into mind, but let it be said that the latter can never be compared with the gorge the Yangtze has cut for itself through the Li-chiang Snow range. Having always wished to explore the gorge through the Yü-lung Shan, I took this route to Bběr-dděr, and it is this which I shall describe. Bacot is said to have traversed the gorge, but he says little or next to nothing about it, and mentions it as being 2,000 metres deep. It is much more than that, and 10,000 feet is about right.

2. FROM NV-LV-K'Ö TO THE MOUTH OF THE YANGTZE GORGE

Nv-lv-k'ö (At the foot of the snow range), or Hsüeh-sung-ts'un 雪嵩村[3] as the Chinese call it, is situated at the end of the north-western branch of the

[3] (Hsüeh) Sung is the highest and central peak of the Wu-yo 五嶽 (Five sacred mountains) on which the ancient emperors worshipped Shang-ti (God). The Sung peak lies in Ho-nan fu in the province of Ho-nan, on the watershed between the Yellow and the Han Rivers. As the title of Pei-yo (North sacred mountain) had been bestowed on the Yü-lung Shan, the village lying at its foot was given the name Sung, which also stands for eminent and lofty.

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Li-chiang plain at the very foot of the snow range, its elevation being 9,400 feet. Owing to its proximity to the range it has always been my headquarters while exploring the north-west of Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang. It is from this village that I left for the Yangtze gorges and Bbĕr-ddĕr. The trail leads from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö over a pass called Hăr-lĕr-gkv (Wind-call pass,[4] or Pass whence the spirits call the wind), elevation 10,500 feet, to the district of A-khi (A-hsi 阿喜 in Chinese; H-M., Aschi) on the western bend of the Yangtze. The village of A-khi is, however, considerably south of where the Nv-lv-k'ö trail first strikes the Yangtze. Ere reaching the top of the pass the trail passes an *obo* (rock pile) with oak branches (such as one usually finds on mountain passes in Tibetan country); this particular place is known as Shi-zhi-k'ö (At the place of the mountain spirit), and also called Hăr-lĕr-man (Tail of the wind-call pass).

A magnificent view unfolds over the plain with the many villages which dot it; in the spring it looks like a large chess-board, with the thousands of wheat-fields for squares. Here the mountain-side is wooded with pines — both *Pinus Armandi*, the tall white pine, and the yellow *Pinus yünnanensis* — oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), maples, spruces, etc. The air is clear as crystal and every tree and house stands out as sharply as if one were viewing them at close range. (PLATE 52).

From the pass we reach an oblong depression filled with water, the howling wind whipping the surface and carrying the spray clear across, drenching the traveler as from a shower-bath. The water of this small lake, which has its source mainly in underground springs but also from small rivulets descending from the surrounding spurs, rushes cascade-like through a forested gorge down to the plain, where it joins the waters of a broad spring called Mba-mă which is used entirely for irrigating the fields of the many villages. The trail skirts the pond on the north side to a pass at the other end called Hăr-lĕr mbu (Hill whence the wind is called).

From Hăr-lĕr mbu the trail leads along the western slopes covered with pines and prostrate oaks, overlooking the lake Gkaw-ngaw (Kan-hai-tzu 乾海子 in Chinese; H-M., Ganhaidsi). This lake, like the La-shih-pa Lake, appears and disappears through subterranean outlets (PLATE 112). The mountain south of Gkaw-ngaw and facing La-shih-pa is called La-shi ch'ou-mă Ngyu; it is much frequented by Na-khi intent on suicide. The zigzag trail continues through forest to the main A-khi road, the junction being called Shi-zhi mbu (Hill of the mountain god), elevation 10,500 feet. The road is broad and lined by forest of magnificent, centuries-old, oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) and spruces, mainly *Picea likiangensis*. To the left is a valley, whose western wall is a high, partly forested (with firs, spruces, birches, maples, etc.) mountain called the Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain; H-M., Yao-schan), about 13,500 feet in height. It is the Na-khi Gkaw-ngaw gkü-p'ĕr Ngyu. We are now on the western slopes of the snow range above the Yangtze valley, the river flowing north.

[4] The word *hăr* means wind, but pronounced in the third tone *hâr* means to cut. Both meanings are here employed. The fiercest and most cutting winds come over this pass onto the Li-chiang plain, rocking the houses of the last village for months during the winter and spring. As spring is the windy season, the Na-khi use the symbol of wind for spring.

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*311 *489 [241] *133 *137 Of the forests only a remnant remains, the Lo-lo having burned the huge oaks, in fact cleared the whole mountain-side. After ploughing the ashes under, they plant their buckwheat for one or two years, and then move on again, leaving behind them desolation, only to repeat the performance elsewhere. The slopes of the snow range are terrifically steep and once denuded of their forests, the land of the villages below in the Yangtze valley, of which only a narrow margin is arable, will be in danger of being washed away by the floods descending from the mountain. It is a pity that the government is indifferent to the preservation of the magnificent forests which still exist in this region, and allows whole areas to be laid waste by Lo-lo and Chinese alike. The Lo-lo are the greatest enemies to forests: wherever one meets that tribe one finds desolation; countless charred and fallen trees cover the landscape. When they are in need of firewood they will cut down additional trees instead of utilizing those already lying about by the thousand. This is especially true where they have settled in pine forests, as at Ghügh-t'o, north of Li-chiang (p. 231).

*489 *133 *137 From this forest-remnant we emerge on to a small alpine meadow called Ngv-dzü, elevation 10,200 feet, and continue down the valley, crossing several lateral streams, the last of which is called Lă-ngu-dtò. At 8,800 feet, where the stream and valley make a sharp bend west, we enter pine forest, at the upper end of which is a clearing called T'o-k'ö-shĕr (Long foot of the pine). Here in this forested valley not a breath of wind is stirring, while the eastern slopes of the snow range and the northern plain are swept by gales in the late winter and early spring, and the snow blown off the peaks and spurs in great masses resembling clouds. From T'o-k'ö-shĕr a trail branches north and follows on the middle slopes of the range to a famous cave called T'ai-tzu tung 太子硐, which is described separately. The trail to the Yangtze descends steeply through what is left of the once magnificent pine forests.

Most of the building lumber for Li-chiang comes from these forests; a dozen boards an inch thick, 12 feet long, and 1 foot broad, sell for Yün-nan $3, or about Chinese $1.50 delivered. The boards are of various sizes and grades, the smaller ones selling for Yün-nan $2.50 a dozen. This is reckoned in pre-war silver dollars.

The trail winds through the forest, but does not descend straight to the Yangtze. It turns north to a gap known as Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), past a hamlet called Zi-shĕr-dto (Long grass hill) and the little village of Bbu-k'aw-dtü nestled against the valley wall below. This mountain path skirts several lateral valleys before and after reaching Ma-an Shan, where the Yangtze becomes first visible as a broad blue-green band, hemmed in to the west by a range 13,000–14,000 feet in height. Here in the river valley below are situated various hamlets, as Llü-tsu-ndu across on the west bank, and others further up-stream on the east bank, near the mouth of the valley down which the trail leads to the Yangtze. An alluvial fan extends into the Yangtze valley, and here are situated the villages of Dză-bpö-dzü, Gkv-na-wùa and Llü-dtü-man.

The trail continues through pine forest, at an elevation of between 7,800–7,400 feet, to a bluff of the latter height, from which the Yangtze valley can be viewed to advantage, up-stream as far as A-khi. Down-stream, the

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Yangtze, here called Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 by the Chinese and Ha-yi-bi (Gold stream) by the Na-khi, makes a horse-shoe bend near the region called 'A-gko-gyi-k'o (Spring amongst the cliffs) after a spring and a tiny hamlet of the same name. On the opposite bank is the hamlet of La-zhĕr-lo (PLATE 113).

From the bluff the trail leads to 'A-ngaw-mbu (Rocky hill difficult to cross), referring to the boulder-strewn place. The village is at 6,350 feet elevation. Here a deep valley opens out into the Yangtze coming directly from the highest peak of the snow range, its terminal valley wall is called 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) carrying a broad stream into the Yangtze. On the north bank of this tributary, which is spanned by a stone bridge, is situated the hamlet of Lü-ts'an, the Chung-ts'un 中村 of the Chinese, both names meaning Central village. Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Cultivation extends from here as far as P'ĕr-dtu-wùa (H-M., Padoa; in Chinese P'u-t'ao-wan 葡萄灣), elevation 6,350 feet, and less than three li distant. The most-planted cereal is rice, next come wheat and maize, with red peppers, tobacco and vegetables; potatoes cannot be grown, as everything goes into the plant and hardly any tubers form. Peas and broad beans are also grown. The red peppers and tobacco are sold, the latter in leaf form as well as ground. Every village has its own walnuts, which the Na-khi call *gv-du*. Tobacco they call *yu*, but the origin of the name is not known.[5] Part of the snow-capped range north of the Yangtze bend is visible from here.

Beyond P'ĕr-dtu-wùa dense pine forest commences which is followed by a stony waste covered with bushes of the rosaceous shrub *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, until the hamlet of Dza-dtu is reached, elevation 6,420 feet, a distance of five li. At this village which is in the ward Bä-lä-ts'o (Chinese Pai-lang-ts'ang 白[北 pei]浪滄), where Yeh-yeh, the first ancestor of the Mu family, was fished out of the Yangtze (*see* the Mu Chronicle page 73). Continuing between fields we come to the hamlet of Ndzi-mbü-lü, elevation 6,320 feet, thence to the village of Yu-lo, the Chinese Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村, 6,300 feet. Various villages, as Ggŏ-lo and Muan-lo, named after two ravines (*lo*), the upper (*ggŏ*) and the lower (*muan*), are situated on the opposite west bank. At Yu-lo the trail turns at right angles down to the Yangtze where a flat-bottomed ferry crosses it to the hamlet of Ggŏ-lo (PLATE 114). The elevation at the river bank is 6,070 feet. A fine view is obtained from here of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (H-M., Tja-ta-schan) (PLATE 115).[6]

Along the steep slopes of the western Yangtze valley wall, covered with a xerophytic type of vegetation, the rocky trail continues at an elevation of 6,500 feet. There is no cultivation along the trail, until we reach the next village of Muan-lo overlooking the entrance of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. On the

[5] The word *yu*, second tone for tobacco may have its origin in the word *yu*, first tone, meaning a wilted fallen leaf, the Na-khi observing that the wilted leaves of the plant are used in smoking.

[6] HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Tja-ta-schan can again be traced to the unfamiliarity of the Na-khi with the Chinese language. His guide, apparently ignorant of the real name of the mountain, and being close to a rather important village called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 (Bridge-head village), in which district the mountain is also situated, called it Ch'iao-t'ou shan, whence Tja-ta-schan.

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eastern slopes of the valley are situated the hamlets of Lu-na-wùa, K'ö-da-gkv, and Lä-gkv-wùa, in the order named, from south to north. The last hamlet is opposite Muan-lo.

On the eastern valley slopes, back of the villages of Yu-lo, etc., is a detached bowl-shaped mountain; it is an extinct crater and is called in Chinese Ta-huo Shan 大火山 (Great volcano (H-M., Tahosa). On its slopes facing the gorge is a settlement of Li-su tribespeople, their hamlets being also called Ta-huo-shan, while on the western slope in the crater-like depression is the Chung-chia hamlet called La-muan-dze. The Chung-chia 衆家 are immigrants from Kuei-chou; they have a phonetic writing resembling that of the Lo-lo but with differences. Handel-Mazzetti first mentioned the Chung-chia (H-M., Tschun-dja) as occurring in the above village (PLATE 116).

At the foot of Ta-huo Shan, on the very banks of the Yangtze near the hamlet of Lĕr-k'o-ndu, the last village on the eastern valley slopes, is a hot spring much frequented by the Na-khi. The square pool is divided into two halves, apparently for men and women. During the rainy season when the Yangtze is in flood these springs are sometimes submerged.

On the western valley slopes, immediately opposite the Yangtze entrance into the gorge, is the hamlet La-tsa-ku 拉咱古, called in Na-khi La-dza-wua-gkv (H-M., Ladsaku), elevation 6,650 feet. From here, as well as from the fan-like terrace south of it, a magnificent view of the entrance to this tremendous gorge unfolds itself (PLATE 117).

From La-tsa-ku the trail descends into the valley of the Chung-tien River, the Chinese Chung-chiang Ho 中江河, called in Na-khi Yü-ndo gyi (PLATE 118). From the mouth of the river it is 3¾ li to the village of Ch'iao-t'ou (H-M., Tjiautou) (Bridge-head). Across the wooden bridge over the river at Ch'iao-t'ou, one trail leads north to Chung-tien, and one east into the Yangtze gorge; elevation 6,220 feet. All the villages on the west bank of the Yangtze, are under the jurisdiction of the magistracy of Chung-tien.

3. THE GORGE OF 'A-TS'AN-GKO

Ch'iao-t'ou (Ndso-ndu in Na-khi) is 103 li from the village of Nv-lv-k'ö, which is 35 li from the town of Li-chiang, a total of 138 li.

Beyond, the inhabitants are mainly Tibetans. Ch'iao-t'ou is inhabited purely by Na-khi, who do, however, speak Tibetan besides their own language and Chinese. Although north of Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly Tibetans, Na-khi are also to be found up to the hamlet of T'o-mu-na, called T'o-mu-lang 拖木朗 in Chinese.

Crossing the bridge at Ch'iao-t'ou the trail ascends the hill-side east of it into fields and a large grove of oaks (*Quercus serrata*), and thence a short distance beyond to the poor hamlet of Lä-ndo situated on a treeless bluff at an elevation of 6,400 feet — indeed a dreary site. The heat is intense in these valleys and gorges, so that the children run about as they were born, without a stitch of clothing.

Here the trail turns sharply into the gorge, and from 7,000 feet elevation a grand view of it is obtained. While the rocks at Ch'iao-t'ou are mostly porphyry, those at the entrance of the gorge are quartz and slate. The trail

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is exasperatingly rocky and very narrow, resembling more a stairway than a path, being only a foot wide in places. In many instances it has disappeared, having dropped into the Yangtze over 1,000 feet below. The scenery is, however, beyond words to describe. We ascend steeply over boulders and rocks whence a sharp turn brings us into an amphitheater with steeply-terraced fields, at the back of which, at an elevation of 7,350 feet, is situated the hamlet of No-yü (H-M., Loyü), a distance of 16¾ li. The mountains are here forested with pines.

In 1922 the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans occupied the gorge at No-yü, and against regular soldiers despatched from Ta-li with machine-guns, they stood their ground and kept up their fire. They had driven out the officials from Chung-tien and robbed the Chinese soldiers of their rifles.

Opposite No-yü are stupendous limestone crags, the last spurs of the range, which extend parallel to the broad mountain mass of Gyi-nà lo-gkv (H-M., Dyinaloko), or better Gyi-nà nv-lv (Black water snow peak). This name can well be adopted, for the first and highest peak is often spoken of as P'ĕr nv-lv (White snow peak), and Nv-lv-p'ĕr and Gkyi nv-lv (Cloud snow peak). A deep ravine called Muan-gko-hsi in the local dialect extends from the foot of the crags, separating them from Ta-huo Shan; three or four Li-su families eke out a precarious existence on its steep slopes.

The view in the gorge itself is unsurpassed. Here the snow-topped crags, glittering like a crown of diamonds, arise to a height of 17,000 feet into the turquoise-blue Tibetan skies, while at their feet, more than 10,000 feet below, flows one of the mightiest rivers of Asia. Deeper becomes the gorge and narrower, and the placid stream turns into an angry, surging, whirling mass of foam and spray as it is forced into the narrow rocky prison it has cut for itself. One staggers as one beholds the power and voracity of this stream which has cut the dark, solid limestone, gnawing at the very foundation of this mighty range, the Jade dragon Mountain. Ever onward surge the mighty waters, cutting ever deeper and overcoming every obstacle, even be it a mountain range nearly 20,000 feet in height.

The gorge is always full of haze and photography is, therefore, difficult, unless one employs infra-red films. The Yangtze, whose waters here are of a deep greenish-blue, flows so placidly in the gorge up to No-yü that it is impossible to say in which direction it is running (PLATE 119).

From the hamlet of No-yü, with its twelve Na-khi families, the trail ascends steeply in incredible zigzags over boulders and rock piles, from 7,300 feet, up the face of a nearly vertical cliff to the top of a lateral spur at an elevation of 8,700 feet, or nearly 3,000 feet above the river. Oak trees grow along the cliff overhanging the deep void, and through their branches are visible in a blue haze the cliffs on the other side of the river. There is no lens made which would take in on one plate the river and the topmost crags of this gorge. One's head reels looking down into the narrow chasm with the mighty crags towering thousands of feet above the surging waters.

The trail now enters pine forest clinging to the mighty slopes, and from a a bluff directly in front one beholds the tremendous gorge. Looking upstream is a huge rapid, the river hemmed in by the talus fan of a lateral torrent which descends at a terrific angle into the Yangtze (PLATE 120). Looking down-

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stream one beholds a succession of rapids (a total of 34 rapids through the entire gorge) — stretches of churning white with alternating bands of blue-green (PLATE 121). To the right, or south, the walls are perfectly straight, culminating into snow-capped pinnacles and battlements of limestone, grey and forbidding, with here and there patches of forests clinging tenaciously to the buttresses in their lower or middle portion.

A sharp turn of the trail and we come to the small Na-khi hamlet of Gyi-p'ĕr-lo (H-M., Dyipalo) (White water gorge or valley). It is the last real Na-khi hamlet in the gorge and is called in Chinese Liang-chia-ts'un 兩家村 (Two-family village), although seven families make their home in that most isolated of all places, elevation 7,775 feet. Although available land for cultivation is very scarce, these families have their small oak grove and enclosure with stone altar (*muaṉ-bpō d'a*), in which they make their offerings and propitiate Heaven in the first week of the first moon. There are, however, a few Na-khi settlements further on, but not worthy of the name village.

The rocks here are white limestone, rose-quartz, and porphyry. Across on the north side of the gorge they are slate and schist, except the summit crags and the south wall of the gorge, which are limestone.

Gyi-p'ĕr-lo is situated in a veritable chaos of rocks (PLATE 122) a most untidy place and having the appearance as if a cyclone or earth-quake had ruined it. From this forlorn hamlet of seven families, the trail descends through dusty, stony fields into a wilderness of boulders, becoming next to impassable, while the heat is unbearable, the thermometer registering 102° Fahr. (March, 1931). On the mighty cliff opposite, on what appears as a large white scar, there is visible a black patch of rock resembling a mule and a human figure riding astride. This, the Na-khi say, is one of the seven female wind-spirits, called 'A-ts'aṉ-boa-ndü-mi, who howls during the night when danger lurks and death is to take its toll. She and her six co-spirits are propitiated in a special ceremony called *Hăr-la-llü k'ö*, and their names, etc., are given in two special books called *Hăr-shu* and *Bpö-lü-k'u* (PLATE 229).

The trail from here turns straight up a vertical wall with overhanging cliffs, and in endless zigzags we climb and climb in the heat of the afternoon sun in this arid waste of stone, to an elevation of 8,000 feet. The rock walls are folded into incredible shapes, testifying to Nature's terrific convulsions.

Arrived at the top of a spur we behold in a shallow amphitheater, above steeply sloping, terraced fields and hemmed in by cliffs, the scattered hamlet of Boa-ndü-wùa, or Boa-dü-wùa (Pen-ti-wan 本地灣 in Chinese), elevation 7,900 feet. It is possible to bring pack animals as far as this place, but not with the Yünnanese saddle-frames, only such as the Tibetans use, where the load is directly tied on to the saddle. From here on, porters have to be employed to carry the tents and other camping equipment through the gorge, for no animal could manage the difficult stretches of trail which remain to be negotiated. Above the village of Pen-ti-wan (H-M., Bundua) is fir (*Abies*) and spruce (*Picea*) forest, overtopped by the mighty snow-capped crags of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the fourth peak in height of the snow range. There is little level space and even the pitching of a tent becomes a problem. Here are no more Na-khi, but Li-su and Chinese families, squatters from Ssu-ch'uan who have selected this difficult region to extract from the barren soil barely

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enough to keep body and soul together. They come in contact with no one, and are left alone by the officials, who probably are unaware of their existence. The distance from No-yü to Pen-ti-wan is 37 li, but most of it is vertical rather than horizontal. Like an ant one must crawl over the exasperating trail where progress is slow, to say the least.

From Pen-ti-wan the trail leads across the fields to the foot of the cliff at 8,000 feet, which it ascends in short zigzags — a veritable rock slide — to 8,500 feet elevation. The going is appalling and I wondered at the time why people, whose lot has cast them into such surroundings, should be so indifferent to improve it. At best they were leading a precarious, makeshift existence among a pile of rocks and in a gorge, through which the wind howls as hot as from the mouth of Hades.

From the top of the spur we enter another but smaller amphitheatrical depression with a central small spur, below which were a few terraced fields and two lonely huts sheltering four families. This insignificant settlement bears the name of Ya-ch'ang-ko 雅昌角 which the Na-khi call Ya-cha-lo and 'A-ts'an-lo, the village deriving its name from the cliffs between Gyi-p'ĕr-lo and Pen-ti-wan known as 'A-ts'an-gko.

Winding in and out of two ravines we come to a spur with overhanging rock ledges, which project into the Yangtze gorge. Here from an elevation of 8,350 feet one can see in the distance down-stream the famous narrows which the Chinese have baptized the Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳灘 or chiang 江 (Tiger-leap rapid or river), (PLATE 123). Near it was visible a curved wall extending from the right cliff into the stream-bed; at the foot of this wall, which seemed to completely dam the stream-bed, the river was one white mass of whirling foam.

From this spur the trail leads along the limestone cliff, from bluff to bluff, to a grove of oaks and pines, where under an overhanging cliff crystal-clear water gushes forth. Above, nestled against the cliff, is Kuan-yin Miao 觀音廟, a shrine dedicated to the Goddess of Mercy. From a bluff beyond the shrine the trail emerges onto open grass-covered slopes with here and there a pine tree, indeed a relief from the dreary surroundings of Pen-ti-wan, which has the appearance of a giant mole-hill thrown up topsy-turvy. The trail now skirts another ravine and emerges below a homestead, if such it can be called, with a few terraced fields, inhabited by Na-khi.

We follow the grassy slopes to a deep ravine called Ta-shen-kou 大深溝 (Great deep gorge). The hamlet and a few homesteads are also known by that name. From the edge of the ravine, near a few stone huts where three Na-khi families dwell in utter isolation at an elevation of 6,870 feet, we climbed down to a bluff directly over the Hu-t'iao-t'an (rapid) and took photographs of the narrowest part of the Yangtze down- and upstream, showing the many other rapids (PLATES 124, 125). Hu-t'iao-t'an itself, being directly below the overhanging bluff, remained invisible. The only place from where it could be seen is the other side of the Ta-shen-kou ravine, but as there is no trail across, and both sides are vertical, it is impossible to get there. The scenery here is truly stupendous. Opposite, on the right bank of the Yangtze, a cliff of limestone rises 10,000 feet forming the northern wall of the snow range or, to be more precise, the wall of the parallel range to Gyi-nà nv-lv, third highest peak of the snow range (19,356 feet). The wall facing south is formed by the fourth peak

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*487 and its crags, Ha-ba nv-lv or Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv (Ha-ba Snow peak), 18,700
*133 feet in height.
*139 Arrived at the edge of the deep Ta-shen-kou ravine, elevation 7,150 feet, which has its source on Ha-ba nv-lv, the trail leads up it, narrow and precipitous in the extreme. The lower slopes are grass-covered, with here and there pure stands of cane-brake (*Arundinaria*). At the wooden bridge which spans the torrent of the ravine one beholds grandeur of scenery which is difficult to describe. The two sides of the yellowish-red cliffs, sheer and precipitous, form a gate lined with a few evergreen oaks with golden foliage (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), through which one views the deeply cleft and crenellated limestone wall rearing its pinnacled, snow-capped crown thousands of feet into the turquoise-blue sky, and at its foot the blue-green surging waters of the Yangtze. (PLATE 126). Indeed a picture of indescribable beauty.

From the bridge, elevation 7,450 feet, the trail ascends the vertical wall of Ta-shen-kou in zigzags to an elevation of 8,000 feet; a bluff here overlooks the Yangtze, which flows over 2,000 feet below. From the bluff the trail leads into a large and broad amphitheater-like depression sloping steeply to the Yangtze. At an elevation of 7,800 feet, is a village of Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan called Ho-t'ao-yüan 核桃園 (Walnut garden). Its name in Na-khi is Yü-hoa-t'ạn (Sheep nest bottom). Fourteen families dwell here in utter isolation: the most forlorn, rocky, dusty, waste imaginable. Its fields are narrow terraced strips with scattered mounds of rocks.

[342] In this waste Ssu-ch'uanese have settled for 60 years and built their houses
[515] of stone. The people are filthy to a degree, black with the grime of years, their
[291] garments rags of hemp cloth, their untanned goatskin jackets sewn together
[147] haphazardly, the edges of the ragged skins not even trimmed. The majority of these people are cretins, indifferent to their surroundings, they rummage from hill-side to hill-side to find enough to keep body and soul together. A tiny spring, shaded by a willow, in the center of the dreary waste forms their water supply. How the name "Walnut garden" originated is not known, for not a single tree of that species is visible.

From this village the ground rises steeply to the foot of the forested cliffs. Here the entire landscape appears to have undergone some terrific convulsion, for half the mountain-side lies about in enormous boulders or blocks of rocks a hundred or more feet across. It is as if the mountain had been split with a
[342] giant crowbar into myriads of pieces scattered over the hill-sides. Among these ruins a few Chinese have built their homes of rock, using the boulders as part walls for their cheerless, dreary abodes.

Passing by these stone dwellings the trail ascends the limestone cliffs through oak forests to the top of the spur at 9,150 feet elevation, and thence skirts the wild and stupendous rock walls, with chutes and landslides 4,000 feet in length descending everywhere. It leads to another bluff 9,700 feet in height where some lonely pines cling to it by the side of the trail which has been cut out of the living rock. We continue to skirt the terrific cliffs, now forested with oaks, cane-brake, pines, and lovely rhododendron bushes with from pale pink to deep rose-red flowers. We have left the arid belt and a cool breeze makes climbing easier. On and on we go skirting the vertical walls of this deep canyon, and in a final effort, as if to conquer all, the trail leads in zigzags to the

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top of the spur and to a gap cut through the wall of solid rock at an elevation of 10,000 feet (PLATE 127). The Yangtze roars over 4,000 feet below and yet above us cliffs and crags rise still 5,000 feet higher (PLATE 128). This gap, called Han-p'o-ling 漢坡嶺, is at the exit of the gorge which the River of Golden Sand has cut for itself through the mighty limestone range poetically called Jade dragon Mountain.

It was hazy in the extreme and the Yangtze hardly visible as it flowed through the Ta-ku plain. Although the total length of the gorge is approximately 100 li, we spent five days in this chasm, two of which were in camp and three on the march.

The cliff on the right bank of the Yangtze has various Chinese names which appear on a local map of Li-chiang. Opposite the Tiger-leap rapid part of the cliff is known as Ta-ngai-fang 大岩房 (Great cliff house); opposite Ho-t'ao-yüan the cliff is known as Hei-feng-t'ang 黑風塘 (Black wind embankment). Further on two more names appear for sections of the vertical limestone wall — Chin-kuei-tzu 金櫃子 (Golden cupboard) and Chi-kuan-liang 雞冠梁 (Cock's comb ridge). The latter is on the right bank at the exit of the great gorge.

4. THROUGH THE HA-BA DISTRICT

Describing a broad bend, the river makes its way through the plain of Nda-gv (Ta-ku) (PLATE 129) until it strikes the massive mountain wall of Dzu-ku nv-lv, some 15,000 feet in height, which forces it to flow north.

From the gap Han-p'o-ling we now leave the gorge and descend zigzag through pine forest to another hanging valley of much more cheerful aspect than any we have encountered since leaving No-yü. It is called Shui-chien-ch'ao 水澗巢 (also written 水梘槽), where some Chinese had once tried to settle but were forced to abandon it for lack of water. Here we camped in peace at 9,100 feet elevation.

The trail leads from Shui-chien-ch'ao somewhat zigzag down the valley, through forest of pine and oak and lovely rhododendron undergrowth, to the edge of the waterless ravine. Here at 8,400 feet grew large cornus trees, wild plums with cream-colored flowers, Lonicera, Ligustrums, and fine-leaved Aralias. Instead of descending further, the trail continues on to a pine-covered bluff where the Yangtze and the village of Ta-ku are still visible. It skirts the forested hill-side and emerges in a shallow and arid ravine called Bo-shi whose grassy head we cross and ascend the spur dividing it from another, also waterless, ravine called Ghügh-nun lo in Na-khi or En-nu kou 恩怒溝 in Chinese (H-M., Yüna), at an elevation of 8,250 feet. Here the country is all limestone and covered with pines and oaks.

A gradual ascent brings us to the hamlet of Ghügh-nun, elevation, 8,550 feet. This is the first hamlet in Ha-ba, excepting those encountered in the gorge. Instead of entering the village we ride across the rocky plateau covered with old scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*). The scenery here is wild and beautiful; to the west is the glorious Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv Snow range, with a deep gorge, similar to Sa-ba lo-gkv, dividing it into the lesser peaks which line the Yangtze gorge, and the main peak with a broad glacier which extends

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*487 north. Were it not for the absence of water, a more beautiful camping spot would be difficult to find.

*133 To the east of the Ha-ba snow range, the northern limit of Jade dragon *137 Mountain, is a beautiful, gravelly plain called Sho-ko dü, with dense pine forest extending to the foot of the range. Our trail leads across the plain to where it is flanked by a broad spur or hill-side 900 feet high. This spur closes the entire plain to the north, and resembles a huge lava flow of enormous thickness, but is, of course, composed of limestone like the rest of that region. The track ascends the spur more or less gradually through wonderful forest of *Pinus yünnanensis* to the summit, which is at 9,900 feet elevation (PLATE 130).

From the top of this spur we look down into a peculiar bowl-shaped depression hemmed in on the west by the Ha-ba snow peaks, in the north by a high spur, and in the east by another spur, but with an outlet, thus forming really a valley which leads out to the Yangtze. In this bowl-like depression is situated the scattered hamlet of 30 families called Ha-ba. We descend over the spur, which on its northern slope is mainly forested with the Yün-nan white pine (*Pinus Armandi*), while the yellow pine (*Pinus yünnanensis*) covers the southern and drier slopes. The former pine is more moisture-loving and thus chooses the northern slopes where the snow does not melt so quickly. Here on this spur there are also several springs and small ponds. *Tsuga* (hemlock trees) occur in the ravines.

The trail leads down to a meadow crossed by a crystal-clear stream, and makes a sharp turn straight to the foot-hills of the Ha-ba Snow peak (PLATE 131). Here in a marvellous grove of hemlock trees (*Tsuga yünnanensis*) and tall white pines, a spring gushes forth from under the huge limestone boulders of which the foot-hills are composed. To the Na-khi of Ha-ba this is a place sacred to the Llü-mun (Serpent spirits), whom they propitiate. They hold here an annual fair on the 8th day of the second moon, when crowds come to worship, and when their sorcerers perform the *Ssu-gv* ceremony, that is, the propitiation of the serpent spirits and the Garuḍa, whom they call Dtu-p'ĕr Khyu-t'khyu.

5. FROM HA-BA TO BBĔR-DDĔR

[131] *The Bbĕr-ddĕr territory.* — Bbĕr-ddĕr, is purely Na-khi and the people still live in their primitive state uncontaminated by Chinese manners and customs. This is due to the almost inaccessible location of their territory protected in the east by the Yangtze in its deep gorges, and in the west by snow peaks and ranges, the passes of which are closed for several months in the year. It is a world of its own.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is a large, sloping, triangular basin, bordered in the west by the Ta-ra mountains, which are a continuation of the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv Range extending north to south. The pass Hsüeh-men-k'an 雪門砍 is its western outlet. In the north it is bounded by the mountains of A-nà-ngv [7] (H-M.,

[7] A-nà Ngyu also A-nà-ngv after a Na-khi village by that name, in Chinese An-nan-ku (Mountain of the village of An-nan-ku-ch'ang 安南古廠), is 200 li south-east of Chung-tien, and is also called Pei-ti Shan. In the winter and spring the mountain is covered with snow. Sixty li south of it is a *ling-ch'üan* ("mysterious spring"). This refers to the carbonate of lime spring at Bbĕr-ddĕr or Pei-ti. In the south A-nà-ngv adjoins the Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv

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Anangu), beyond which are Tibetans; to the east by the Bběr-p'ěr gyi (White water Stream) of Bběr or Bběr-dděr (H-M., Bapadyi), which has its source in the mountains north of A-nà-ngv; the Bběr-p'ěr gyi flows south into the Gyi-na lo (Black water gorge), which is the southern border dividing Bběr-dděr from Ha-ba. North-east of the Bběr-p'ěr gyi are the high mountains of Gkü-dü (H-M., Kü-dü), which is Na-khi and ruled by Chung-tien. The altitude of Bběr-dděr is 8,000 feet, varying somewhat as the land slopes towards the south, the lowest hamlet at the edge of Gyi-na lo valley being at 7,600 feet elevation.

Handel-Mazzetti calls Bběr-dděr Bö-dö: this is perhaps a wrong transcription of the name Bběr-dděr, unless he meant Bpö dü, the land of the Bpö (mbö), or Dto-mba (Na-khi sorcerers), for it is here that the Bpö-mbö still have the strongest hold on the people, although they have few of their religious books or manuscripts left. The Tibetan bandits, who have often laid waste their poor hamlets by setting fire to them, are responsible for the very few books now in existence, as most of them perished with the homes of the people.

Bacot also calls Bběr-dděr, Bedjri. This is to be understood as Mbe-ddü (Large village), as the largest village of Bběr-dděr is often called. In the word *ddü* the *d* is neither soft nor hard and corresponds perhaps to the Tibetan *gr* as in the word *sgrolma*, hence probably Bacot's transcription of *ddü* as *djri*. The eight villages of Bběr-dděr not six as given by Bacot, are: Pu-du-wùa, A-ru-wùa,[8] Ghügh-tu-wùa, Wu-shu-wùa (PLATE 132), Bpu-wùa, Ghügh-shu-wùa, Shui-chia 水家[9] and Gu-dù.

The Gyi-na lo flows into the P'u-wùa lo, named after the village of P'u-wùa situated in its valley, and debouches in a deep, narrow gorge into the Yangtze. The P'u-wùa is joined by the So-lo-dzu from the south at about the same point as the Gyi-na lo joins it, a sharp angular ridge sloping to the north separating the two.

The word *wùa* means to pile up, heap together; another meaning, read in the same tone, is house. It probably refers to a collection of houses, hence is a suffix to the village name of which it must however be considered a part, although village in Na-khi is *mbe*.

The trail from Ha-ba. — From the scattered hamlet of Ha-ba the trail turns north to the foot of the spur which we ascend, skirting a valley which joins the Ha-ba lo (Ha-ba valley), quite a distance below. From a bluff called Wa-'a mbu, 9,250 feet, the trail leads up a lateral ravine to a saddle at an elevation of 9,420 feet, and descends into a lovely valley over a broad earth road, the

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a continuation of the Li-chiang Snow range, from which it is separated by the Yangtze. To the west of the Pei-fi Shan is the Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二攔杆山, which is 105 li south of Chung-tien. (*Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 29.)

[8] The name A-ru-wùa shows Tibetan influence. The Na-khi have no initial *r* in their language, and the Li-chiang Na-khi would pronounce it A-lv-wùa, or A-lu-wùa.

[9] It is strange why the largest village, or Mbe-ddü (BACOT's Bedjri), should have the Chinese name of Shui-chia (Water family), but that was the only name given me for the village, except Mbe-ddü (Large village) which is, of course, its Na-khi name on account of its being the largest. HANDEL-MAZZETTI also was given the name of Shui-chia (his Schuidja) for the largest village, and the Chinese Pei-ti is probably an imitation of the Na-khi name Mbe-ddü, though it may also be in imitation of Bběr-dděr, HANDEL-MAZZETTI's Bö-dö.

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*487 *133 *137 slopes densely forested with pines and large oaks with undergrowth of brilliant pink, red and white-flowered rhododendrons. It was like walking in fairyland — birds singing and the atmosphere cool and pleasant. The ravine opens out into an oblong, cultivated basin encircled by forested hills. The fields were planted with wheat, and the hamlet to which they belonged, called T'khi-dtü in Na-khi, and in the dialect of Ha-ba, Chi-chŭr (H-M., Tjatü), nestled against the mountain slope. From here there is to be had a beautiful vista of the high limestone mountains of Gkü-dü, 15,420 feet in height. (PLATE 133.)

Instead of descending to the village the trail keeps to the mountain spur in virgin pine forest. A deep valley is to the east or right of us with narrow, terraced rice-fields far below. Here are excellent camping places, for little streams cross our path everywhere. Near these streams are offerings to the water-spirits of large *k'o-byu* [10] painted with dancing Dto-mba and spirits; other offerings consist of wooden tea-bowls, baskets, goat skins and cane-brake with colored paper tied to it. [774]

We continue in dense forest on the steep hill-side at 8,850 feet elevation. To the east below us is the hamlet of A-wùa, of 20 families, with its terraced rice-fields. The gorge which we have been following over a trail leading high above it is called So-lo-dzu. The path skirts a ravine and leads to a pass, elevation 8,800 feet. The eastern spur of the So-lo-dzu forms the western valley wall of the Yangtze, while the eastern wall is formed by the 16,000 feet high Ha-ba su-p'e-zu (H-M., Hsuetschou schan).[11]

Here, at the foot of a sharp angular ridge sloping north, is the confluence of the So-lo-dzu (from the south) and (from the west) the Gyi-na lo which rises in the Hsüeh-men-k'an mountains and receives *en route* from the north the Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi. United these streams flow east into the Yangtze as the P'u-wùa gyi in the deep canyon called P'u-wùa lo. The Yangtze makes a sharp turn at the mouth of the P'u-wùa.

From the pass, in the north were visible the high mountains of Gkü-dü, at the foot of which the Yangtze flows northwards. In this immense landscape of stupendous chasms, snow-covered peaks, vast rocky ranges and lovely forests, one feels like a fly on a windowpane. There is often not level ground enough to pitch a tent; the vertical surfaces exceed many times the horizontal.

We follow now the edge of Gyi-na lo, high above the valley floor, the terraced fields of the village of Wa-shwua (H-M., Waschua) far below us. Wa-shwua is composed of 100 Na-khi families. Pine forest still covers the spur, but soon we come out onto a rocky waste with scrub vegetation, the rocks being sharp, rough limestone. Crossing a bluff with a dry basin which in the

[10] *K'o-byu* are pine boards roughly cut, usually oblong, several feet in length, about four inches broad and half an inch thick. (Plate 135.) Their bases are wedge-shaped so as to be stuck into the ground, their surfaces are planed, and the apex is either triangular or truncate. When truncate it is an offering to the headless demons called *Dtŏr*; the particular deities, spirits or demons to whom they are offered are usually painted with other symbols on the surface of the board. In this particular case the Llü-mun (water-spirits) were painted on them, with dancing Dto-mba (To-pa 多巴 in Chinese) suppressing the malevolent ones. *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E-O.* T. XXXIX; 1939, Plates XX–XXX.

[11] This is the Mount Bonvalot of GERVAIS COURTELLEMONT, which is in fact part of Hua-ti-yi nv-lv, a limestone range a little farther north.

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rainy season becomes a large pond, we emerge onto a plateau of reddish soil with bushes of Cotoneaster, wild pears, and scrub-pines.

We descend into the Gyi-na lo gorge from a bluff overlooking it (7,700 feet elevation) to a bridge which spans the torrent at an elevation of 7,300 feet. Ascending the other side of the valley we strike the first hamlet in Bbĕr-ddĕr in a shallow basin with terraced fields, called Bu-du-wùa, at an elevation of 7,600 feet. Here we met the first Bbĕr-ddĕr Na-khi, a most painfully polite people, who knelt down and kowtowed at our approach. The young men are stalwart fellows, tall and well built; they wear homespun hemp-cloth trousers and jacket of a dull white to light gray, and either go barefoot or wear straw sandals (PLATE 134). The front half of the head is shaven, the hair plaited in a queue at the back. When asked why they still wear queues, they replied that if they cut them off the Tibetans would kill them. They live in constant fear and dread of the Chung-tien and Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans.

From Bu-du-wùa, with its friendly people, we turned again towards the mountains, passing through rice-fields and crossing a small ravine, after which we arrived at a hamlet on a hill-top called Bpu-wùa, elevation 8,300 feet. Here also the people were very friendly and all volunteered to help, some to guide us and others to see that the caravan should not miss the trail.

The limestone spring and terraces of Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr. — From Bpu-wùa we followed along the hill-side to a deep ravine with the most peculiar limestone terraces and sinter basins, a miniature Yellowstone or Roturua, minus geysers and hot springs. These terraces, which extend deep down into the ravine, are called Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr and are at an elevation of 8,650 feet. The valley in which they are situated is called Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dshi.

The terraces owe their origin to a carbonate-of-lime-bearing spring flowing from a hill which on its south side is attached to the mountain spurs; to the west and north the hill is surrounded by deep ravines which descend from the Ta-ra mountains in the west and immediately behind it. The hill is several hundred feet high and the spring in its center, shaded by oaks and willows, is clear as crystal, only about two feet deep and about four feet in diameter (PLATE 135). In the immediate neighborhood of the spring all appears normal, yet some 10 to 15 feet away the water, which flows gently over a grassy flat, has built up shelves of calc-sinter which appear as if floating on the surface of the deep clear pools. Every shrub and plant is encrusted with a thick layer of carbonate of lime. Beyond the pools is a flat of cream-colored limestone, composed of myriads of petrified ripples or fine corrugations, deposited by the wavelets of the carbonate-of-lime-bearing water.

Thus was built up a succession of marvellous terraces over the entire hill, created bulging promontories with shallow basins, the water flowing gently and noiselessly over these queer structures, ever depositing its sediment. The basins and terraces have all the appearance of being artificial. Some resemble a terraced, flooded rice-field awaiting planting, save that the water is a bluish-white and the banks of the terrace a creamy-yellow, with millions of corrugations, every wavelet a thin shell of lime, of which there must be thousands of layers. The whole structure sounds hollow as one walks over it, but it does not break. With the continuous deposit from the gently flowing waters the ter-

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*133 race becomes higher in one place, causing the water to desert its old terrace and to flow over the hill in another direction, to build anew. The whole hill is therefore covered with ancient basins and terraces, some much broken and covered with vegetation and of a dark grey, resembling the hide of an elephant. Some of the circular basins are fully 20 feet broad, yet are only a foot or less deep, growing ever taller like stalagmites, which they really are, with the only difference that instead of shedding all the water, they retain a quantity in a shallow, broad basin. (PLATES 136, 137, 138.)

One part of the terrace is especially high, forming a large, bulging promontory resembling the fat-bellied god of the Chinese, Mi-le-fo 彌勒佛, whose name it bears (PLATE 139). Below the bulge is a natural slit in the limestone which communicates with the interior. Here barren women come to pray for children, burning incense before the opening.

In the shallow sinter basins, as well as in the furrows and corrugations of the terraces over which the water flows, there are to be found millions of pisolites or oölites, resembling the roe of fish. These are formed around minute algæ which are the nuclei of the pisolites. They are not exactly round, but somewhat oblong and flattened and never thicker than the depth of the water which flows over them. They differ notably from pisolites known from similar sinter basins and terraces, as those of Madagascar and the Yellowstone of America. Instead of being composed of concentric rings, they are dichotomously branched. They are constantly rolled back and forth by the flowing water; the basins are full of them, though they never grow larger than a pea.[12]

778 The natives and their sorcerers look upon this terrace as sacred and as being the property of the Llü-mun, the equivalent of the Chinese dragon kings and the Tibetan Lu (serpent spirits; written kLu). *K'o-byu* offerings adorn the spring (PLATE 135), as also paper streamers, saplings, etc. Under the trees is a stone altar on which the Dto-mba (priests) burn pine branches and incense, while they chant incantations to propitiate the Llü-mun. They have a special ceremony called *Ssu-gv*, during which many books are chanted and many objects offered to propitiate the serpent spirits. The books of this ceremony, as well as those belonging to numerous other ceremonies performed by the Na-khi, I have translated and these will form two separate volumes.

*133 The spring and terraces have no connection with the deep ravine and valley
312 which encircle this hill; the water is forced up to the surface from hundreds of
[164] feet below. It forms the water-supply of most of the villages of Bbĕr-ddĕr. Goitre is very prevalent, but the inhabitants should never suffer from indigestion. The water is conveyed to the villages first in a ditch and then in wooden flumes which, after having been in use for a certain time, have a most curious appearance. The ditches are encrusted with lime and the flumes have become so filled with it that the boards merely serve as support for the limestone which has been built up above the edge and bulges over the boards. The water thus flows in a limestone trough several inches above the original flume. At Gu-dù the water empties from the flume to the ground. Here the mouths of the hollowed out logs which serve as troughs look as if they were covered with icicles. The main stream of water has formed a stalactite, while from the ground

[12] DR. HOFFET, of the Geological Service of Indo-China, kindly analysed these pisolites for me.

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a stalagmite has risen, the two meeting and acting as a bridge for the water.

Back of the village of Gu-dù is a large enclosure surrounded by beautiful oaks; this is the great *muan-bpö d'a* (place of worship) where the people of Bbĕr-ddĕr propitiate Heaven.

The hamlets are dirty, as are the inhabitants. The foundations of the houses are built of rock with a superstructure of logs and mud bricks. Others, again, are made entirely of logs, like Swiss chalets. They are low and their roofs of boards are weighted down with rocks (PLATE 132). The women are very shy and flee like deer at one's approach. They wear a much-pleated skirt of hemp cloth, similar to the women of Mba-yi-wùa and those of the Miao tribe.

The sacred grotto Shi-lo ne-k'o. — Bbĕr-ddĕr is a famous place of pilgrimage, for it is the wish of every Dto-mba, or Na-khi sorcerer (perhaps better called priest), to visit Bbĕr-ddĕr once in his life and make a pilgrimage to Shi-lo ne-k'o, a cave in the mountains hemming in Bbĕr-ddĕr to the east. This cave is also, but less commonly, spoken of as Shi-lo 'a-k'o. There Dto-mba Shi-lo, founder of the Na-khi religion (Shamanism), was said to have lived, and from there he taught the people and spread his creed. Dto-mba Shi-lo is none other than sTon-pa gShen-rabs (pronounced Tön-pa Shen-rab), founder of the ancient pre-Buddhistic Bön religion of Tibet, often also spoken of as Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-bo སྟོན་པ་གཤེན་རབ་མི་བོ , the word Tön-pa (Na-khi, Dto-mba) meaning teacher. The Na-khi have no *r* nor do they pronounce clearly a final consonant unless it be a nasal one. They therefore call him Shi-lo or Shü-lo instead of Shen-rab.[13]

Tön-pa Shenrab himself is, however, not meant, but, as the Dto-mbas say, one of his later incarnations who dwelled in that cave. No date is given and it is impossible to find out when he lived there. It is, however, a place of pilgrimage for the Dto-mbas, but now very difficult of access on account of the absence of a ferry over the Yangtze.

Bbĕr-ddĕr is in itself not a sacred place, but it is a place of pilgrimage because of its sacred spring, Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr, and the sacred cave. Handel-Mazzetti denies that Bbĕr-ddĕr is a sacred place of the Mo-so and relies also on the negative statement of the Dutch missionary Kok, who at the time of his visit was resident of the Pentecostal Mission at Li-chiang.

To reach the cave it is necessary to cross the stream Bbĕr-p'ĕr gyi and climb the high slopes of old limestone, forested with pine and oaks. At 9,600 feet elevation the cave is reached. It is, however, more of a grotto than a cave. To enter it one has to climb into a chimney-like hole, and it is there that the first Dto-mba was said to have dwelled. There are two such chimney-like chutes separated by a fluted limestone wall, in front of which is an incense burner and a pot for holding water, (probably to perform *Ch'ou-ch'ĕr* purification with water). To the left, below the main entrance, is a stone altar for burning oak and pine branches as offerings (PLATE 140). The Dto-mbas believe that a rock pried loose from the actual wall of the cave and taken home, will make

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, The Birth and Origin of Dto-mba Shi-lo in *Artibus Asiæ* Vol. VII, 1938, pp. 5–85, and *BEFE-O*, T. XXXVII; 1937, 1, pp. 1–39.

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778 all demons and evil spirits flee. The possession of such rocks, the Dto-mbas say, will also enable them to better drive out demons when performing their shamanistic rituals.

6. RETURN JOURNEY TO LI-CHIANG BY TA-KU

*487 As the mountain passes were still under snow and as I did not care to repeat *733 the arduous journey through the Yangtze gorge, we decided to leave Bbĕr-ddĕr *137 via Ha-ba for Ta-ku (Nda-gv), crossing the Yangtze on inflated goatskins (PLATES 141, 142).

Descending again into the Ha-ba lo basin over the pass Wa-'a mbu, elevation 9,250 feet, we take the trail which leads in the center of the valley over a spur between two streams and fields. This trail is a miserable one, as are all those that pass by villages and through fields, for the peasants collect the rocks in their fields and dump them into the middle of the paths. We pass through the hamlet of Wua-pa-dtu, elevation 8,150 feet, and continue zigzag through nearly the entire inhabited length of Ha-ba, excepting the lowest part in the narrow ravine which debouches into the Yangtze. It is the poorest part, arid and composed of limestone, the stream in a deep gorge below; it has been occupied, however, similarly to unwanted places in the Yangtze gorge, by Ssu-ch'uanese squatters.

The trail crosses the stream which flows along the southern valley wall, much the smaller stream of the two, and then leads up the hill-side along the slopes of the southern valley wall of Ha-ba lo, at an elevation of 7,700 feet. The trail then enters more pleasing country, away from habitations, into lovely pine forest. Looking back a marvellous view is to be had of Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, the snow peak. Continuing near the top of the spur we come to a grassy bluff and then turn south to the little hamlet called Lă-t'o-dshi, elevation 7,800 feet. Here the Na-khi have adopted Chinese customs and we meet again with graves. From this village we follow the Yangtze up-stream, we going south, the river flowing north, in a deep, barren gorge which on its eastern side is precipitous and composed of grey limestone, culminating into the peaks of Dzu-ku nv-lv. On a terrace overlooking the Yangtze is the hamlet of Lo-ndo.

The pine forest gives way to scrub vegetation and an arid rocky waste without a tree, and the temperature over 100° F. After skirting a ravine with a dry, rocky stream-bed, we turn sharply to the hamlet of Za-ba (H-M., Sabe), elevation 7,100 feet.

To view the exit of the Yangtze gorge, I continued a short distance along a pine-covered spur to a small bluff directly facing its outlet. From the bluff called Ghügh-shi-gku, elevation 7,000 feet a grand vista opens out into the gorge and up the broad slope of the third highest peak of the Li-chiang Snow range, Gyi-nà nv-lv, commonly called Gyi-nà lo-gkv; its summit is a broad, oblong declivity, covered in the upper third with a vast sheet of ice.

From near Ghügh-shi-gku the trail leads over a bare, rocky flat with sandy fields, where the Na-khi of Za-ba grow pumpkins in the summertime. Here is also situated the hamlet of Yu-k'o, elevation 6,200 feet. We cross over the barren, sandy fields to the edge of the Yangtze valley at an elevation of 6,050 feet.

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Na-khi swimmers with their goatskins had been summoned from the various villages, and were ready to ferry us across the rapid-flowing river to the opposite shore in the Li-chiang district. Below the edge of the main valley is a terrace over which we made our way and then zigzag to the only place available on the bank of the river, among huge boulders, where loads could be untied. Here also was an eddy in the river which permitted the swimmers to get back to the starting point.

Two of them would undress at a time, fastening the goatskins to their bodies by means of straps over their buttocks, that is, they would slip them on like a pair of trousers. The neck of the skin is held in one hand close to the mouth and is thus easily inflated. The raft consisted of a few sticks to which eight inflated goatskins were tied (PLATE 143). To cross one lay flat on one's stomach on the raft. One man and a trunk or box would be ferried across at a time (PLATE 144). One Na-khi with his inflated goatskin would be in front of the raft, pulling with a rope, and one behind would push. The river was swift indeed. Once in the center of the current the raft is carried down at express speed about one-third of a mile to another eddy among a pile of boulders. The horses and mules must swim; they are held by either one or two men with goatskins tied to their bodies and thus paddle across the river.

The height of the Yangtze near Ta-ku, at the place where one is now ferried across on goatskin rafts, is 5,300 feet. The river thus drops 770 feet in about 115 li (35 miles) from the ferry at Yu-lo (6,070 feet) to the ferry at Ta-ku (5,300 feet). The entire river-bed is conglomerate, like the plain of Ta-ku. The main village of Ta-ku is one and a half li from the river bank and at a height of 5,900 feet above sea-level and 600 feet above the Yangtze.

7. T'AI-TZU TUNG, OR CAVE OF THE HEIR APPARENT, IN A-HSI LI

The Na-khi of Li-chiang believe in three mountain spirits of whom Sa-ddo is the most venerated, as the god of the Li-chiang Snow range. The legends connected with Sa-ddo, or Sa-ddo̲n as he is also spoken of, and the history of his temple at the foot of the snow range on its eastern slopes, etc., is related elsewhere (*see* p. 191-200).

Sa-ddo had two elder brothers. The first was called Aw-wùa-wùa, who dwelled on the western slopes of the snow range in a limestone cave called T'ai-tzu tung, after an Imperial heir apparent who came to live there. History is, however, silent as to the identity of the heir apparent or the date of his father's reign.

The second elder brother was called La-gkyi-la-khū and his temple is at La-shi Na-ŋgyu-wùa, west of Li-chiang, in the district of La-shih-pa.

T'ai-tzu tung is situated on the western slopes of the snow range and is mentioned under the A-khi or A-hsi district to which it belongs. It is visited by crowds of pilgrims during the second moon.

To reach T'ai-tzu tung we follow the same trail over Hăr-lĕr mbu as described on the journey to the Yangtze gorge of 'A-ts'a̲n-gko, as far as T'o-k'ö-shĕr. From this place instead of descending the valley we turn north through pine forest into a bowl-shaped depression in which is situated the hamlet of Muan-ndĕr, elevation 8,575 feet. As seen from here the crags of the snow range are

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of two distinct types, the uppermost, which form its backbone, are of a whitish-grey, while the lower ones are a deep chocolate-colored limestone. The contrast is very striking, especially when illuminated by the setting sun.

From Muan-ndĕr we ascend a valley densely forested with pine, inhabited by large black woodpeckers with a red cap on top of their head (*Macropicus Forresti*), flying from tree to tree, while in the low oak scrub we found *Pucrasia Meyeri*, the *K'aw-k'aw* of the Na-khi, so named after its call while in search of food over the hill-sides. The trail climbs over a spur whence the Yangtze is visible, and along the pine-forested slopes towards a large gulch (the Gyi-p'ĕr lo which debouches into the Yangtze); and thence into a bowl-like depression. We have now arrived at the alpine meadow of Lä-dzu gko, elevation 10,700 feet, not exactly a beauty spot, for the forests have been burnt and what is left is being ruined by cattle which the Na-khi bring here to graze.

Leaving Lä-dzu gko we descend over a central spur through lovely pine forest until arrived in a pure stand of tall old oaks. This spur is the divide between the main gorge which descends from Shan-tzu-tou and the little valley in which the T'ai-tzu (tung) cave is situated, and up which our trail leads.

The cave is neither large nor deep, and, like all limestone grottoes, possesses stalagmites and stalactites. In its recesses I found miniature sinter basins and terraces, such as are to be found on a large scale in Bbĕr-ddĕr. The elevation of the cave is 8,800 feet (PLATE 145). A splendid view of Shan-tzu-tou and of the entire limestone wall which forms the head of the deep valley Gyi-p'ĕr lo (White water gorge), is to be had from the T'ai-tzu tung valley.

Near the head of the main gorge the forest is more open and drier and consists of pines only, with undergrowth of Berberis and roses. The elevation is here only 10,600 feet while the head of Sa-ba lo-gkv is over 13,250 feet, a considerable difference in the height of the two gorges, of which the western one is, however, much longer and, unlike the eastern one, has an outlet.

At the head of the Gyi-p'ĕr lo a gorge extends from the south at the foot of the cliffs of the snow range. It is filled with scree on which there are dark areas, denoting forests of Abies at 14,000 feet or more. This lateral gorge separates the upper white-gray limestone crags from the lower chocolate-colored crags. The dark cliffs, which form the northern wall of the main gorge, are entirely occupied by yellowish-green junipers, handsome, tall, heavy-trunked trees. Junipers love southern, dry exposures where the snow melts quickly, while northern exposures are always occupied by spruces, firs and hemlocks, which like moisture. Here the snows lie for a considerable time and allow a carpet of moss to develop.

The gorge is without a sign of life, not a bird was to be seen. Apparently this is due to its waterless condition, not even a tiny brook being visible. The wall of limestone at the head of the gorge culminating in Shan-tzu-tou, is known to the Na-khi of the Yangtze valley as 'A-dto-daw (Cliff wainscoting) (PLATE 146).

From below the T'ai-tzu tung, the gorge (Gyi-pĕr lo), here called Gyi-p'ĕr k'a makes a sharp turn north-west to the Yangtze. It is several hundred feet deep, a bridge spanning it at 8,100 feet elevation. From the bridge the stream-bed drops 1,800 feet to where another bridge spans it on the main road at 'A-ngaw-mbu, and where it debouches into the Yangtze.

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Large Macacus monkeys inhabit the central part of this valley. They move in companies, settle in the fields of the neighboring villages, and eat the crops of the farmers, especially those of broad beans and turnips. [136] 137*

Some distance below T'ai-tzu tung a narrow trail leads down into the deep gorge Gyi-p'ĕr k'a with walls vertical in places, the lower slopes mainly forested with oaks and pines. Here on the western side there is no glacier moraine and the forests extend to the very foot of the cliffs. To where the trail descends into the gorge there is no sign of water, but immediately below the trail there is a tremendous drop in the stream-bed, and from the rock wall a huge volume of water issues, forming a large stream which debouches into the Yangtze at the village of Lü-ts'an. 133* 487*

From where the path (coming from T'ai-tzu tung) strikes the white, waterless stream-bed to the head of the Gyi-p'ĕr lo gorge is a distance of 10 li. A terrace densely forested is to the south of it, and a woodman's trail leads to the foot of the limestone cliffs at the head of the valley.

From the summit of Shan-tzu-tou two small dying glaciers descend onto the sloping rock wall but are not to be compared to those on the eastern slope of the range. Here the peak itself looks insignificant, due to the small quantity of snow and the absence of the lower peaks and promontories which make the eastern side so beautiful. The slopes of Gyi-p'ĕr lo are densely forested with spruces, hemlocks, and giant rhododendrons 40 feet tall with trunks two feet in diameter.

Bears live in this gorge, as their fresh tracks testified, while huge flying squirrels dwell in the recesses of the T'ai-tzu tung. These are reddish-brown in color with a very pale fawn-colored back; they are known scientifically as *Petaurista alborufus ochropsis*, and to the Na-khi as Fu-chung-p'i, which is apparently a mispronunciation of the Chinese Fei-ch'u-p'i 飛鼠皮. During the daytime it was impossible to find them in the caves, but at night they volplaned out of them onto tall trees growing in front, where they fed on the green leaves. With a torchlight pointed up into the trees, their red eyes glowed like live coals, and thus they could easily be shot down (PLATE 147). 136

Trails lead from across the Gyi-p'ĕr k'a gorge to the forests and bluffs at 10,300 feet elevation to the north, whence beautiful views can be had both up (PLATE 148) and down the Yangtze, up the Yü-ndo gyi (Chung-tien River) to the north, to A-hsi on the Yangtze in the south, and, even beyond, the little lake Bbu-t'u-ndĕr in the valley at Kuan-shang 關上 is visible. 487*

From T'ai-tzu tung a lower trail leads up the Yangtze valley past the village of Ggŏ-ndĕr in a circular depression, the floor of which forms a small lake or pond, and thence over pine forested spurs and along wide curves and ravines to the village of Muan-ndĕr (Lower pond, in contradistinction to Ggŏ-ndĕr or Upper pond).

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CHAPTER VII

Air Flight round Li-chiang Snow Range and through the 'A-ts'an-gko — Yangtze Gorge

489 Since my earlier days of exploration in Yün-nan great progress has been made in China: the most important was the linking of out-of-the-way places with centers of civilization, either by motor-road or aeroplane. Roads in our sense of the word are still rare in Yün-nan and few connect with neighboring
509 provinces.[1] Since 1934 an air service has been established linking this far-away province directly with Shanghai (via Chungking) and other parts of China. An opportunity was thus offered to charter the plane K'un-ming of the China National Aviation Company for a flight to the Li-chiang Snow range and through the now famous gorge of the upper Yangtze called 'A-ts'an-gko. It is extremely difficult while exploring on foot in this greatest of all canyons to form an idea as to the lie of the peaks which hem in this gorge. To solve certain geographical problems I decided to fly through the gorge at a sufficient height to enable me to get a bird's-eye view of it and of the surrounding mountains.

*133 Viewing the peaks from the air, we have learned that the mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko with its towering peaks of A-ssu, A-ku and A-mbu nv-lv (p. 225) running parallel to the bulky pile of Gyi-nà nv-lv in the west, is by far the most important part of the northern end of the snow range (Plate 149). It forms a huge, broad pyramid, the western and north-western edges of which are the walls flanking the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge. Our picture was taken looking south from an altitude of 17,000 feet as the plane entered the gorge flying in a south-westerly direction. It shows clearly the tremendous pyramid separated from Gyi-nà nv-lv by a glacier-filled ravine, beyond which is visible Shan-tzu-tou, the highest peak of the range. This proves that Gyi-nà nv-lv (*see* p. 224) is to the east of Shan-tzu-tou, and not west as shown on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Viewing Gyi-nà nv-lv from the east one would never suspect that to the west of it extends, parallel to it, this far greater mountain mass of 'A-ts'an-gko nv-lv.

Our flight also definitely proved that the second highest peak of the snow range is in the 'A-ts'an-gko Range. In the next few pages I shall give a description of the actual flight through the gorge from notes taken on the trip.

The Flight

February 3rd (1936) was set as the day for the first flight to the Li-chiang Snow range. It was such a day as only Yün-nan could boast of at that time of year. The sky was cloudless and of a deep turquoise blue, the atmosphere crystal clear. The plane "K'un-ming" left the K'un-ming aerodrome at

[1] Two motor roads have since been opened: one connecting K'un-ming (Yün-nan fu) with Chung-king (Chung-ch'ing 重慶) via Kuei-yang, and the other K'un-ming with Burma via Hsia-kuan and Lung-ling. Owing to the war, air service to the coast cities of China was suspended but has again been inaugurated.

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7.45 A.M. Yün-nan time, sailing first over the ancient city of K'un-ming, after which it gradually rose to 9,000 feet elevation and during the next half hour climbed to 13,000 feet. 133*

Beneath us were hills, mostly bare, though here and there covered with pine trees. The country below was like a sea disturbed by a terrific gale, resembling huge waves. At 8.10 A.M. we passed the town of Lo-tz'u hsien 羅次縣, flying over it at 12,000 feet elevation. Twenty minutes afterwards we flew over Yüan-mou 元謀 and Ma-kai 馬街 (Horse market), at an elevation of 13,000 feet. To our right we saw mountains north and north-east of Wu-ting 武定, populated by Miaos. Far away to the north was the Ta-liang Shan 大涼山, land of the independent Lo-lo. Deep erosion met the eye everywhere, red soil, bare hills and small plains. From this region, we first sighted the snow range 150 miles away as the crow flies. The atmosphere was clear and the peaks stood out sharply. At 9 A.M. we were flying at 14,000 feet above sea-level. [134]

From here, looking north-north-west, we could see 170 miles away the Gangkar-ling peaks, over 20,000 feet in height, and first explored by me in the spring and summer of 1928 (PLATES 55 to 59). To the south and somewhat to the west of us was the 14,000 feet Ts'ang-shan Range, which flanks the Ta-li Lake (Erh Hai).

At 9.10 A.M. we crossed over the Yangtze at an elevation of 15,000 feet, the river a mere ribbon, a streak of brilliant green hurrying across the Yün-nan plateau in its arid bright red gorge. Directly to the west and south of the snow range, and extending from north to south, distant 160 miles, we saw the Mekong — Salween and Salween — Irrawadi divides the latter further south forms the Yün-nan — Burma border, and the former further north the Yün-nan — Tibet border, with Lhasa four flying hours, or 600 miles, distant. To the north-west of the Li-chiang Range the snow mountains which encircle the Chung-tien plateau stood out clearly in the crystal atmosphere.

By 9.30 A.M. we were again nearing the Yangtze further west and crossed one of its many bends and turns. To the south lay the town of Yung-pei, now called Yung-sheng (Eternal victory), on a long plain, and 15 miles to the south of it the lake of Ch'eng Hai 程海, a sheet of blue water about 26 miles in circumference. From here we flew straight north, but east of the district of Tung-shan (Tung-shan li 東山里) and parallel to the snow range, which stood out in all its glory, covered deeply with a mantle of white. Truly it seemed to float in the atmosphere like a sleeping dragon, enshrouded in purest snow, its sharp peaks and crags piercing the deep blue sky. An aura of majesty encompassed it; overawing all; its neighboring hills lay crowded about as loving children gather around their mother.

Nearly 20,000 feet its peaks tower into the heavens and yet the ever-hastening waters of the Yangtze and time have conquered it.

We continued our flight in a northerly direction till we came abreast the exit of the 'A-ts'an-gko gorge, flanked by the peaks and crags of the snow range. Up to here flying was more or less smooth, only now and then, while passing over the deep Yangtze valley, were we somewhat tossed about.

We flew to the north of Mba-yi-wùa (Ming-yin-wu 鳴音吾), and nearing T'o-k'ŏ-shĕr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), we turned west over the alluvial

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*133 plain with its scattered hamlets collectively called Nda-gv, or Ta-ku (Beat the drum). The plain is at an altitude of 5,900 feet, and we traversed it at a height of 16,000 feet. It is completely enclosed by high mountains and, bisected by the Yangtze which flows 600 feet below it, looked insignificant.

At a speed of 120 miles an hour we approached Ha-ba nv-lv (Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv) the third outstanding peak of the snow range (PLATE 150) but fourth in height. The wind coming from south-west was so strong that as we neared the mouth of the gorge we were driven close to the walls of this forbidding-looking mountain (PLATE 151). The mouth of the terrific Yangtze gorge yawned and swallowed us. The wind was now terrific. To both sides of us the ice-crowned crags and peaks hemmed us in, and 12,000 feet below us flowed the Yangtze, in its rocky prison and in deepest shadow. The sun, which only for a short fraction of the day shines in the gorge, illuminated brilliantly the snow peaks and pinnacles, outlining them sharply against the blue of the sky. The fierce wind which howled through the gorge caused our ship, which had now reached 17,000 feet, to flutter like a piece of paper in a gale. It drove us towards the peak of Ha-ba, so that I feared the wing of our plane would scrape the ice-crowned cliff. To the left or south of us was the enormous mountain mass which forms the northern end of the snow range, composed of the huge limestone bulk of 'A-ts'an-gko and Gyi-nà nv-lv. The former drops a sheer 12,000 feet and forms the south-eastern wall of the gorge (PLATE 149).

The wind rushing through the gorge at different pressures caused our plane to be tossed about like a ship in a heavy sea; sometimes dropping vertically it would rise in a succession of shudders, then again would slip sideways, losing and gaining height involuntarily at the rate of 1,500 feet a minute. The roar of the engines seemed intensified, the echo reverberating from the mighty cliffs. It was a terrifying sensation to be literally blown through this mighty gorge — a narrow chasm — the ship swaying and bumping as it passed close to the vertical limestone cliffs at a height of 17,000 feet. Serene and as if with contempt the mighty peaks looked down on us as we in our frail craft fluttered at their very feet. As we approached the end of the gorge we turned south, but still hugged the snow range, instead of flying over the now broad Yangtze valley. We flew close to the actual peaks and, nearing the southern end of the range, turned east, flying over the last crag of the range (Hua-lä-bpu) at the rate of 130 miles an hour, to the plain or valley floor at its eastern foot.

-508 We made a beautiful landing on one of the finest natural landing-fields in the province. The place is called Wùa-dtv k'o-dü or Wùa-dü-k'o-dü the Chinese Wa-tun-k'o-tui[2] 瓦墩課堆 and is 8,700 feet above sea-level, and only about 12 miles from the town of Li-chiang (PLATE 152). As no plane had ever before landed here (or, for that matter, in any other part of western Yün-nan), our pilots flew several times around the field examining it carefully until they decided it was safe to descend. Gently we glided down, alighting at a speed of 95 miles an hour at 10.50 A.M. The first trip by air to the Li-chiang snow peaks had thus been safely accomplished.

[2] During World War II, Wua-dtv-k'o-dü served as landing field for many an Air Transport Command plane and the Li-chiang Snow range as a beacon for the pilots on their flights over the "Hump" to Assam.

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JOSEPH F. ROCK

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PART IV

AREA WEST AND NORTH-WEST OF LI-CHIANG

CHAPTER I

FROM LI-CHIANG TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

101 The western and north-western region of Yün-nan inhabited by the Na-khi tribe comprises the valley of the Yangtze, from the town of Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba in Na-khi), west of Li-chiang, to the village of Ch'i-tsung (Na-khi, Gyi-dzu; Tibetan, Je-drong) in the north on the Yangtze. Ch'i-tsung is beyond the ancient T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge) which once spanned the river; it is now under the magistracy of Wei-hsi. The region to and including the hamlet of La-p'u, on a western tributary which debouches at the village of Ch'i-tsung into the Yangtze, is also inhabited by them. To the north of La-p'u are still a few more villages inhabited by Na-khi, but the remainder of the territory towards Kar-ri (the Keng-li 更里 of the Chinese) and Pai-mang Shan 白芒山 is inhabited mainly by Tibetans.[1]

I. THE SALWEEN-MEKONG AND MEKONG-YANGTZE WATERSHEDS

The Mekong valley, separated from the Yangtze in the south by the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 Range, and to the north by the Hung-p'o Mountains 紅坡山 and Pai-mang Shan, is inhabited by Na-khi from A-dü (A-ti 阿滴) south of Wei-hsi on the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, which debouches into the Mekong, as far north as the village of Chang-lung, written Chang-lung (Willow valley) half a day's journey beyond Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛 (Yar-kha-lo) in Hsi-k'ang. To be sure, not all the villages on either bank of the Mekong are inhabited by Na-khi, for they often alternate with Tibetan villages, or Tibetans and Na-khi live together as in Tz'u-chung 茨中 on the west bank. The Li-chiang border extends as far south-west as T'ung-tien 通甸 on the T'ung-tien Ho, and north-west to Shu-miao 樹苗 on the east bank of the Mekong, with Lu-tien 魯甸 and T'o-chih 拖枝, typical Na-khi villages, south of the Li-ti-p'ing divide, which is also the border between the Li-chiang and Wei-hsi districts. The Salween valley (Nu chiang 怒江 also written Lu chiang 潞江), is mainly inhabited by the Li-su and Nu-tzu 怒子 tribes, the latter extending up the

[1] This mountain has been given by all previous travelers as the White horse mountain, or Pai-ma Shan 白馬山. This is due in part to the Na-khi being unable to pronounce a final consonant. *Mang* they would pronounce *ma*, which has been taken to mean *ma* 馬, hence the White horse Mountain. The Tibetan name of the mountain is, however, Pad-ma pronounced Pe-ma, meaning lotus, and it is thus possible that the Chinese have transcribed the Tibetan name of the mountain, as in their literature it is called Pai-mang Shan 白芒山, more correctly 白鋩山 (White sharp-pointed Mountain). In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, p. 3b, the mountain is called Pai-mang Shan 白鋩山. The character *mang* here can only be interpreted as "a sharp point," hence White sharp-pointed Mountain.

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Salween into Tsha-rong in south-east Tibet, where the village of Sang-tha (Sung-ta 松打 in Chinese), is still inhabited by Nu-tzu.

The territory in its inhabitable portion, lies in the valleys of the Mekong, Yangtze, Yung-ch'un Ho and the smaller tributaries of the Yangtze and the Mekong. The remainder is composed of the many mountain ranges separating these valleys; they reach their greatest height, 21,000–22,000 feet, to the west of the Mekong, where they form the Yün-nan — Tibet border. As we go northward the altitude increases, from Shih-ku on the Yangtze, at 6,200 feet, to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) at 11,500 feet, one of the highest inhabited places in the north of Yün-nan. We have here a rise of 5,300 feet in a distance of 1,100 li (330 miles), 17 stages from Shih-ku.

The high mountain ranges which separate the Salween, Mekong and Yangtze — to mention the three longest rivers only — all reach their greatest height at about the same latitude (28° 20′); they act as rain screens, collecting the monsoon clouds which sweep across from the Assam plateau and assure a plentiful rainfall. To the north of the mighty snow peaks the land is parched and arid, a rocky waste. A rope could be stretched between the rain belt and the arid zone, so close do they adjoin each other. Looking south from above Yang-tsa 羊咱 the Mekong valley is filled with clouds, mist and rain, while a turquoise-blue sky extends from horizon to horizon in the north. South of Yang-tsa are vast forests, carpeted with moss, north a parched, rocky wilderness. The heaviest rainfall, as well as the first snow, is caught by the Salween-Irrawadi divide (Nam-ch'iu or Ch'iu Chiang 泼江 watershed). Next comes the Mekong-Salween divide, called the Kha-wa-kar-po Range (Chinese, Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四绛大雪山), 21,000–22,000 feet in height and distant only 36 li from the Salween as the crow flies. While both these ranges and their passes are covered with snow by October, the Mekong-Yangtze divide, which reaches its highest point in Pai-mang Shan, about 20,000 feet in height, is still free of snow in December, and several species of Gentians enjoy a glorious sunshine and blue sky. Thus do the western ranges gather all the moisture.

The three mighty rivers, which all have their sources on the high plateau of Tibet, flow parallel in deep trenches from north to south, hemmed in by huge snow ranges. It is only 50 miles from the Yangtze to the Salween as the crow flies, but undertake the journey and it will occupy a fortnight. Their valleys vary greatly in depth, the deepest part of the Mekong valley at the latitude of A-tun-tzu being 10,000–12,000 feet. With the exception of the Salween, the climate of this region is healthy, although malaria is common in the rain-belt of the Mekong.

To reach this region is an arduous undertaking, for it is about the most isolated in Asia. Sinkiang is certainly farther away, yet motor cars and aeroplanes bring it close to civilization. But here perhaps never will the sound of a motor horn be heard, for to construct a road over such mountains and deep gorges is a prohibitive undertaking. And planes? Let it be said that there is not even level space enough to pitch a tent, much less accommodate an aeroplane.

Thus it will remain one of the last regions to be brought close to civilization. Its scenery is unsurpassed and awaits the lover of nature, but he must pay the price.

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2. SHIH-KU 石鼓

From the Li-chiang plain we go west up the slopes of the southern-most spur of the snow range which joins the further range commonly called Wen-pi Shan and Sä-bpi zhĕr nv-lv in Na-khi, also known in Chinese as San-pi-wai-lung Shan 雪碧外龍山.[2] A paved road leads steeply to the pass called Huang-shan-shao 黃山哨, a distance of 10 li from the town. In former days soldiers were stationed there to protect the approach to the plain and city. A small hamlet called Gkaw-gku is situated in the pass, where food is sold to travelers. The pass itself is known as Gkaw-gku to the Na-khi. A few yards beyond the village the road forks, the left or southern leading direct to La-shih-pa, and the right or northern to Shih-ku via A-hsi (Aw-khi or A-khi in Na-khi).

The Shih-ku trail descends slightly and leads past a flat-topped hill also known as Huang-shan-shao. It is sparingly covered with pine trees and from the summit a fine view is obtainable of the La-shih Lake, called La-shi Ķhū in Na-khi and Lung Hai 龍海 (Dragon Lake) in Chinese. This lake has a habit of disappearing through subterranean channels. At the time of writing (1934) the lake basin has been practically entirely reclaimed and excellent crops are grown where formerly was water. A terrible road leads down to the plain past the hamlet of Ch'ang-la-shih 長刺是. We cross the plain between the lake and the little village of Muan-bä, which we leave to our right, and pass between fields and the hamlet of Gkū-la-wùa to the foot of a pine-covered hill and the village of Dto-k'ŏ (Foot of the hill; H-M., Toke). This village possesses groves of walnut trees; maize, pumpkins, squash and rice are cultivated. Elevation 8,625 feet.

From the village of Dto-k'ŏ, the trail ascends the pine-covered hill immediately back of it; the soil is decomposed sandstone of a reddish-grey color. The path is narrow and winds through scrub vegetation between sink-holes such as are encountered on the Lo-shui-tung 落水洞 plain,[3] of which it is the northern border. It ascends higher, and the funnel-shaped sink-holes become larger and more numerous, their throats lined with vertical limestone walls. We emerge on to a pass at 9,300 feet elevation which is in fact a plateau with a small hamlet called Ggŏ-mbo.[4] The village people are dependent for their

[2] So as not to confound it with the snow range called Jade dragon Mountain (Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山) it is here called the Wai 外 (Excluded) outside dragon mountain San-pi.

[3] All Li-chiang Na-khi call the plain west of La-shih to Kuan-shang, Lo-shui-tung. It seems, however, that only one cavern, or sink-hole, bears that name. It must be the subterranean outlet of the lake which is so named, for the Li-chiang records state that "it is 20 li southwest of Li-chiang in La-shih li, the natives call the Lo-shui-tung, or sink-hole, the Hai-yen 海眼 (Eye of the lake)," the lake proper being called the Lung Hai on the Chinese military map of Yün-nan. In the summer and autumn all the waters of the snow range (in this region) collect and inundate the land. They then filter through the sink-hole and flow through subterranean channels. Others say they flow into the Yangtze. This is why the sink-hole is called Hai-yen. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* and the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* say that the Mu-pieh Ho 木別河 is 15 li west of Li-chiang and flows south-west of La-shih li into the Hai-yen. It seems that Hai-yen is also the name of the lake, as the Mu-pieh Ho flows into it, although the Chinese name for it is Lung Hai (Dragon Lake).

[4] The village is also called Mbo-shi (H-M., Munchie).

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[312] The village people are dependent for their water supply on a stagnant pool immediately beside the trail, whose water is of a deep yellowish-red color. *487 *133 *137

Beyond the village the path divides, the right branch leading to Aw-khi (A-hsi 阿喜) and the left to Shih-ku. The whole country takes on the aspect of an undulating plateau similar to that of Lo-shui-tung on the Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa road. The sink-holes are crater-like, and so numerous that their rims meet. The soil is a brilliant red and cultivation is continued up to the steeply sloping walls of the holes, buckwheat being the main crop. Na-khi are the sole cultivators.

The upper edge of the plateau drops steeply to an undulating, much-furrowed valley floor. Immediately below flows the Yangtze, making a narrow bend, where a ferry plies to the village of Ba-lo on the west bank of the river. The trail descends now into the Yangtze valley at a fair grade over the otherwise steep slope, till we reach the valley floor and the river bank. Looking west we behold a peculiar triangular peak at the foot of which Shih-ku (Rock drum) village is situated. There is some pine forest on the broad valley floor, though a good deal of it is under cultivation. So much has the soil been disturbed and denuded of its trees, that the whole valley floor is eroded into a maze of small canyons. Sharp limestone boulders washed out from their embeddiments dot the ground. The trail is in many places obliterated and one is forced to cross these miniature canyons over narrow ridges. In places the packed, hard trail is a mere shell over an abyss washed out beneath. The soil is a dark-red loam in which are deeply embedded black limestone boulders of fantastic shapes. On this furrowed, hilly floor the La-shih-pa road joins the one from Dto-k'ö. The trail descends steeply to a ravine called Leng-shui kou 冷水溝 (Cold water ravine), which debouches into the Yangtze 57 li from Li-chiang, and 20 li from Shih-ku. In the ravine is situated the hamlet of Leng-shui-kou, the Gyi-t'khi-lo of the Na-khi. A path leads down-stream to the village of A-khi (Aw-khi), where there is a lovely Lung-wang Miao (Dragon king Temple).

Our way leads upstream towards the curious-looking peak behind Shih-ku. This mountain is called Wang-chiang Shan 望江山 and is 80 li distant from Li-chiang.

When looking up stream near Leng-shui-kou where the Yangtze is about 600 yards wide, one would be convinced that the Yangtze issues from the valley behind Shih-ku and Wang-chiang Shan. Only close to Shih-ku is the sharp bend of the river visible.

At the foot of the Shih-ku spur the Ch'ung-chiang Ho 衝江河[5] [Stream which rushes on to the river (Yangtze)] debouches into the Yangtze.

The Na-khi call it La-ba gyi and La-ba pa-tzu gyi (Chinese, La-pa Chiang 剌巴江), for its source is in a mountain called La-ba Ngyu; elevation 14,500 feet. Shih-ku itself is called La-pa 剌巴[6] (La-ba in Na-khi), and Do-ngà-rong

[5] In the Li-chiang records given as Ch'ung Chiang 冲江, or Ch'ung-chiang Hsiao-ho 冲江小河 (Small stream).

[6] The *Tien-ksi* relates in Vol. 4, fol. 1, that "the Great Yü 大禹 was born in the land of the western Ch'iang 西羌, called Shih-niu 石紐. This place was in Hsi-ch'uan 西川, that is in western Ssu-ch'uan in the state of Shu 蜀. Shih-niu is to-day the Shih-ku of Li-chiang." It is possible that the ancient name of Shih-ku was Shih-niu and because Li-chiang be-

1 [The Na-khi village of Gqö-mbo -- Analyst]

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(rDo-rnga-rong) in Tibetan, meaning Valley of the Stone drum. Wang-chiang Shan is a continuation of Lao-chün Shan 老君山, the latter being quite a distance south-west of Shih-ku.

The Yangtze at the bend is of considerable width — more than 200 yards: on its bank maize is cultivated. Small, grey, sandy islands, covered with grass, dot the river. It is said to be the fifth river in order of length, yet in the quantity of water discharged it is second only to the Amazon, four times as large as the Mississippi, and a hundred times as large as the Nile (GREGORY).

The town of Shih-ku [7] is situated on the very bend of the Yangtze, on the slopes and top of a promontory. Near the town is a sort of ferry consisting of a raft of doubtful safety.

The town consists of over 200 houses. The merchants and a few families are Chinese, the rest Na-khi; the population around Shih-ku is composed of Na-khi, Li-su (力些 or 獠猓) and Lo-lo. The town derives its name Shih-ku (Stone drum) from the large stone drum on the slopes to the north of the town. The stone drum rests on an oblong rock and is truncate at its base. A belief exists that should the drum split, a calamity will befall the country. Oral tradition relates that Chu-ko wu-hou 諸葛武侯 (Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮) erected the stone drum when coming from the south to attack the T'u-fan.

The drum was erected to guard against the T'u-fan and was thus known as the Chen t'u-fan ku 鎮吐蕃鼓. At first there was no inscription on the faces or sides of the drum. During the reign of Chia-ching, in the year of

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longed to Yüeh-sui 越巂, which was in the State of Shu, it is believed that the present Shih-ku is identical with the Shih-niu of Shu, the birthplace of Yü.

Legend relates the following: The eldest son of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti 黃帝) was Ch'ang I 昌意 who descended from on high and dwelled on the Zo Shui 若水, and became the Chu-hou 諸侯 (Prince). He married a woman of a family from the mountains of Shu; they called her Ch'ang P'u-shih 昌濮氏. There was born Chuan Hsü 顓頊, who for 10 years assisted Shao Hao 少昊 (2598 B.C.) who was the second of the five legendary rulers. Twenty years afterwards he ascended the throne as Emperor (2514 B.C.). The Zo Shui is the present Chin-sha Chiang (Yangtze).

Kun 鯀 (the father of Yü) married a woman of the family Hsin 莘. Her name was Nü Hsi 女嬉. Though of age, she had no illicit offspring.

Hsi went up the Chih Mountain 薏山 and there obtained the *I-i* 薏苡 (*Coix lachrima-jobii*, a grass related to maize) and swallowed it. She felt affected as if she had had intercourse with a man, and became supernaturally pregnant. Her side (under the arm) was cut open and there came forth Yü.

The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 24, fol. 27, states, however, that the Shih-niu Shan 石紐山 is one li south of Shih-ch'üan hsien 石泉縣 (this is 215 li south-west of Lung-an fu 龍安府 in north-west Su-ch'uan). Yü was born in Shih-niu.

Shih-ku is a long way removed from the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 country, and it is just a fancy of the compiler of the *Tien-hsi* to declare that Shih-niu and Shih-ku are identical.

The *Li-fan T'ing-chih*, ch. 1, fol. 29b, states that "the Shih-niu Shan is in T'ung-hua-li 通化里. On the top of the mountain a Yü miao 禹廟 has been built. Behind the temple is a rock wall touching heaven. On that wall are engraved the three large characters, 石紐山. Who carved them is not known. Yü was born on Shih-niu Shan, which is in the present Shih-ch'üan hsien. This was the Han dynasty Kuang-jou, 廣柔. Thus the Yün-nan Shih-ku cannot be the Shih-niu of Yü.

[7] Shih-ku is in latitude 26° 50′ and longitude 99° 55′, according to Major H. R. DAVIES (*Yün-nan*, p. 256).

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346 *hsin-yu* 辛酉 (1561) [8] the native prefe . Mu Kao pacified the T'u-fan and engraved the hymns of his victories on the drum. (This is from the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, Vol. 上, ch. 4, p. 35b.)

173 Chavannes translated the inscriptions into French from a copy (rubbing) brought back by Bacot. I give here an independent English translation of the original.

3. THE STONE-DRUM INSCRIPTIONS OF SHIH-KU

The inscription of 1548. — The Song of Universal Peace

"When we had received our orders to go on a punitive expedition against the wild tribes, everything went off propitiously. By virtue of bountiful blessings from Heaven we had an overplus of luck.

"The people of the country, supporting their old men, came to return to allegiance. The former subjects came leading their youngsters by the hand to behold the glorious aspect of the country. By refraining from killing, in order to spare the inhabitants, considerable good works were performed; by applying military strategy to gain victories, both virtue and prestige were achieved. With the flags to shade the sun the accumulated clouds became colorful, and when blood dripped from the swords and spears the cold blades had proved their sharpness. When the bugle [9] sounded the command to advance to the north, the courage of the Huns fell. If shields and spears were pointed westward the enemy lost his wits. Benevolent words transform a region like the grass bows under the passage of the wind; superior steeds [of noble blood] travelling over the country, are like the hoar-frost illuminated by the sun.

"Bravery in war and military resourcefulness are as unfathomable as God, and thus no man should endeavor to wholly comprehend them.

"Fierce as the leopards we overran the land, and the enemy could not withstand us.

"Loyalty we rendered to our Holy Sovereign, and we pacified the frontier lands. For ever our black army [10] will stand guard over a territory of 10,000 li."

The Song of the Conquerors

"Within two years we have carried victory east and west of the River [the Yangtze]. The neighing of our steeds of war was heard thousands of li

[8] CHAVANNES was quite correct in surmising that the inscription of 1548 could not have been engraved in that year, as it records campaigns executed during the years 1548–1549. He says, "et si les deux inscriptions n'ont pas été toutes deux gravées en 1561." According to the Li-chiang chi icle they were both cut in 1561.

[9] *Hao ling* 號令: by this is understood an order to an army to advance, for example, by means of a certain bugle.

[10] Wu-shih 烏蠻 (Black army).

CHAVANNES in his translation of the song remarks that in no literary text had he found an explanation of the epithet Wu 烏 applied to soldiers.

The explanation seems simple. The Li-chiang soldiers were not Chinese, but Mo-so who call themselves Na-khi and whom the Chinese class under the Wu-man 烏蠻 (Black barbarians), hence the term Wu-shih.

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away. The region was so cold that water froze and frost formed in the sixth moon. The wind was biting, and during the three months of the autumn the mists and the rains obscured the view. Snowflakes were as large as the palm of the hand. It rained from morning to night. With the wind blowing like arrows, the roads and passes were covered with frozen snow. By spreading sand over the frozen trail cattle and horses could pass over them.

"The horses of the brigands marched southward crossing the River, and invaded our frontier territory of Lin-hsi; [11] but the Celestial soldiers guarded the borders. The orders of their officers were like thunderbolts and lightning, and the rebels having lost their courage had no time to gather their flags. They fled, helping each other across the river and leaving behind saddled horses, riderless, and sacks of grain. The garments of the brigands and sacks [of grain] covered the battle-field. Our soldiers vied with one another in tearing away the tents of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 [Barbarians, Huns]. Some crept on all fours and, carrying their spears and arrows reversed, surrendered. Our advancing soldiers shook like a thunderbolt the spirit of Shan-yü 單于 [the head of the Tibetan brigands, is meant, used metaphorically here]. [12]

"Heads were heaped up like hills, blood flowed like rivers and buff-coats and rattan shields filled up hollows and ditches.

"To conquer the barbarians we have now passed the years of *shen* 申 and *yu* 酉. [The years *wu-shen* 戊申 and 己酉 *chi-yu* of Chia-ching or 27th and 28th, corresponding to 1548 and 1549, are meant.] Now in the deserts there are no more traces of the foxes and the leopards. [The Tibetan brigands had been conquered and are thus symbolized.]

"A metal tablet 3 >o feet high was erected to commemorate the exploits of the gallant general of the Ming dynasty. The returning soldiers brought back a great victory and their joyous songs resounded like the waves of the ocean. The flags reflected the sun, and the East and the South were made red by them, the brass drums sounded like thunder, which penetrated to the West and the North.

"The resourcefulness of our braves exceeded that of Kuan Chung 管仲. [13] Our men of talent showed to the world a shrewdness worthy of Wu (and) Sun 武孫. [14]

[11] Lin-hsi 臨西 is the present-day Wei-hai hsien.

[12] Shan-yü according to Ma Tuan-lin is equivalent to the modern Khan. Shan-yü has the meaning of vast, extensive. The first Shan-yü mentioned in the *Han Shu* ch. 94, fol. 5a was a Hsiung-nu by name T'ou-man 頭曼. In his wars against the Ch'in 秦 (255–207 B.C.) he was not victorious. Thereafter he retired to the north where he lived for more than ten years. His son and heir apparent was called Mo-t'u 冒頓 (209–175 B.C.). There were many Shan-yü who were the kings of the Hsiung-nu.

[13] Kuan Chung, also known as Kuan I-wu 管夷吾, died in 645 B.C. He was a native of the state of Ch'i 齊, whose minister he became in 685 B.C.

[14] This should in all probability read Sun Wu instead of Wu Sun. Sun Wu also called Sun-tzu 孫子 was a native of the State of Ch'i 齊. He wrote a treatise on the art of war (*Ping-fa* 兵法) and his name is usually associated with that of Wu Ch'i 吳起 as the two masters of the science of tactics and strategy. It may however stand for Wu 吳 and Sun, but in that case the writer used the wrong character Wu 武 instead of Wu 吳. The latter was a native

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173 "We have annihilated 400 camps of dogs and sheep [the Tibetans are here meant], and swept away 5,000 villages of the barbarians. The wind having blown the wicked clouds away, both the sky and earth were made serene. The sun having conquered the mountain which barred his way, the heights and the valleys were made bright. We returned to submit this to our sagacious Lord of the Ming dynasty; we, with the entire universe, rejoice in this universal peace."

The Moon on the West River

"The chiefs leading a million brave soldiers, their majestic air like that of a tiger and of a plumed bird bent on exterminating, they struck and roared like the thunder. Who dares to disobey! The prisoners of the North and the barbarians of the West, the jackal and the dog who had offended Heaven, earth and the gods, this day we have entirely swept away, and suppressed those offensive beings.

"We shall enjoy a superabundant prosperity and peace in perpetuity."

"Written in tune as if drunken with peace. *A Toast to Universal Peace.*

"The three armies have decapitated the wicked barbarians, the supreme chief is beaten with the ivory drumstick. The heads of the dogs lay covering the ground, piled up as at the Feng and Yü 封蝓.[15] Our military virtue was made to rebound; the streams of blood eddied around the armor and ○○.[16] The bodies of the slaughtered lay so thick that our horses could not move, the prowess of our soldiers was such that the western corner was pacified. Their names are sung through the ages."

"In the great Ming dynasty, Chia-ching, the 27th year (1548), when the dragon was in the attitude *wu-shen* 戊申 on an auspicious day in the middle of Spring, our great general, the pacificator of the West, the lord of the purple gold, sung this while playing on his sword [illegible] on a musical instrument."

The inscription of 1561. — Records of Great Exploits and Great Victories

"If an exploit is not outstanding, one's fame cannot be achieved; if virtue is not conspicuous, one's standing cannot be established. As exploit means loyalty to the king, and virtue means filial piety to the parents, one can obtain

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of the State of Wei 衛 who died in 381 B.C. He had studied the art of war in the State of Lu 魯 and gained great proficiency therein.

Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 1825 gives Sun Wu, using the wrong character *wu* 吳, it should be *wu* 武. The biography of Sun Wu may be found in the *Shih Chi*, ch. 65, fol. 1a.

[15] The mountains of Feng and Yü are in the province of Che-chiang, and there, in the days of Confucius, a gigantic bone pile existed. Feng Shan is 18 li from the hsien city of Wu-k'ang 武康. A prince of the Wang-mang 王莽 family dwelled on the Feng Yü mountains. In the T'ang dynasty the mountains were called Fang-feng Shan 防風山 and Yü Shan 禹山. The latter is 2 li south-east of Feng Shan.

[16] Two Chinese characters have been defaced and hence illegible.

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exploit through loyalty, and virtue through filial piety. Be loyal after you have become noble, and you shall keep the hereditary rank; be filial after you have become wealthy, and you shall retain the position permanently. Within the four seas, in China as well as in foreign countries, the great virtue of loyalty and filial piety constitutes the universal ruling force, from which people derive blessings, glories and perpetual inheritance. Heaven helps human beings to attain their aims, and would be moved by their consciousness.

"In the year *wu-shen* 戊申 (1548) the Tibetan robbers depredated the territory of Mao-ch'ü-ko 毛佉各 of the district of Lin-hsi.[17] My honorable father ordered me, his eldest son, Mu Kao, to take command and lead the brave soldiers to exterminate the bandits. In the same year, the eighth moon and 9th day (September 10th, 1548) we arrived at Li-kan-mao 利干毛. Before the sun had risen we advanced on the retreating brigand soldiers numbering more than 200,000; over 2,800 of them were decapitated. Success was as easy as the splitting of bamboos. Our troops advanced as far as Kung-tsu 磱租 before we returned.

"Upon reporting the victory to the three high provincial officials, the superiors bestowed golden medals, golden flowers, colorful satins, cows and wine to reward the rank and file; and gave to my honorable father the farms (of the great victor) of Mu-chien and A-hsi,[18] 1,000 taels of gold, and 10,000 of silver, ten pairs of various sorts of silk gauzes, satins, damasks, and lustrines, one gold goblet, one pair of gold fruit trays, one complete set of gold medals, and a gold necklet bearing the inscription, "With a sincere heart you have responded for the benefit of the Empire," one pair of golden flowers, one golden belt, one set of golden saddles, and one white horse.

"In the eighth moon of the year *chi-yu* 己酉 (August 23rd to September 20th, 1549) when the Tibetans again invaded the border region of Chao-k'o 昭可 and Pa-t'o 巴托 of Chü-chin 巨津,[19] orders were given me, Mu Kao,

[17] The *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, Vol. 38, ch. 71, p. 6a, writes Mao-ch'ü-kung 毛佉公, and states that it came under Wei-hsi 維西 (formerly called Lin-hsi) and that from Wei-hsi to A-te-chiu 阿德因 were six stages, and from the latter to T'ien-chu-chai 天柱寨 were three stages, and thence to Mao-ch'ü-kung another three stages, and from the latter place to Tibet 54 stages. Mao-ch'ü-ko was, therefore, 12 stages from Wei-hsi, it is not stated in what direction but probably towards A-tun-tzu.

Lin-hsi was north-west of Li-chiang 460 li. The district was created in the Yüan dynasty in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277). To the west of Lin-hsi was the T'u-fan territory.

CHAVANNES says that in the Mu Chronicle the name Mao-ch'ü-ko appears twice, in the 14th and 16th generations. In the second instance it is preceded by the words Ni-na. Nyi-na is the Na-khi name of Wei-hsi.

[18] Mu-chien 木堅 is a district east of Li-chiang comprising a number of villages. It is called in Na-khi, Ss-ngyi; Mu-chien is a translation of the words Ss-ngyi (Durable wood). A-hsi is a village as well as a district on the Yangtze west of Li-chiang and north-east of Shih-ku. The words used here are: ta-sheng chuang 大勝庄 = farm-steads of the great victor, *i.e.* the farms belonging to the great victorious Mu family.

[19] Chü-chin is now obsolete. It was 300 li north-west of Li-chiang. Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an 羅波九耽; west of it was the T'u-fan district. The great chiefs of the Mo-so lived there for generations. In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed. In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), in the Chiu-t'an 九耽, was established Chü-chin chou, but belonging to Li-chiang Lu 麗江路 (Li-chiang Circuit).

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173 to mobilize a large force to proceed to Pa-t'o-chai 巴托寨. There we fought and the brigands received a crushing defeat, with over a thousand of them beheaded by our forces, and innumerable more drowned in the river. After that our troops marched to Kan-to-kuang 干朵光 and other peaceful regions, in order to soothe and pacify the people ere they returned.

"The success was again reported to the superiors and a reward similar to that of the previous occasion was bestowed on my venerable father as before.

"My venerable father said, 'He who practises benevolence has no enemy. He who plans strategy in his tent assures victory a thousand li distant. The Mu family has for generations been the protecting barrier of the Ming empire.

" 'It maintained peace with firmness in the entire region. If in the south of Tien 滇 [Yün-nan] the chickens and dogs are not afraid, and if the army and the people live in peace, is that not, in brief, due to the grace of the Mu family?

" 'In order to show publicly his loyal heart, a vassal worthy of the name, whether asleep or while eating, must never forget [what he owes to the sovereign]; therefore my sons and grandsons shall wear the golden belt embossed with the flowers which was bestowed on us in recompense by Imperial decree and which bears the words, 'To a loyal heart which responded for the benefit of the Empire,' and hereditarily shall defend Li-chiang.'

"As lofty as the height of the North Sacred Mountain, and as vast as the expanse of the South Sea [so be the majesty of the Mu family]. We have engraved this inscription on this stone in order that it may be handed down to posterity.

Poetry says:

"In recompensing the favors of the Empire, he brandished a pair of swords, and the wind and the rain were made to whirl busily. When he brandished a single sword, devils and spirits would hide away. With his heroism the frontier regions were kept in strict order; the cold brightness of his sword penetrated the constellations of the Cow-herd and the Great Bear. He had been the key to a stone gate in hereditarily defending the territory of the Ming dynasty."

This is now followed by the Song of Peace:

The Toast to Universal Peace

"We inscribed the ode about the great victories; we have composed with joy the rhymes about universal peace; for the three armies when the merits gained by each one were repeatedly discussed, it was a rare and beautiful spectacle. The brocaded silk garments, in front and behind, were singularly

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The iron chain-bridge was the point of friendly intercourse between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the T'u-fan, and on that account it was called Ta-chin-tu 大津渡 (Great ford) (over the Yangtze). Hence also Chü (the great) chin (ford or mart), *See* page 289.

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harmonious. The red hue of the banners reflected the first movements of the sun; the merry songs were heard a hundred li away. 173

"In the 40th year of Chia-ching (1561) when the dragon was in the attitude of *hsin-yu* 辛酉, in the ninth moon (October 9th to November 6th) on an auspicious day, the civil and military prefect of Li-chiang, hereditary T'u-ssu [native chief], received by Imperial decree and favor promotion to the grade of mandarin of the third rank, and a dignity similar to the nine ministers was bestowed by the supplementary title of Ya-chung ta-fu 亞中大夫 [vice-minister, ○○○], Mu Kao of the hereditary Mu family ○○."

4. FROM SHIH-KU TO CHÜ-TIEN 石鼓 巨甸

From Shih-ku the trail descends to the Ch'ung-chiang Ho (Major Davies' Hsi-mi Ho), the Pa-tzu gyi (La-ba gyi) of the Na-khi. Old willows line the banks of the stream, while a covered wooden bridge, the posts held together by crudely forged chains, spans it.[20] Arrived at the Yangtze (the Chinese Ch'ang Chiang 長江 or Long River) we follow its western bank under the shade of giant willows which have weathered many a flood. The river is here very broad and its waters a silvery gray; it is decidedly picturesque where it turns to the east and then north, to cut through the Li-chiang Snow range. The fields are of a rich sandy loam and bear excellent crops of rice and maize much finer in every way than on the upper slopes. 487* 133* 137* [243]

We now enter the wide river valley and lose sight of the spur on which Shih-ku is situated. The mountains rise steeply on both sides of the valley floor, exposing reddish-yellow sandstone; the grassy slopes support scattered pine trees with long drooping branches. A few li over a sandy road through broad maize-fields, bring us to the hamlet of Shih-men-kuan 石門關[21] (Stone gate pass); diagonally opposite on the east bank of the river is the hamlet of Boa-t'a-wùa (H-M., Botauo). This is a historic spot. A native Supervisor (Hsün-chien 巡檢) was established here in the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) of the Yüan dynasty, but later abolished. In ancient days it belonged to the district of Chü-chin and to the village La-pa-ts'un 剌巴村 (the present Shih-ku, for the latter is called La-ba in Na-khi). Many battles have been fought here against the T'u-fan who dwelled to the north of it. It was the battle-ground of the T'ang, as well as of the Mongol and the Ming generals.[22]

[20] The bridge is called Lai-yüan ch'iao 來遠橋, and is also known by the name of Tiao-ch'iao-kuan 弔橋關; and was built in the fourth year of Ch'ien-lung (1739).

[21] The distances from Li-chiang to Chü-tien and beyond are given as follows in the Li-chiang records, Vol. 上, ch. 4, fol. 34: from Li-chiang to Shih-ku 77 li, to Shih-men-kuan 20 li, to Ch'iao-t'ou 70 li, to the large village of Chü-tien 70 li, to T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng-kuan 塔城關) 90 li.

[22] In the ninth year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 of T'ang Te Tsung 德宗 (793), P'u-wang 普王, a Na-khi chief, guided the T'ang troops under General Wei Kao 韋皐 to fight the T'u-fan at Shih-men-kuan and defeated them (*see* Mu Chronicle, p. 95).

In 1382 Fu Yu-te 傅友德, a Ming general, was sent to conquer south-west China for the Empire. It was then that the Na-khi chief Mu Te submitted and guided Fu Yu-te's troops to subdue the Tibetans who had resisted at Shih-men-kuan. In 1385 the native chief of

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Back of Shih-men-kuan a beautiful little valley extends west into the wooded hills, while a perfect cone of a mountain stands sentinel at the entrance, crowned by a lovely temple, guarding the valley and the village (PLATE 153).

The trees found along the river bank here are mostly *Diospyros lotus*, a wild persimmon, walnuts and catalpas. The trail is very narrow and follows the bank of the river which is, however, quite broad, and full of islets (October). Red sandstone walls are exposed on the otherwise green slopes of the mountain, which rise steeply from the valley floor. Fields of maize and a few houses announce the fact that we have reached the hamlet of Mùen-tsü-dtu (Mu-ts'ao-tu 木草都; H-M., Mutsüto).

The hamlet is distinctly scattered, for several li beyond is the rest of the village, considered part of it, but called Bü-dsu-wùa-lo (H-M., Büdsuölo). At this village a little stream enters the Yangtze, spanned by a small, wooden, covered bridge, picturesquely set in a grove of willows.

The region is called Hung-shih-ngai 紅石崖 (Red cliff), from the red sandstone cliff mentioned previously. The Li-chiang records state that "it is exactly 100 li from Li-chiang, or 20 li from Shih-ku, and rises straight from the Yangtze, overlooking the same; it flanks the river for a distance of over 30 li and adjoins Shih-men Kuan to the south. It is the throat of the Mongols and Tibetans, and is still considered the dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." It is indeed a very important pass, the only one here on the Yangtze and frequented by the Tibetans, who come, sometimes with a thousand pack-mules, once a year to fetch tea from P'u-erh 普洱 in south Yün-nan. In the summertime, when the Yangtze is in flood, the trail is often submerged and impassable.

Many valleys debouch into the Yangtze valley, the trail passing through bushes of small white-flowered Bauhinias, *Prinsepia utilis*, Spiraeas, a Desmodium with pink flowers, Rhamnus, etc. The path is lined by limestone boulders and conglomerate. The valley narrows and we enter a veritable canyon of bleak, reddish sandstone walls which rise hundreds of feet straight from the river-bed. This is the real Hung-shih-ngai (H-M., Hoschinga), the "dangerous pass of western Yün-nan." The trail is built up of rock, straight out of the river-bed and flush with the wall. Opposite, on the eastern bank of the Yangtze, is situated the Na-khi hamlet of Lä-ndo (Leng-tu 冷渡, Cold ford; H-M., Lindo). A blackish peculiarly shaped mountain guards the other side of the canyon.

The mountain spur which flanks the Yangtze on the west is called Hua-ma Shan 花馬山 (*see* Historical Part pp. 95, 186), after which the ancient

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Chü-chin chou, named A-nu-ts'ung 阿奴聰, revolted and took possession of Stone gate Pass, but was defeated by Lu Chung-heng 陸仲亨, who was marquis of Chi-an 吉安. In 1391, according to the Ming annals, the Na-khi chief Mu Ch'u (the eighth generation, born in 1345, and known as A-te A-ch'u) guarded the Shih-men Kuan, when he became the chief of Li-chiang at the death of his father. He was succeeded at Stone gate Pass by his brother Mu Kuei 木貴. In the Mu chronicle the latter's name is written Mu K'uei 木奎. His Na-khi surname was A-k'ö. He was the Shih-men-kuan Ch'ien-fu-chang 千夫長 (Head of a thousand men). Later he became a Hu-fu-fa 扈伏法. Shih-men-kuan is the name of a village as well as of a pass.

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Mo-so Kingdom was called Hua-ma Kuo. The Chü-tien River has its source west of it, on the south-eastern slopes of *Li-ti-p'ing* and in Han-sou Mountain 漢叟山. The Li-chiang records state that Hua-ma Shan is 350 li from Li-chiang. This must be an error, or perhaps the extreme northern end is meant, and this would indicate that the mountain extends to T'a-ch'eng, which is 350 li from Li-chiang. On the Chinese military map the mountain is marked from south of Shih-men Kuan to San-kai-tzu 三街子 (this should read Shang-ko-tzu 上格子).

Beyond Hung-shih-ngai canyon the river widens and makes a large sweeping curve on the west bank. The mountains look bleak and dreary and are grass-covered only. Immediately beyond the cliff, and beneath the vertical sandstone wall on the north side, is a nice little temple which belongs to the hamlet of Ssaw-ssaw-gku — in Chinese the name is transcribed Shan-hsien-ku 山仙姑 (H-M., Sansankou) — only one li distant. Willow trees and large, spreading Albizzias line the bank of the Yangtze, while long, sandy or rock-strewn islets are visible everywhere in the river-bed (October).

The trail, now muddy, leads between rice-fields for about ten li to the Na-khi hamlet of Aw-gkv-dzhi. Wide valleys open out into the main gorge. We enter beautiful groves of *Castanopsis Delavayi* and oaks, beyond which we reach the hamlet of Shŏ-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu or Upper Ko-tzu), while further down is the hamlet of Hsia-ko-tzu (Lower Ko-tzu). As already remarked, the Chinese map gives the village wrongly as San-kai-tzu 三街子 (H-M., Sangaidsi), but the Li-chiang records give it as I wrote it down on the spot. The village is situated on the floor of a broad lateral valley carrying a fairly large stream called the Sung-chiang Ho 宋江河, which is crossed by a covered wooden bridge. Opposite on the east bank, in Chung-tien territory, is the hamlet of Nda-lä.

A legend is connected with the cliff at Nda-lä, which is known as Bä-mä-'a. It is the story of a girl who was given in marriage. When she left her home she looked back, and was carried off by the clouds and winds to Bä-mä-'a. She was hence known as Nda-lä-a-ssaw-mi, which means the girl (whose soul) was scattered or blown by the wind to Nda-lä. A whole book is devoted to the seven wind spirits of which she is one. It is chanted during the Här-la-llü k'ö ceremony in propitiation of these wind spirits, who are believed to liberate the dogs of the clouds and wind, and bombard the houses of the people with stones, and close up the water-courses.

Beyond the hamlet the hill-sides are pine-covered, and the river-bed narrow and of considerable depth. Near here the river makes a rather sharp curve to the west, due to a broad peninsula which extends deeply into its bed (PLATE 154). The vegetation is of a scrub-xerophytic type and consists mainly of Pyracantha bushes, Escholtzia, Prinsepia, Ligustrum, while blue-flowered Didissandra cling to the rock walls. The trail skirts the mountain-side which it also ascends, and here we encounter Castanopsis, *Cornus capitata*, Excoecaria, etc. Descending again to the plain we pass the hamlet of Dsi-gku (Tz'u-k'ai 茨開)[23] situated near the river bank. The Chinese

[23] In the Li-chiang records it is written Tz'u-k'o 茨科, which is the better transcription of the Na-khi name of the place.

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*487 *733 *737 military map gives Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 below San-kai-tzu (Shang-ko-tzu) and opposite Lä-ndo (Leng-tu), while in reality it is beyond Dsi-gku, which itself is some distance north of San-kai-tzu.

Between Ssaw-ssaw-gku and Dsi-gku, or Dsi-gkv as the Li-chiang Na-khi pronounce it, are several villages, as Muan-ssu-dzhu (H-M., Musödso), or Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場 in Chinese, on the Li-chiang side of the river; and on the east bank, or Chung-tien side, the hamlets of Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈; H-M., Ta-lä), and north of it the village of Ss or Ss(ĕr)-lä (H-M., Sa-lä), and north of this, also on the Chung-tien side of the river, the village of Ch'ou-dzhu (H-M., Tschodjio).

[134] [241] Near Dsi-gku the soil is red, and sandstone and mica abound. Opposite the large village of Ta-t'ang 大塘 on the Chung-tien side, the mountain-sides slope gently toward the Yangtze. Here along the river cultivation is carried on, while above the fields are dense pine forests, extending into a valley and up the steep mountain slopes on the Li-chiang side. The fields bear crops of millet and maize and, on the slopes above, rice. A large grove of lovely old oaks, through which the trail leads, relieves the monotony of the sandy fields. Here, near the village of Vu-dzhu (H-M., Mudschuo; the Chinese Wu-chu 梧竹), situated on the Chung-tien side, is a long island.

The scenery is weird and lonely, especially where the trail enters groves of Castanopsis, quercus (oaks) and pines; the mountain slopes are steep and huge boulders lie about everywhere. On the opposite side a narrow, dark valley debouches into the Yangtze at the hamlet of Nda-gka-dü. Five li beyond bring us to the village of Ba-lo (Chinese Pa-lo 巴羅) at the mouth of a long, broad valley, almost as broad as that of the Yangtze itself. An iron chain-bridge spans the Ba-lo gyi which issues from the broad valley. It has two branches, the northern one carrying the larger stream; in the southern branch, called Yi-gv lo, are situated about ten villages.

Ba-lo itself is called Ch'iao-t'ou 橋頭 in Chinese (Bridge-head) on account of the iron chain-bridge which spans the Ba-lo gyi. This is, however, not the iron chain-bridge (T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋) which figures so largely in all the battles fought between the Na-khi and Tibetans, nor where the Mongols and the Ming soldiers fought when conquering the territory for China. Ba-lo itself is one of the dreariest spots imaginable and compares unfavorably even with villages situated in the lonely Pa-pien Ho 把邊河 valley in the south of Yün-nan. Altogether three ferries ply across the Yangtze between Shih-ku and Ch'iao-t'ou: one at Shih-ku, where, since my last visit, a crude row-boat, such as is commonly used in this primitive part of the world, has taken the place of the raft; one at Müen-tsü-dtu; and one at Dsi-gkv.

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The trail leads over the iron chain-bridge across the Ba-lo gyi,[24] and climbs the slippery rocks on the other side, leading along the steep, rocky bank down to the plain and the village of Muan-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 諸葛嶺).

[24] Ch'iao-t'ou Ho 橋頭河. Its source is over 200 li north-west of Li-chiang, on the south-eastern slopes of the Han-sou Shan. It flows by the guard-station of Ch'iao-t'ou into the Yangtze. The bridge which spans it is called the P'ing-cheng ch'iao 平政橋; it was first built in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737) by magistrate Chiang Ch'iao-sun 江喬蓀. It was destroyed by fire in the first moon of the fifth year (1740) and rebuilt by magistrate Kuan Hsüeh-hsüan 管學宣 in the seventh year (1742).

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From here it ascends and leads over a narrow pass high above the river. The cliffs are densely wooded and very steep; at the pass itself stone barricades had been erected with loopholes, to prevent Tibetan brigands from paying their annual visits to this part and to within sight of Li-chiang itself, for the purpose of looting and burning. A little beyond the pass on the plain is the Chinese village of Pai-feng-ch'iang 白粉墻 (H-M., Befeng djiang), in the Li-chiang records written 白粉嵩. The distance to this village from Shang-ko-tzu is 45 li. About 15 li beyond is the village of Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡.

Thirty li from Pai-feng-ch'iang we reach the hamlet of La-dsu-lo (H-M., Ladsulö). The trail passes through groves of *Quercus variabilis*, over rocky slopes, and along steep mountain-sides, over landslides and boulders — the path being positively dangerous.

La-dsu-lo is situated at the mouth of a long valley which extends deeply into the western watershed. A good-sized stream flows here into the Yangtze, crossed by a stone-arch bridge. Beyond La-dsu-lo are fine broad rice-fields through which the trail winds, the valley floor being quite broad but narrowing beyond, the trail following close to the river bank and somewhat above it. Here in the Yangtze is a long, sandy grass-covered island where natives are busy washing gold in the most primitive way.

Passing through scrub oaks and by sandstone boulders, we reach an old temple, whence one can see Chü-tien across the broad expanse of the river valley, while, beyond, a blue ridge practically closes the valley, save for an outlet for the river from the north.

5. CHÜ-TIEN 巨甸

The trail now follows the mountain, leaving the Yangtze and entering the valley of its tributary, the Chü-tien Ho (Hsin-i Ho 新移河), which has its source in the Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 hills. A stone bridge crosses it and one trail leads north from here to Chü-tien, while another to the left leads to Lu-tien 魯甸 and Wei-hsi 維西.

Chü-tien, called Kün-dü (Kun-sdud)[25] in Tibetan, and Gkv-dü in Na-khi, situated at an elevation of 6,450 feet, is a dusty, miserable place; the upper or northern half of the town had been burned by Tibetan brigands.

Like their ancestors whose depredations are recorded in the Mu Chronicle, the Tibetans still invade this territory, burn, rob, and loot to their hearts' content, for there are no more native Shih-men guards to keep them back, as in the days of old. These hordes can only be held in check by troops which are occasionally rushed up from Ta-li with machine-guns, usually much too late and after the Tibetans have done their depredations and have retreated into their mountain fastnesses, where the Chinese soldiers are unable to pursue them.

To Chü-tien belongs a lamasery named Hsing-huā Ssu 興化寺, called in Tibetan, Theg-chhen-dar-rgyas gling pronounced The-chhen dar-gye-ling.[26] It is situated north-west of the Chü-tien plain, 10 li from the town.

At Chü-tien (Major Davies, Ch'i-tieu; H-M., Tjü-tien) the river is very

[25] ཀུན་སྡུད་

[26] ཐེག་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་

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broad and so is the valley. It has here many large islands on which numerous water-fowl, representing many species, disport themselves from autumn to spring. Most common are the Brahmini ducks, or sheldrake, and two species of geese. Chü-tien is now situated in what was once the ancient department of Chü-chin chou,[27] and is perhaps identical with it. The Li-chiang records state in one place, that Chü-tien is 216 li north-west of Li-chiang and in another place that Chü-tien T'a-ch'eng is 300 li from Li-chiang. The distance for ancient Chü-chin chou is given also as 300 li north-west of Li-chiang, so it must be one and the same district.

The Li-chiang records have this to say about the ancient Chü-chin district: "Its ancient name was Lo-po-chiu-t'an [the *Yün-nan Tien-hsi* calls it Lo-tzu 羅妾 and the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* Lo-p'o 羅婆] and the Tibetans dwelled to the west of it." The *Tien-hsi* says (Vol. 1, fol. 28) that in ancient days Chü-chin chou was the land of the Hsi-fan, and that during the T'ang dynasty it was occupied by two tribes of Man (Barbarians) called the Fu 伏 and the Lu 獹, and afterwards their land was captured by the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) and incorporated into the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom) and made subject to the Li-chiang Chieh-tu 麗江節度 (Government of Li-chiang). At the beginning of the Mongol dynasty it became part of the empire, and in the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277) in the Mongol dynasty there was

[27] Regarding Chü-chin chou, the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, fol. 21a, states that "in ancient days it was the land of the Hsi-fan. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Lo-p'o-chiu-t'an 羅婆九睒. The P'u 僕 and Lu 獹 tribes dwelled there. Afterwards the Mo-so tribe captured their territory by force."

It is interesting to read in the above-mentioned work on p. 22b, under the heading "Pai-ma-chai 白馬寨," that "Pai-ma-chai (White horse village) was situated two li south of Chü-chin chou. The T'ang history relates that the Chieh Ch'iang 挈羌, who were the descendants of the Pai-ma-ti 白馬氐, dwelled there, hence the name Pai-ma-chai." We have here direct proof that the Ch'iang, of whom the Na-khi are descendants, dwelled in the territory now occupied by the latter under their own tribal name.

The Chieh Ch'iang were the descendants of the great Ch'iang ancestor Yüan-chien 爰劍, commonly known as Wu-i 無弋. The sons and grandsons of the latter separated into branches, establishing in all 150 tribes. Nine tribes lived west of the head-waters of the Ssu-chi Ho 賜支河. (This, in the *Yü Kung*, is called the Hsi-chi 析支. The latter is, however, the name of a mountain, so the Ssu-chi Ho may be a stream which had its source in that range.) Some tribes dwelled to the north of the borders of Shu Han 蜀漢 (Ssu-ch'uan). Fifty-two tribes of the 150 were neither numerous nor strong and thus could not exist as separate tribes, so they dispersed; others had no descendants and died out, while others again went far afield. The Pai-ma Ch'iang lived in the territory of the Shu Han, others were the Mao-niu 旄牛 (Yak) Yüeh-sui Ch'iang 越巂羌. Li-chiang was the Yüeh-sui territory during the Han and Hou Han, or Later Han dynasty, and it was in that period that the Na-khi (Mo-so) first settled in Li-chiang.

Five generations after Wu-i came Yen 研. He was exceedingly brave and strong, and afterwards the tribe was given his name. Thirteen generations after Yen came Shao-tang 燒當. He was also brave and strong. His sons and grandsons were numerous and they took his name for that of their tribe. Several decades after the submission of the Shan-chieh Ch'iang 參狼羌, all the I 夷 (Barbarians) submitted and the borders were no more blocked.

The records of the Hsi Ch'iang 西羌 (Western Ch'iang) in the *Hou Han Shu* (History of the Later Han dynasty) tell that in the time of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48–33 B.C.) the Shan-chieh Ch'iang plundered Lung-hsi 隴西 in Kan-su, and the Yu chiang-chün 右將軍, (Junior general) Feng 馮 was sent by Imperial order to attack and bring them to submission.

Translated from the *Fang-yü-hui-pien-pien-i-tien* 方輿彙編邊裔典, ch. 47; *Ch'iang-pu-hui-k'ao* 羌部彙考, fol. 26a–b.

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established in the Chiu-t'an 九陝 (Nine districts) the Department of Chü-chin, subject to the Circuit of Li-chiang (Li-chiang Lu 麗江路). During the Ming dynasty it was still called Chü-chin chou, but has since been abolished as a separate department, and belongs now to the prefecture of Li-chiang. 173 101

The Li-chiang records say that the chief of the Mo-so-man dwelled at Chü-chin, and it became part of the Empire in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), and was called Ta-chü-chin (Great ford) and the juncture of the Tibetan and Nan-chao Kingdoms. In the 22nd year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1285) a Hsüan-fu-ssu 宣撫司 (Chieftain of the frontier tribes) was established at Chü-chin chou, and was later transferred to T'ung-an chou, to the east of Li-chiang. in the San-tien 三甸 district.

Chü-tien used to be called Chü-tien hsun 汛 (Chü-tien guard station). Opposite Chü-tien on the Chung-tien side is a mountain called Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二欄杆山 (Twelve balustrade Mountain), and at its foot is situated the hamlet of Shang-so-i 上所邑.

6. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO CH'I-TSUNG 其宗

From Chü-tien the road descends to the river bank and continues along the sandy, dusty stream-bed and thence up a bluff, occasionally barricaded to check the inroads of Tibetan bandits. Here a view is obtained over Chü-tien and the broad Yangtze valley looking south. The next village is 15 li from Chü-tien and is called Pai-lien 白連 (White lotus), and Bä-lä-'a in Na-khi (H-M., Polian). Five li beyond it is the hamlet of 'A-lo (An-lo 安樂), and next door to it a smaller hamlet called Dtv-lo (Te-lo 德羅; H-M., Dolö). The valley is here very broad, and a few li beyond the placid river makes a broad bend. Below Dtv-lo on the Chung-tien side is the hamlet of Ggŏ-lv-wùa (H-M., Keluan; Major Davies, Keluwan). Here the current is only about 0.8 miles per second. 487* 133* 137*

On the floor of the Chü-tien basin there are thick deposits of red sands, while the northern corner of the basin is enclosed by black schists, and from Pai-lien to Chü-tien by green schists (GREGORY).

We now come to the rather large village of Muan-khü-ndu (Lower Khü-ndu; Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), situated near extensive fields through which the trail passes. Near here in the Yangtze is a triangular rock islet about 150 feet high and crowned by a temple. The valley floor is broad and the surrounding mountains low, only about 2,000-2,500 feet in height and well covered with pine trees. From here we ascend to a small plateau, and thence to a pine-forested bluff composed of conglomerate, and descend to the hamlet of Ggŏ-khü-ndu (Upper Khü-ndu; Shang-heng-t'u 上亨土; H-M., Go-henda;). A level road for a short stretch brings us to the foot of a high spur which we climb, the slopes being pine-covered; a zigzag trail leads to a long valley which extends deeply into the hills, having the appearance as if it would lead directly into the Mekong to the west. Blue ridges are visible far in the distance. In this valley are situated the hamlets of Heng-tu-lo-ku 亨獨羅固 (Pa-tien 巴甸 is on the hills), I-chih 以支 and Lung-pa 龍巴.

Here there are two trails, one leading up the valley, and one descending to the stream, which we cross over a wooden plank bridge and follow along the

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foot of the hills past the village Lao-ts'un 老村, and ascend a bluff covered with pine scrub. Rafts ply here on the river to the Chung-tien side while others float down the river, from Ch'i-tsung (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi). Descending the rocky bluff over a dusty trail, we come to fields in the now broad, flat valley floor which here is quite uninteresting. Hamlets are situated on both sides of the river, all inhabited by Na-khi. One is of especial interest. It is the hamlet of T'a-ch'eng 塔城 (T'a-dza), actually Hsia-t'a-ch'eng 下塔城 or Lower T'a-ch'eng also known as Wai 外 T'a-ch'eng, the Na-khi Muan-t'a-dza. It was also called T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城 (Iron-bridge walled town). Another Na-khi name for the village was T'a-dzhi, the Chinese Shih-tzu 柿子 (Persimmon) on account of the many persimmons which grew there.

The T'a-ch'eng Kuan (T'a-ch'eng Pass) 塔城關, called in Na-khi Nĕr-hăr mbu (Gunny-bag hill) (PLATE 155) is 350 li north-west of Li-chiang and was the border of the ancient Chü-chin chou. Beyond it to the north is Wei-hsi territory. T'a-ch'eng Kuan, 8,000 feet in height, is a triangular rock peak and lateral rock wall composed of grey corrugated schist, it causes the Yangtze to make a sharp bend, and it was here beyond doubt, at the foot of the peak, that the T'ieh-ch'iao (Iron bridge) was located. The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* 上 ch. 4, fol. 27a, states expressly that beyond the pass was Wei-hsi territory, and the only village here beyond the pass is Ch'i-tsung, which is in the Wei-hsi district. It adds that the Yangtze enters at the foot of the pass into Li-chiang territory. On the top of the pass are the remains of an old Cha-tzu 閘子 or barrier, now overgrown with shrubs and vines. This barrier gate was repaired by order of the authorities in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742). The spur known as Kuan-p'o 關坡 to the Chinese is forested with evergreen trees, representing many species. Looking upstream we see the village of Ch'i-tsung[28] (Gyi-dzu in Na-khi and Je-drong, written rJe-grong རྗེ་གྲོང་ in Tibetan) a short distance away on the west bank of the river, and beyond it the arid gorge of the Yangtze, whence the latter issues from a defile formed by a gray limestone wall. The mountains to both sides of the valley are rather low and pine covered. A large triangular rock peak and a lateral rock wall crowned by smaller sharp pinnacles jut out into the river bed, forcing the Yangtze to make a sharp bend (PLATE 156).

South of the bridge was the T'ieh-ch'iao ch'eng 鐵橋城, (Walled town of the iron bridge), and this can have been no other than the present village of

[28] Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u, of the district of Wei-hsi, shared an official called a T'u-pa-tsung 土把總 (Native sergeant). He ruled over Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, Chia-mu-k'o 加木科, Hsia-t'a-ch'eng 下塔城, and other villages. His rule extended from Ch'i-tsung — La-p'u east to the Chung-tien district boundary, 70 li; south to the Li-chiang border, 50 li; west to the Wei-hsi border and Kung-lung 工龍, 100 li, (a trail leads from La-p'u via Ch'uan-hu 串虎, and Kung-lung 工龍 to La-p'u-wan 料普灣, a little north of Wei-hsi); north to Wei-hsi T'o-ting 推西拖頂, 30 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Ch'i-li-chi-pu 七里吉布. Originally he was the T'u-mu 土目, or headman, of Ch'i and La (Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u). In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) the office was changed and the region annexed and a hereditary Ch'i-la t'u-pa-tsung was appointed. He was given the name of Wang Chung 王忠. He handed down his office to Ho Nien 鶴年. After his death Yung T'ai 永泰 inherited the office, and after his death his son Ch'ang 昌 inherited the position in the 30th year of Tao-kuang (1850).

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T'a-dza (T'a-ch'eng), which was one of 16 walled places in T'u-fan territory which were taken by I-mou-hsün when he attacked the Iron bridge. The government of the Iron Bridge was thereupon established at T'a-dza. At the place where the bridge once spanned the river, the holes in the stones, where the iron links were fastened, can still be seen in the winter when the water is clear. No trace of these links has, however, survived.

The iron bridge was the border between the Nan-chao Kingdom and the Tibetans, and the same records state that it was built during the Sui dynasty 隋 (590-617) by Shih Wan-sui 史萬歲 and Su Jung 蘇榮; others say it was built by the T'u-fan. This last is, however, very doubtful. The bridge was destroyed by I-mou-hsün (sixth King of Nanchao, 778-808) during his attack on the T'u-fan in the 10th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (794) of the T'ang Emperor Te Tsung 德宗, to prevent them from entering Li-chiang territory, which then belonged to Nan-chao. I-mou-hsün had subdued also the Na-khi Kingdom after he ascended the throne in 778.

We descend steeply over a very rocky trail to fields and cross a bridge over a stream called Sä gyi. This stream has its source in a meadow to our left (west), near the foot of the mountains; it is broad but short and debouches into the Yangtze. A few more steps and we arrive at the village of Ch'i-tsung. At the time of my visit the place was in ashes, having been burnt one month previously by the Tibetan brigands. It is said that a lot of undesirable Chinese and Na-khi had joined the Tibetans, whom the people here call Ku-tsung.

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 18, fol. 7a-b, says in regard to the Ku-tsung 猞猁, also written 古宗, that they are the ancient T'u-fan, and that there were two tribes of Ku-tsung, none of them having family names; they live near Ch'i-tsung and La-p'u. In the Ming dynasty the chief of the Na-khi, Mu, failed to exterminate them and they scattered among the land of the Mo-so (Na-khi), and therefore these are called Mo-so Ku-tsung. The second tribe of Ku-tsung live at sPong-tse-ra (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子蘭) and A-tun-tzu, and these are called Ch'ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (Evil-smelling Ku-tsung); they are of course Tibetans (PLATE 202). The language of the two tribes is the same, but their character is said to be different. The Mo-so Ku-tsung are reputed to be very much like the Mo-so. This of course, can be understood, for having lived among them, they have adopted Mo-so habits and customs.

It seems that the Ch'ou Ku-tsung who live at Pong-tse-ra and A-tun-tzu are part of the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans 鄉城 who live east of Pong-tse-ra in Hsi-k'ang formerly part of Ssu-ch'uan.

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CHAPTER II

WEI-HSI 維西

I. THE WEI-HSI RECORDS

173 According to the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* 雲南備徵志, and the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* 維西聞見錄 (Transcription or records of things heard and seen about Wei-hsi), ch. 18, fol. 1, Wei-hsi was outside the border of Tien 滇 (Yün-nan). It was incorporated with Li-chiang and its territory ruled by the (Li-chiang) T'ung-p'an 通判 (Sub-prefect)[1].

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, p. 44b, states that, "In the T'ang dynasty, the T'u-fan T'ieh-ch'iao 吐蕃鐵橋 was the territory of a Chieh-tu-shih 節度使 (Imperial Commissioner). In the Mongol dynasty it became the territory of the Li-chiang Circuit, and in the Ming dynasty that of the fu-magistracy of Li-chiang. At the change of the dynasty, Wu 吳 (Wu San-kuei) rebelled and later his grandson gave the land to the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) it belonged to Ho-ch'ing fu. A T'ung-p'an of the latter place was transferred to reside there and to protect their territory. In another line on the same page it says that a Chou-p'an 州判 (Second-class assistant department magistrate) from Chien-ch'uan chou 劍川州, a town to the south of Li-chiang resided there with a garrison.

"Wei-hsi t'ing was the Lin-hsi hsien of the Yüan dynasty. It was in the northwest, and was the land of the T'u-fan.

"In the Ming dynasty the native magistrate sent his soldiers to improve the land; its existence dates from that time."

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states further that Wei-hsi became part of the empire during the Ming dynasty. During the reign of K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) it was under the rule of the Dalai Lama of Lhasa. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) a transferable official was appointed there. Nothing is known of the previous successive changes in the Wei-hsi district.

The Wei-hsi Geographical Records state that from the Han dynasty to the Sung dynasty nothing is known about it. In the Yüan dynasty it adjoined the border of Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國.

No records of the climate or customs of the territory were kept.

814 173 In the year *chi-ch'ou* 己丑 of Ch'ien-lung (1769), a certain Yü Ch'ing-ch'ang 余慶長 filled the function of T'ung-p'an at Wei-hsi. Yü Ch'ing-yüan 余慶遠, who was his younger brother and had the rank of Kung-sheng 貢生 (Senior licentiate) lived with him in the yamen. He enquired about the past from the old native officials, and also from such as could speak Chinese, and thus he acquired considerable knowledge. Yü Ch'ing-yüan composed the *Wei-hsi Wen-chien-lu* already quoted, and it is due to him that we have any records at all about this interesting region, its people, customs, etc.

[1] The office of T'ung-p'an of Li-chiang was established in 1723. The Na-khi T'u-chih-fu (Native prefect) was reduced at that time to assistant prefect of the second class.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) Wei-hsi was the eastern border of the T'u-fan, and prior to the Ming dynasty there were no records. During the reign of Ming Wan-li (1573–1619) the Li-chiang native prefect of the Mu family [2] gradually became powerful and led his Mo-so soldiers to attack the T'u-fan. The latter then built several hundred watch-towers to resist them, and guarded and strongly fortified all important places, such as the villages of Liu-ts'un 六村, La-p'u 剌普, and Ch'i-tsung. The Mu family made a huge battering-ram and, pulling it after them, struck their watch-towers, causing them to collapse. All their important places were then captured, and the people butchered. After that the Mo-so tribespeople were brought to rule over them. From the north of Pen-tzu-lan 奔子欄 [3] they came to submit. Thereupon Wei-hsi and Chung-tien and the villages of Pa-t'ang 巴塘 (Ba-thang) and Li-t'ang 裏塘 [the present-day Pa-an 巴安 and Li-hua 裏化] now governed by Ssu-ch'uan [Hsi-k'ang], became part of the empire. The Mu family collected the land tax, and this was reported to the throne. In the 13th year of K'ang-hsi (1674) Wu San-kuei rebelled; when his grandchild, Shih-fan 世璠, was defeated, he ceded the region north of Ch'i-tsung and presented it to Ch'ing-hai 青海 (that is, Koko Nor), and asked them to come to his rescue. Wei-hsi was again lost to the Tibetans. After several years it was again retaken. Those territories which belonged to Ssu-ch'uan were kept in restraint by native officials. The affairs of the Dalai Lama, who was greatly respected by the dynasty, were not interfered with.

"In the 7th year of Yung-cheng (1729), the families of north-western Yün-nan were divided and some were placed under the rule of Ho-ch'ing fu. The Ho-ch'ing T'ung-p'an was transferred to rule them and he established himself in the city (Wei-hsi). One thousand soldiers were also placed there under the control of a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel). To seven old headmen was given the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總, and to three the rank of T'u-pa-tsung 土把總.

"In the 19th year of Ch'ien-lung (1754) the administrative seat of the country bordering on Li-chiang was changed and placed under Li-chiang fu." [4]

2. THE NATIVE OFFICIALS

The Wei-hsi Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾滄江 T'u-pa-tsung ruled over La-jih 喇日, La-p'u-wan 喇普灣, Lo-chi-ku 樂吉古, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西, and other villages. His ancestors lived at Yu-i-ts'un 由義村, from which village it is 60 li east to Ch'i-tsung La-p'u; 15 li south to La-p'u-wan; west, 100 li to the Nu-ti 怒地, the region of the Nu-tzu tribe, who live on the Salween; 200 li north to the village of Chih-yeh-ts'un 枝葉村 [this should read Yeh-chih-ts'un].

His first ancestor was Chao-mu 趙謨. In the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung

[2] This was Mu Tseng, who fought many battles against the Tibetans of Nyi-na, which is the Na-khi name for Wei-hsi (*see* Mu chronicle, p. 126–27). He was born in 1587 and died in 1646.

[3] Also written Peng 崩 instead of Pen.

[4] *Pei-cheng-chih* ch. 18, fol. 1a–2a, and 17, fol. 84a.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

173 (1742), the Li-su robbers rose, and so he joined the army, and fighting them with energy he acquired merit, and was appointed hereditary Yen-chiang 沿江 T'u-pa-tsung (Native sergeant of the Mekong river bank). The office was handed down to Kuo-chün 國俊; after his death Hsin 信 inherited the office. After the latter's death Chao-chang 朝璋 inherited. He died in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). His son Wei 渭 died of illness in the army. His grandson Chiu-hsi 九錫 assumed the position.

* * *

There was established what was called the Northern circuit and the Western circuit on the Mekong. The Northern circuit (Pei-lu) was ruled over by a T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). His ancestral seat was the territory of K'ang-p'u 康普 and extended east to K'ang-p'u Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, 30 li; [5] south to the Nu Chiang 怒江 (Salween) 50 li; west to Wo-lu-ngai ch'iao 窩路巖橋, 30 li; north to Ngai-wa-ngai ch'iao 巖瓦巖橋, 70 li.

His first ancestor was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, who governed the affairs of Kung-lung 工龍. He led his drilled soldiers to attack the Li-su robbers, whereupon he acquired merit, and was rewarded with the office of hereditary T'u-ch'ien-tsung. The office was handed on to Shih-lu 世祿. The latter was succeeded by Liang-pi 良弼. After his death, his son Wen-han 文翰 assumed the position. The present T'u-ch'ien-tsung is the Nan T'uan-shou 喃團首 (Nan, head of the Militia).

The Western circuit (Hsi-lu 西路) was ruled by a T'u-pa-tsung (sergeant) who lived hereditarily at K'ang-p'u village 康普村. His territory extended to the east 10 li from the Lan-ts'ang Chiang (Mekong); south 15 li to Kan-lan-mu 橄欖木; west to the Salween (Nu-tzu Chiang 怒子江), 150 li, and north to Cha-lo-ching 渣洛箐, 80 li. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) Wang-lien 王連 captured and chained many prisoners and assisted in extirpating the Li-su robbers. He died in battle.

A memorial being granted, the hereditary title of Hsi-lu T'u-pa-tsung (Sergeant of the Western circuit) was transmitted to his son Shih-chio 世爵. The latter transmitted it to Jung 榮. In the military duties connected with the subjection of Yün chou 雲州 [6] and Ta-yao 大姚 [7] he acquired merit. He was rewarded with the Lan-ling 藍翎 (Raven plume) and also the rank of Shou-pei 守備 (Second Captain). Jung died and his son Chi-jen 吉仁 inherited the position.

[634] Wei-hsi district has to-day a total of twenty-one t'u-ssu or native officials.

[5] This mountain, written more correctly Pai-ngai Shan 白巖山, extends from north to south and east of a lower parallel range which hems in the Mekong. Valleys extend to the Mekong at various places. The range stretches north towards Tung-chu-lin and forms the western valley wall of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河.

[6] Yün chou, now called Yün hsien, is south of Hsia-kuan and Meng-hua about six to seven stages.

[7] Ta-yao is north-west of Ch'u-hsiung about four stages, and about eight stages from the capital via the northern route, Wu-ting, Fu-min 武定富民.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

3. THE DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

To the east of the city of Wei-hsi the territory[1] adjoins Li-chiang, a distance of 70 li; the great Li-ti-p'ing Range connects the two territories. In the south it adjoins the T'o-chih ta-ch'iao 拖枝大橋 (T'o-chih is south-west of Lu-tien, and the Ta-ch'iao is a bridge over the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 on which T'o-chih the Na-khi T'o-dtü, [H-M., Todschü], is situated.[8] The Yung-ch'un Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Han-sou Shan which belongs to Li-chiang. It is 25 li distant from Wei-hsi. In the west the territory adjoins I-wan-shui 一碗水 and Jih-teng-ts'un 日登村, which belong to Lan-p'ing [probably the Shih-teng 石登 of the Chinese Yün-nan military map]. In the north it adjoins the A-tun-tzu border at the village of Ta-shih-t'ou-ts'un 大石頭村, on the east bank of the Mekong, south of Tz'u-chung 茨中. North-north-east it adjoins Chung-tien and Te-jung 德榮[9] of the Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 in Ssu-ch'uan, as well as adjoining on Pa-an 巴安 and several hsien of Ssu-ch'uan. North-north-west it borders on Tz'u-k'ai 茨開, where there is a deputy magistrate. On the west it borders on the Ch'iu Chiang 狖江 (球江), the eastern branch of the Irrawadi of the Burma border. In the north it adjoins the Tibetan province of Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍 (Tsha-wa-rong). Its width from east to west is 70 li and its length from south to north is 405 li.

These boundary notes have been taken from the *Wei-hsi Ti-li-chih* 維西地理誌 (Geographical records of Wei-hsi) which adds that the southern part of the district is the narrowest and that it was quite broad in the north.

The *Tien-hsi*, ch. 1, fol. 26b, states the distances as follows: 70 li east to the Li-chiang district border; 1,080 li west to Ch'a-wa-kang 擦瓦岡 in Tibet (this is in Tsha-wa-rong, south-eastern Tibet *see* page 198); south to the Li-chiang border, a distance of 25 li; north to the Chung-tien border, 310 li; south-east to the Li-chiang border, 70 li; south-west to the Li-chiang border, 70 li. North-east to the Chung-tien border, 320 li; north-west to the Chung-tien border, 720 li.

4. FROM CHÜ-TIEN TO WEI-HSI

South of Chü-tien the Yangtze receives a tributary called Hsin-i Ho 新移河, of which one source is on the south-eastern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing, and not the La-pa Shan as the Yün-nan military map would make us believe. The stream is better known as the Chü-tien Ho[10]. A bridge of stone slabs

[8] North of T'o-chih, is the hamlet of A-dü which is all Na-khi, while T'o-chih is said to be Hsi-fan.

[9] Also written 得榮. It is in the realm of the Ba-thang T'u-ssu (Pa-t'ang) 巴塘土司 in Hsi-k'ang. The Hsiang-ch'eng country was also in the territory of the Ba-thang chief, but was made a magistracy called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣 in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and the T'u-ssu (chief) was abolished. This does not mean, however, that the Chinese control the region. Rather, since the abolishing of the chieftainship (that is, the native hereditary governor) the Hsiang-ch'eng have become lawless and independent. The region is now in Hsi-k'ang and not Ssu-ch'uan.

[10] The Chü-tien Ho, according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 22, fol. 35, has its source in the Han-sou Shan, 400 li north-west of Li-chiang. All the Lu-tien waters join it and to-

1 [i.e. Wei-hsi District -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

crosses it, over which the trail leads to Chü-tien. Instead of going over the bridge, we follow the south side of the stream to the hamlet of Hsin-i (Bi-me-t'ang in Na-khi). The southern side of the lower part of this valley is crystalline limestone, while the rocks near Bă-da are mica schist. The people are a mixture of Na-khi and Chinese, but not Tibetan as Kingdom Ward tells us. One li beyond Hsin-i we come to the village of Gu-du-wùa; here we meet with lamaistic structures, such as *mani* rock piles, on the smooth surfaces of which is chiseled the familiar Tibetan prayer, the magic formula of Chenrezig, *Om mani padme hum*. A few li more bring us to the hamlet of La-p'iu-gku (H-M., Lapikou; the Chinese, La-p'ieh-ku 拉撇古) which boasts of a large Chinese temple dedicated to the Kuan-sheng Ti 關聖帝.

The trăil continues up the cultivated valley where in the order of their importance, maize, rice, beans, and buckwheat are grown, also sorghum. Here, beyond La-p'iu-gku, we cross the stream over a narrow board bridge and follow its northern bank. The trees along the bank are mostly willows,

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gether they flow south-east past Chü-tien hsün 巨甸汛 (Chü-tien military post) into the Yangtze. On the northern bank of the Chü-tien Ho, between the two bridges which span that tributary of the Yangtze, is situated a small hamlet called Pai-t'a 白塔 (White stupa, or White pagoda).

Two li south of Chü-tien on the slopes, above the Yangtze, there stands a pagoda known to the people as Man-tzu t'a 滿字塔 (Pagoda with Manchu letters). The pagoda is actually below a Kuan-yin Temple (Kuan-yin Ssu 觀音寺) near the village of A-wùa (A-wa-ts'un 阿瓦村), in the li of Chü-tien. It is about 15 feet or more high and is quadrangular. Tradition relates that it was built by Hu-pi-lieh (Kublai Khan) at the time of his Burmese campaign. His army travelled by this road (Chü-tien) while en route to attack Mien-tien 緬甸 (Burma). On their arrival at Chü-tien they were footsore and weary and they camped there. As they were people from the north it is believed that they knew Manchu characters (probably Mongolian script) and thus the building of this pagoda is attributed to Kublai Khan. As the rock selected for the building of the *t'a* was of a poor quality, the characters soon became illegible. It was later repaired and reconstructed and a Huo-fu 活佛 (Living Buddha) was requested to write the text, previously chiseled into the rock, on the plastered walls of the repaired pagoda.

The text written in Tibetan is still legible. It reads as follows:

"Om Ma Ni Pad Me Hūm Hri!

May the pagoda with basis and globe grant long life, health, happiness and perfection for a period of hundred years (perpetually) to traversing military forces, travelers, etc., while crossing the river which has the appearance of milk.

Erected in the fire — female-sheep year, in the beginning of the year, in the third moon, on the 14th day, on a full moon, on a Thursday.

Chiseled into the rock by the inscription sculptor Nyi-ma, motivated by me A-zho La-tsa-yar.

May long life, health, happiness and perfection be granted."

This last sentence is repeated. The pagoda was to guarantee success to those who were to undertake the crossing of the river at this place. As it is said that the pagoda was erected by Mongols while engaged in an expedition against Burma, the date given above can only be April 26, 1307, or the eleventh year of the period Ta-te 大德 of the Mongol Emperor Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 (Timur or Olcheitu). It could not have been the year 1247, the previous fire-sheep year, for the Mongols did not make their appearance in Yün-nan until the year 1253.

Olcheitu succeeded Kublai Khan on the throne of China. The foundations of houses which once upon a time stood around the pagoda are still visible. Every year people worshipped here.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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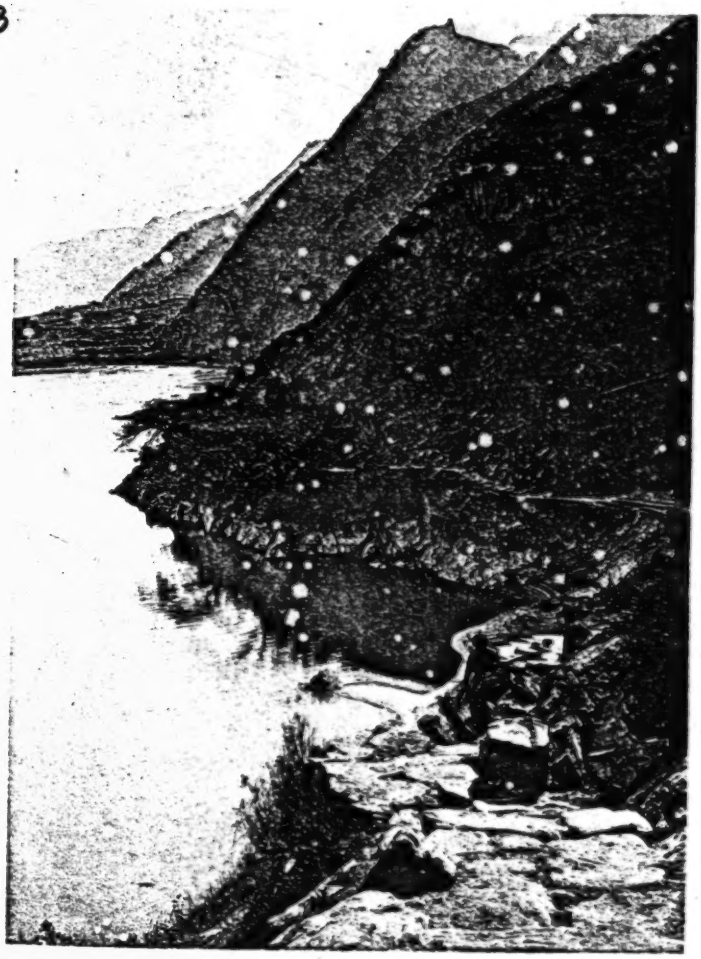

PLATE 153. — THE YANGTZE NEAR SHIH-MEN-KUAN

金沙江石門關

The trail [illegible] Shih-men-kuan is very difficult to negotiate especially in the summer when it is flooded by the Yangtze. In the distance immediately back of Shih-men-kuan is a steep conical mountain crowned by a temple.

[p. 298 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

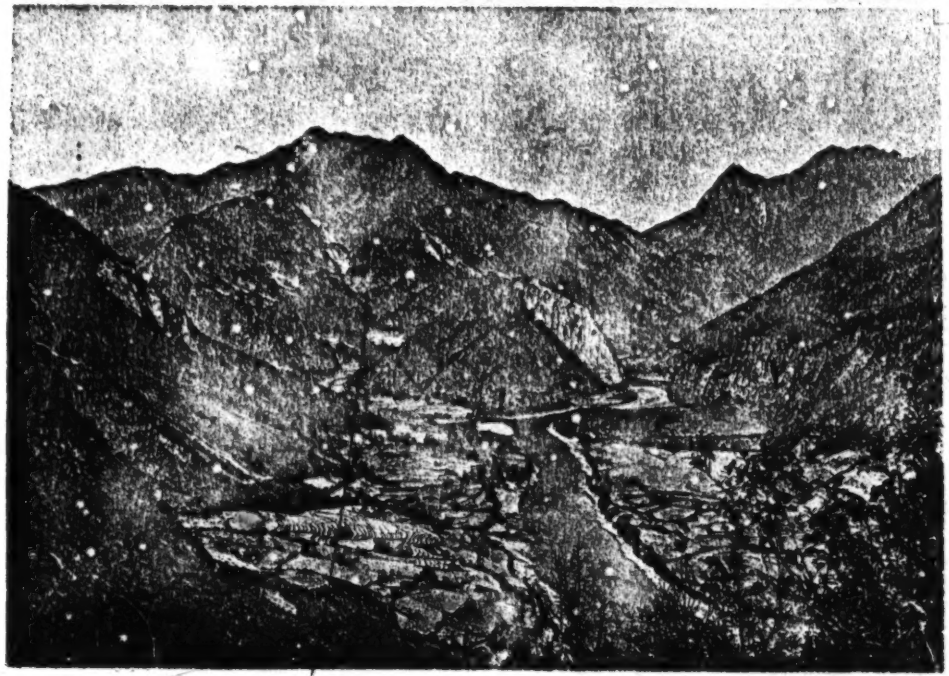
PLATE 154.—THE YANGTZE NEAR NDA-LĀ

金沙江喃達打西

The large bend of the river is actually between the villages of Shang-ko-tzu and Tz'u-k'ai. Photographed from a bluff north of Shang-ko-tzu, 1½ stages north of Shih-ku.

[p. 298 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 155. — THE T'A-CH'ENG KUAN, ONE OF THE MOST HISTORIC PASSES OF NORTHWESTERN YÜN-NAN

金沙江塔城關北面其東

The T'a-ch'eng Kuan is now the Li-chiang — Wei-hsi border. In the T'ang dynasty and prior to it, it was the Na-khi — Tibetan border. An iron-chain bridge once spanned the Yangtze here. This bridge was destroyed in 794 A.D. Photographed from the top of the pass, also called Kuan-p'o, elevation 8,000 feet, looking north to Ch'i-tsung, visible to the left.

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[p. 298 C]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 156. — THE YANGTZE AT CH'I-TSUNG

古時麗拉社華交界處

The defile is the ethnic border between the Na-khi and Tibetans. The river flows through arid gorges and is still the border between Chung-tien and Wei-hsi — Te-ch'in (A-tun-tsu) as far as T'o-hsien 沱仙. From there on it becomes the border between Te-ch'in and Hsi-k'ang.

[p. 298 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibet Border AE3

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 157.—A NA-KHI WITH CROSSBOW

納西族弩射者

A Na-khi from the village of Lu-tien on the Li-ti-p'ing, showing how to use the crossbow.

[p. 298 E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 158. — THE TOWN OF WEI-HSI

維西城

The town consists of about 400 houses and is at an elevation of 8,000 feet. Its inhabitants are mostly Chinese. The Na-khi call it Nyi-na, the Tibetans Ba-lung.

[p. 298 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

792
778

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 159. — NA-KHI LAMAS OF THE YELLOW SECT

[illegible]

Unlike the Li-chiang Na-khi lamas who belong to the Karma-pa sect, the lamas of K'ang-p'u, Shou-kuo Ssu, belong to the reformed Yellow Sect.

[p. 298 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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292

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 160. — THE LATE MUH-KWUA OR NA-KHI CHIEF OF YEH-CHIH
WANG KUO-HSIANG

麗秋木瓜王國相

He was better known as Wang Tsan-ch'en. Photographed in his Yamen in 1923.

[p. 298 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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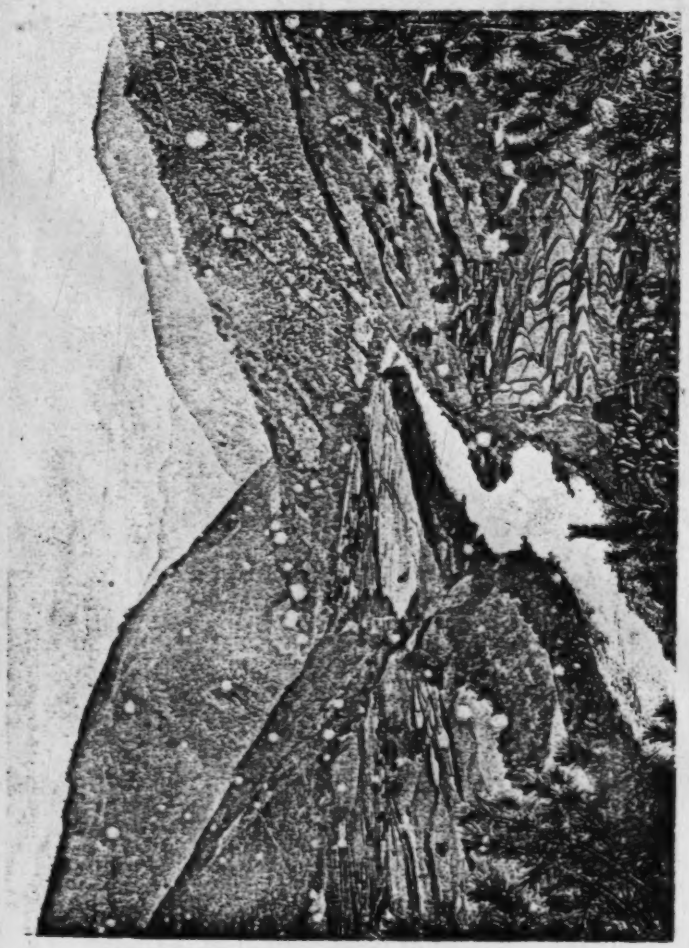

PLATE 161.—THE MEKONG NEAR THE NA-KHI VILLAGE OF LO-NOU (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

Photographed, looking upstream, from a lateral spur immediately north of Ba-dil. The village of Lo-nou is visible to the right on a terrace above the Mekong.

[p.298 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p.298]

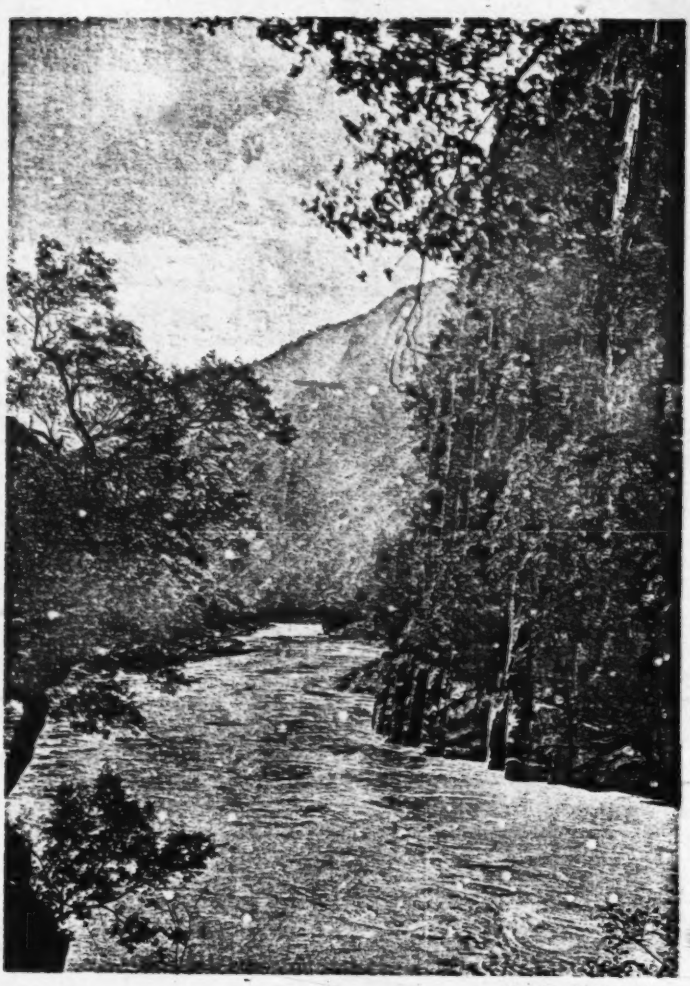
(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 162.—THE ROPE BRIDGES ACROSS THE MEKONG AT LO-NDU

There are two rope bridges at Lo-ndu, for crossing from the east to the west bank and vice versa. The rope is made of twisted bamboo (Arundinaria), and the post around which it is wound, of cypress wood. The ropes are changed about every three months, depending on the traffic.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China A16

133



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 163. — THE MEKONG GORGE NEAR TSE-YI-P'O

瀾滄江吡德轴衣坡

Formidable rapids preclude any attempt at navigation. On the steep walls of the gorge grow Junipers and Cypresses.

[p. 298 K]

Zq Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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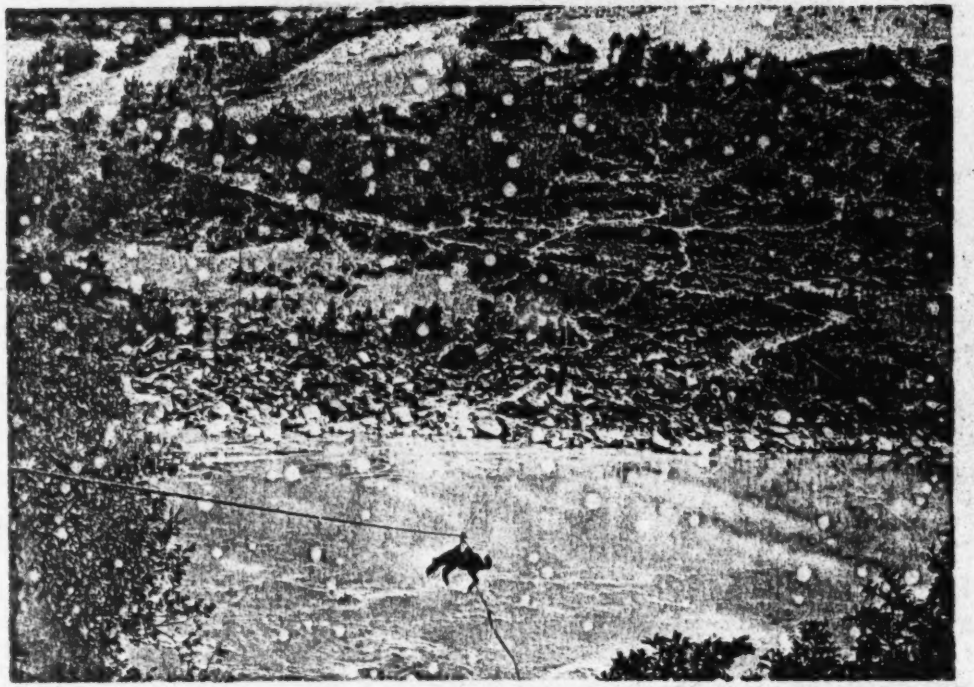


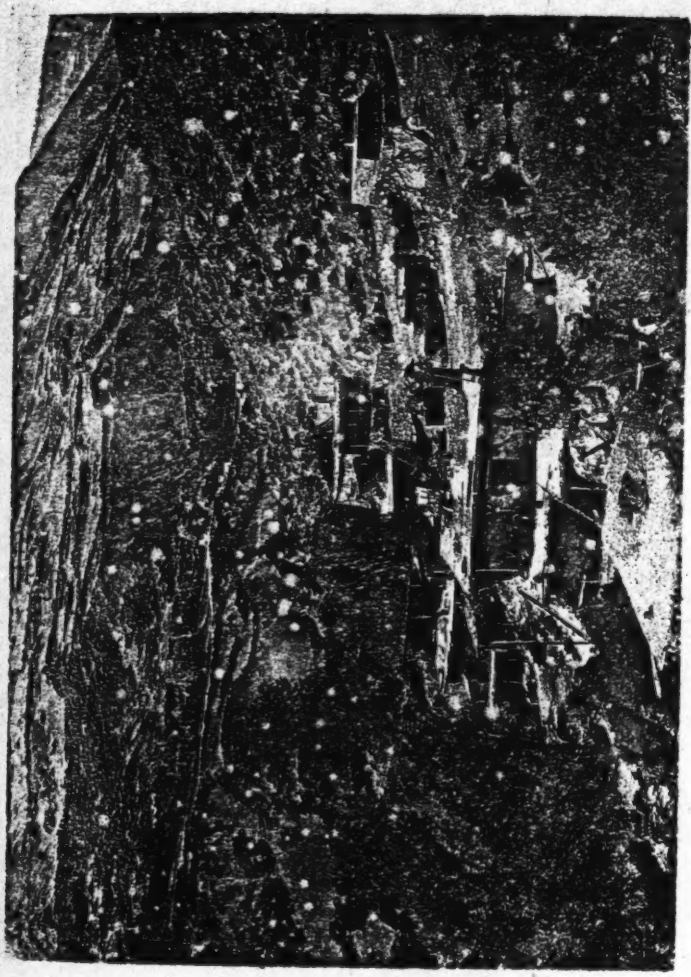
PLATE 46. — THE ROPE BRIDGE ACROSS THE MEKONG AT TZ'U-KU

茨 姑 渡 津

Horses are equally frightened when crossing a rope bridge; they usually kick, open their mouth and lift up their tail. Arrived on the other side they lie down exhausted.

[p. 2984]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 165.—THE TIBETAN HAMLET OF NYI-THANG

The houses of the Mekong Tibetans have flat roofs on which they dry their grain. Maize is especially cultivated here. Notched logs are used for ladders. Salt and Chinese tea, rather than money is the medium of exchange, the two articles being scarce here.

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[p. 298 M]

2½ Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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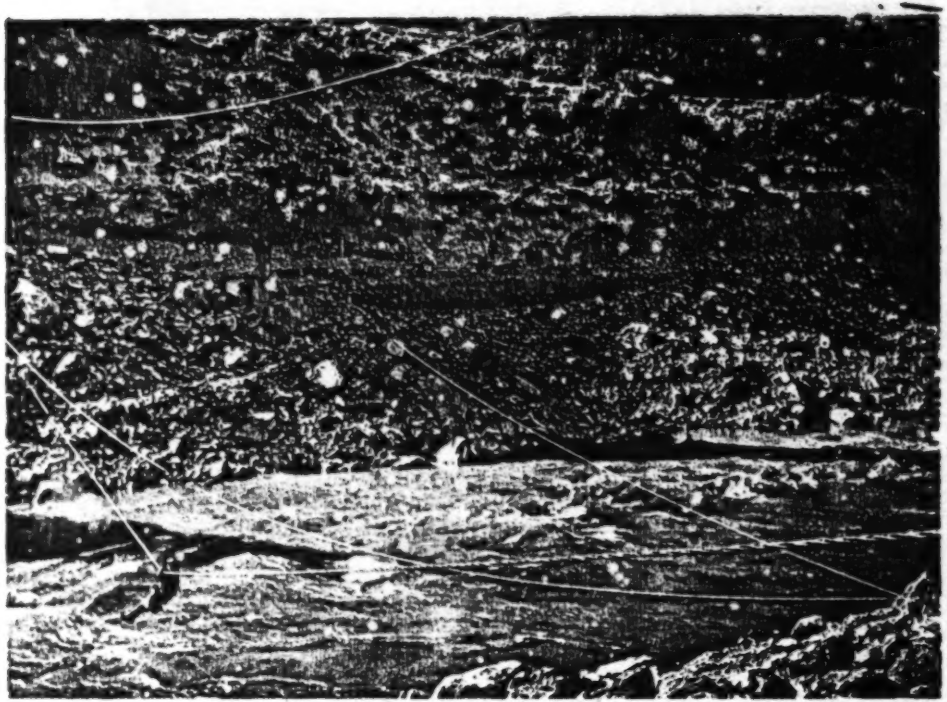

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 166. — THE ROPE BRIDGES AT YANG-TSA

滿 滄 江 羊 咱 鬧 術

In the autumn hundreds of pilgrims cross here daily *en route* to the sacred Do-kar La.

[p. 298 N]

4: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 167. — THE MEKONG NORTH OF YANG-TSA

湖 渣 江 梭 石 波 路

The Valley of the Mekong between Yang-tsa and Yeh-tsi is an arid trench. Note the trail built up against the cliff. Owing to constant rockslides the Chinese have given this part of the gorge the name of "Hill of the shuttle rock."

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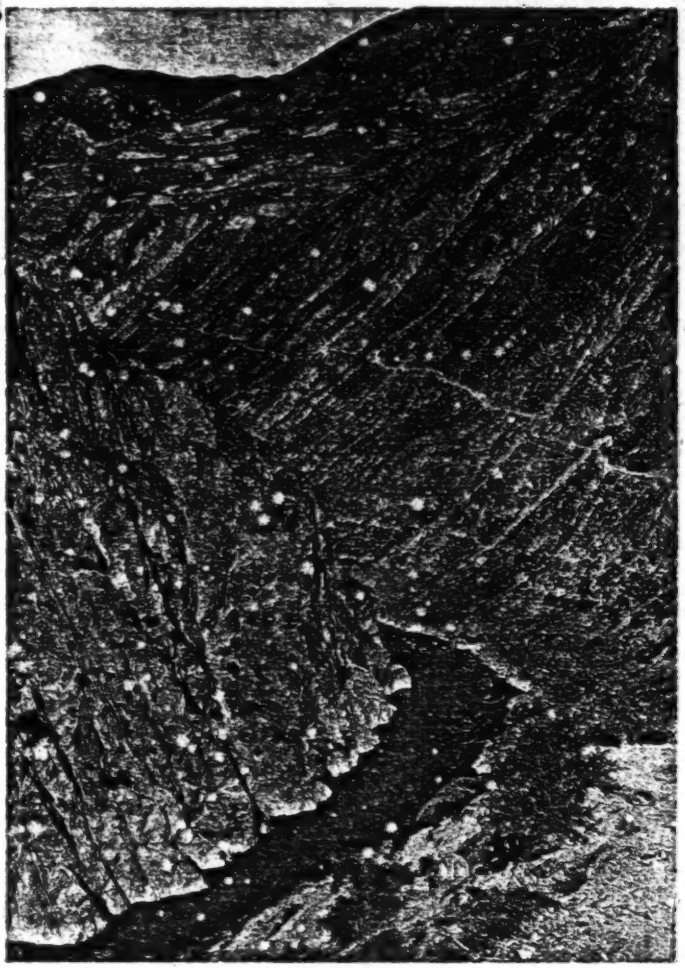

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 168. — THE ME-KONG NEAR NGUN-YA, LOOKING UPSTREAM

湄 滄 江 渠 念 映 蓝

The caravan trail which leads to Ngun-ya is visible on the east slope of the arid gorge. The Mekong, is of a blue green, especially in the winter. The bushes are *Sophora viciifolia* and *Bauhinia densiflora*.

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while several species of oaks grow on the lower half of the mountain slopes, and above them are forests of pines. Two li beyond the last village we come to the Na-khi hamlet of Bä-da (H-M., Bäta) situated along a brook lined with walnut trees. Here the valley narrows considerably; the slopes are terraced and mainly rice is grown. The rocks are phyllitic schist, with many quartz-veins and limestone, and the trees pines and oaks. This calcareous phyllitic stage is succeeded by crumpled quartz-mica schist, and as the valley narrows to a ravine the river-bed is littered with igneous rocks (GREGORY). On the south bank of the stream is situated the hamlet of Wu-lu-wan 務弄灣. In the narrowest part of the valley or just a short distance beyond, another valley debouches from the south. Here the trail passes through the village of Chi-li-wan 吉利灣.

In the main valley, about a half a li beyond Chi-li-wan, cultivation ceases, with the exception of some steep, cultivated hill-sides with one or two houses. The forest here is of a mixed and semi-evergreen type and is mainly composed of several species of oaks, *Castanopsis concolor*, and *Schima argentea*, while along the stream *Alnus nepalensis* is the most common tree, in company with *Uraria sinensis*. The trail leads across a wooden bridge and follows on the south bank to a meadow, and then ascends the southern valley slopes in steep zigzags. Opposite on the steep northern valley slopes there are still a few fields and huts. From here a commanding view rewards the traveler looking back towards the Yangtze over the valley of the Chü-tien Ho. The former type of vegetation has now given way to pines and oaks, with *Rhododendron racemosum* and *Rhod. decorum*, *Lyonia ovalifolia*, etc.

Leaving the main branch of the valley we turn directly south, at an elevation of 8,000 feet, into another branch which becomes narrower and narrower, the stream being the width of a brook; but the ravine, instead of terminating in a mountain spur, emerges by a narrow cleft into a broad, circular basin, the rushing brook becoming a broad stream, again flowing lazily in a sandy, gravelly bed between fields. In the valley tall pine trees form dense forests till we come to the hamlet T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘 (H-M., Taipingta). From here we descend through wild walnut groves and pass another hamlet called Ta-shui-kou 大水溝. The trail leads to the stream-bed which it follows.

The vegetation now changes completely, being composed mostly of *Pyrus pashia*, Malus, Corylus or hazel-nut bushes, and tall trees (*Corylus chinensis*), also several species of Acer, as *Acer robustum* with cane-brake, or *Arundinaria faberi* as undergrowth. It takes on the character of the uplands, for we find *Meliosma cuneifolia*, Viburnum, Cornus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, Desmodium, etc.

[361] *Lu-tien village.* — The narrow ravine, with its steep slopes, opens out abruptly through the narrow cleft mentioned, into the broad amphitheatrical valley, with scattered groups of houses which comprise the Na-khi village of Lu-tien 魯甸 [11] (MAJ. D., Li-tien), the Na-khi, Lv-dü.[12] This is 70 li distant

[11] Tien 甸 stands for frontier lands.

[12] The hamlet is situated on decomposed outcroppings of eruptive rocks. The most conspicuous rocks of the floor basin are biotite-quartz-diorite-porphyry, also rhyolite and

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from Chü-tien and 60 li from Wei-hsi. It is also spoken of as Lu-tien t'o-ting 鲁甸托丁,[13] a ward of Li-chiang, of which it is north-west and distant 400 li, which is also the distance from that city to the Wei-hsi district border. Lu-tien is actually composed of five villages called: Tien-pei 甸北, Tien-wei 甸尾, Tien-nan 甸南, Tien-hsin 甸心, and Tien t'ou 甸頭, while directly west of the latter is the hamlet of Hsün-shang 汛上.

The stream is crossed over a wooden bridge and the first house encountered is the schoolhouse. On the northern valley slopes is a lamasery, the most imposing building in the valley. Elevation of Lu-tien 8,900 feet. Lu-tien is called Rü-dü (Rus-bsdus) in Tibetan,[14] and the lamasery is known to the Chinese as Ling-chao Ssu 靈招寺, and to the Tibetans as bKris-dgah-hkhyil gling [15] (Lamasery of prosperity and emblem of purity). The word *bKris* is an abbreviation of *bKra-shis*.

The trail ascends the western mountain slope back of the village, with a ravine to the south — the head-waters of the Lu-tien Ho by which name this part of the stream is known. Here at 9,500 feet grow three species of the family *Taxaceae*, namely *Cephalotaxus Fortunei*, a glaucous shrub or small tree with plum-like fruits, *Torreya Fargesii*, and the Chinese yew, *Taxus chinensis*, a shrub with red fruits; also several species of oaks, Acer, *Lithocarpus variolosa*, *Pyrus pashia*, Cornus, Engelhardtia, *Pinus Armandi*, *Rhododendron decorum*, Berberis, Rhamnus, Elaeagnus, etc. As we ascend higher the forest becomes denser and consists mainly of huge oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, the Yün-nan hemlock *Tsuga yünnanensis*, with *Arundinaria faberi* as undergrowth. The trail leads finally out into pine and oak forest at 10,200 feet. *Usnea longissima*, a lichen of long yellow strands, festoons all the trees.

The Li-ti-p'ing divide. — We emerge finally at a pass, 10,800 feet elevation, which leads out into a broad, grassy plateau (Yangtze-Mekong watershed). The soil is a reddish-yellow decomposed sandstone. The swampy alpine meadow is lined by dense spruce (*Picea ascendens*) forest mixed with a copper-bark birch (*Betula japonica* var. *szechuanica*) and with cane-brake (Arundinaria) undergrowth. At the time of my visit (October) the meadows were blue with a lovely species of Gentian (*Gentiana sino-ornata*). The trail leads across the meadow along the forest. The birch and Sorbus trees were then in autumn garb, and their gay-colored foliage contrasted beautifully against the dark spruces. The forest was carpeted with deep moss, as were the fallen giants of spruces, long since dead. *Picea ascendens* forms pure stands on the Li-ti-p'ing. The forest is dense and somber, a solid wall of green, only on the outskirts grows the bushy, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron litiense*, with wild cherry trees. The former, five to six feet tall, forms a belt around the forest, while a smaller species covers the otherwise bare hill-

felsite. On the ascent to the Li-ti-p'ing pass the diorite-porphyry and granite are better preserved than in the basin floor (GREGORY).

[13] In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, T'o-ting is written 拖頂.

[14] རུ་བདུན། [15] འབྲི་སྐྱབས་དགའ་ལྡན་འཁྱིལ་གླིང་།

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sides. Unfortunately the Li-ti-p'ing is a notorious robber haunt where Li-su robbers hold up caravans, and loot and murder. Hence caravans and travelers do not tarry long, but hasten to more friendly regions. It is a gorgeous place to camp, virgin, undisturbed, a paradise for the lover of the out-of-doors. 487* 133* 137*

The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, ch. 18, fol. 3, says: "The Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 is 40 li east of Wei-hsi. The road is narrow and like the steps of a stairway, the immense trees form a huge canopy which cuts off all view, clouds envelop the region, being wafted back and forth by the wind. There is much rain and mist, and even on a summer day one must wear furs. In the ninth moon there is much rain and snow; in the winter and spring the snow lies 10–20 feet deep. Once the snow lay so deep in the autumn that along the road tall poles had to be erected at intervals of 10 feet with cross-pieces tied for support. Often for 20 to 30 days the trail would be completely blocked. In the second or third moon [April to May] the trail would be passable for human beings but not for horses. Even after days and days of sunshine only half the snow would melt. After the beginning of summer the snow would melt sufficiently to make the trail visible, as well as the cliffs. In ancient days the snow lay deeper, but is now diminishing in volume."

This would indicate that in earlier days (the book was written in 1831) the forests were vaster than they are now, as it states that the road was narrow and like a stairway and no view could be had. To-day the central part of the Li-ti-p'ing is cleared of forest and its place is taken by a broad meadow. The snow is still a great obstacle to travel and the road is often closed for months.

The pass at the northern, or Wei-hsi, side of the Li-ti-p'ing, is at an elevation of 11,000 feet. The summit of this pass consists of a ridge of porphyry, while the descent westwards is over decomposed igneous rocks with occasional outcroppings of limestone and dolerite. A long spur extends southwest by west towards Wei-hsi; the upper part consists of slate and the lower part of black slate, or phyllite, with intrusive rhyolite (GREGORY). The trail descends through lovely pine and spruce forest mixed with oak, and becomes really a road and a surprisingly good one for this part of the world, with few rocks and a good grade. We follow on the top of a lateral spur through beautiful forest, but then descend rather steeply to a small stream which leads to the village of Pei-pa. The view of Wei-hsi is hidden by a mountain range which extends at right angles to the spur we descend. The vegetation at the little stream is composed mainly of wild pears and apples, maples, hazelnut bushes, and oaks (*Quercus Griffithii*), plus bushy *Rhododendron racemosum* and a hydrangea. Beyon Pei-pa we descend to the Wei-hsi Stream which flows in a northerly direction into the Mekong. This stream is called the Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河 (Eternal spring River). A wooden bridge spans it which is called Ch'ing-yün-hsiang ch'iao 慶雲享橋. It is also called the Yung-ch'un ch'iao and was first built in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834).

The banks of the stream are flat and wide-spreading and are cultivated with maize and rice. [243]

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361 *Wei-hsi.*—This town, called Nyi-na in Na-khi (Chinese, Ni-na 你那), and Ba-lung (hBah-lung) [16] in Tibetán, is situated on the upper slopes of the west bank of the Yung-ch'un Ho in a depression or hollow between two narrow low ridges (PLATE 158). The inhabitants are mostly Chinese. Na-khi live in the outskirts and neighbouring villages, and Li-su on the hill-tops. The town consists of about 400 houses, is a forlorn and not over clean place, and is situated at a height of 8,000 feet. It is surrounded by a low earth wall, of which the north gate, the most dilapidated one, is built of wood. The west gate resembles more a hole kicked out of the wall.

In ancient days Wei-hsi had no wall. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728), a Fu (Ho-ching city) T'ung-p'an was transferred to reside there [other records say in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727)]. In the eighth year (1730) the viceroy O Erh-t'ai 鄂爾泰 ordered the T'ung-p'an Ch'en Ch'üan 陳權 to build a tamped earth wall, over two and seven-tenths li in circumference, with four gates. In the 26th year of Tao-kuang (1846) the Wei-hsi Assistant Colonel Wang T'ao 王濤 invited the gentry to contribute funds to erect nine watch-towers. In the second year of T'ung-chih (1863), the city fell into the hands of the Mohammedan rebels and the towers were burnt and much of the wall collapsed.

[797] A Catholic mission has been established here, the church being south of
778 the west gate, and the Protestant Pentecostal mission is not far away. The Ssu-ch'uan guild 四川會 has a nice temple and a clean rest-house at the northern end of the town overlooking the Yung-ch'un Ho. Pao-hua Shan 寶華山 is a mountain to the west of the town and on the top of it is a temple called the Wei-an Ko 維安閣.

Ten li south of Wei-hsi is the lamasery of Lan-ching Ssu 蘭經寺. It was built in the 10th year of Yung-cheng (1731). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis-rab-brtan gling pronounced Tra-shi rab-ten ling.[17]

*489 Twenty li west of Wei-hsi is a high mountain separating the Yung-ch'un
*133 Ho from the Mekong.[18] The mountain is called the T'ai-i Shan 太乙山
*137 (Mountain of the primordial cause). It is also known as T'ien-i Shan 天乙山 and extends to the Li-chiang border at Shu-miao 樹苗. A dangerous mountain path leads up it, and it is necessary to climb with the help of vines and lianas. The entire region which comprises the Wei-hsi district is known to the Tibetans as sKye-nag-rong [19] pronounced Kye-nà-rong, or the Valley of the black people, or black men, which would correspond to the Chinese Wu-man. The meaning of Wei-hsi is "To hold or maintain the West."

5. FROM WEI-HSI TO YEH-CHIH 葉枝 PLAIN

[323] We leave the town by the north gate where a pottery is established, and descend to the main road and the stream-bed, which we cross over a stone-

[16] འབའ་ལུང [17] བཀྲ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གླིང་

[18] The range consists mainly of coarse gneiss and schists, while the floor of the Wei-hsi basin consists of a series of delta fans which have been deposited at the foot of the eastern slope of the divide (GREGORY).

[19] སྐྱེ་ནག་རོང

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arch bridge by a small hamlet consisting of a few houses. The trail leads on the east bank of the stream along the foot of a rocky mountain slope composed of reddish-purple boulders. The vegetation consists mainly of bushes such as Corylus and Escholtzia. The mountains rise to about 2,000 feet on the west bank, and 3,000 feet on the east bank, with secondary parallel ridges. Terraced rice-fields extend along the banks, but well above the river. On the west bank is situated the village of Hsiao-ma-ch'ang 小馬廠. Here the slopes of the mountain are covered with tall forests of *Pinus yünnanensis*. One li beyond we come to a few houses which compose the village of Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍壩, also situated on the west bank. The river winds considerably, passing through a small rocky defile, the trail following downstream on the east bank. The path becomes narrower and almost impassable due to many wash-outs and projecting boulders. About a hundred feet above the stream on the west bank is the hamlet of Ma-li-p'ing 麻梨坪.

We cross a small tributary and follow the ever-narrowing trail, which in places is really perilous, winding up and down and around hill-sides, then again through groves of oaks and *Cornus capitata* trees, pears, Rhamnus, and Berberis, until we come to the poorest village so far encountered; it is called La-p'u-wan 腊普灣 (also written 剌普灣). Soon we come to another village called Chuang-fang 庄房; here the river is very narrow and strewn with huge boulders, a wooden bridge crossing it. The hamlet is on the east bank almost at the level of the river-bed. A little over a li brings us to the Tibetan village of Wua-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石). About 30 li to the west of this place a quicksilver mine is said to exist. Red sandstone and gray grits with patches of manganese dioxide and iron oxide are to be found at Wua-shih (GREGORY).

The valley becomes considerably narrower with rather steep slopes.

Ka-ka-t'ang village. — Ten li more and we arrive at the narrow, filthy conglomeration of huts and pigsties which calls itself the village of Ka-ka-t'ang 戛戛塘. Near the entrance to the village is a spring enclosed in a square rock basin over which a tiny Lung-wang shrine had been built. Fish swam peacefully in it. The inhabitants nearly all have goitres, some of extraordinary size, almost as large as the head itself.

From Ka-ka-t'ang a trail leads east across a pass and along the valley of the Chung-ch'iu Ho 中秋河 to La-p'u. The Chung-ch'iu Ho has its source on the northern slopes of the Li-ti-p'ing and flows first parallel with the Yung-ch'un Ho and then turns straight north there it is called La-p'u Ta-ho; it bends east at La-p'u, and debouches into the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung 其宗. The Chinese military map of Yün-nan gives its source south of Pong-tse-ra and ignores two high passes between Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌 and La-p'u, thus making the stream flow over the passes south, instead of from south to north. Davies' map is here also completely wrong, for the two sources of his stream, one in the Kar-ri La and the other in the Ponge La, a pass 12,150 feet in height, flow together on the map, but have no outlet. The Yon-dze-khà, which is the Tibetan name of the stream, rises in the Pai-mang Shan and flows south, but above Rong-sha (Lo-she 洛舍); it then flows east and debouches into the Yangtze.

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From Ka-ka-t'ang the trail follows high above the stream, but descends now and again to its bed. It is in places washed out and narrowed by projecting boulders, so that the loads have to be lifted from the saddles, and carried across on their frames sideways. On this stretch it is best to follow the Tibetan custom of tying the loads directly to a saddle, rather than the Yünnanese custom of having a wooden saddle-frame which can be lifted off the saddle and rested on the ground.

A-nu-ndo hamlet. — After a march of 30 li we pass the small Tibetan hamlet of A-nu-ndo the Chinese A-nan-to 阿南多 (H-M., Anadon, MAJ. D., A-nan-tu). On the steep hill-sides cultivation is carried on, the principal crops being maize, millet, beans and tobacco, the leaves of the latter are tied to strings which are stretched under the eaves of the houses to dry. The trail follows the river in a north-westerly direction; the ravine becomes narrower and, about 15 li beyond A-nu-ndo, which is on the west bank, another stream joins the main stream we have been following. Major Davies places his A-nan-tu at the bend of the river where it flows west into the Mekong and receives the affluent just mentioned. This, however, is not so. The bend is 15 li north of A-nu-ndo.

The trail leads on down the spur separating the two streams and follows up the affluent from the east for a few hundred yards, crosses it over a bridge and follows the steep, rocky mountain slopes composed of slate, shale and sandstone. To the east, high cliffs with rugged peaks rise several thousand feet into the sky. We follow the main stream, augmented by the affluent, down a narrow gorge with steep, overhanging sandstone walls, a short distance beyond which the stream enters the Mekong.

Ho-chiang-ch'iao on the Mekong. — At the mouth of the stream is situated the hamlet of Ho-chiang-ch'iao 合江橋, and, one li beyond, the first single-rope bridge spans the Mekong. The bridge consists of one bamboo rope evenly suspended but sagging in the middle. A short distance beyond this bridge on the east bank of the Mekong is the hamlet Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北濟村 (H-M., Betjihsün) above which the river makes a curve at the foot of a high peak. The trail soon descends to near the water's edge, passes a huge rapid and climbs again to below the village of Lao-ch'ing-ku 老慶古, situated on a prominent bluff. Here maize is the principal crop. At the mouth of a narrow ravine, along the banks of a tributary of clear, bluish water debouching from the west into the Mekong, is the hamlet of Lao-ch'ang 老廠. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. A few li beyond, after having passed through walnut and chestnut groves, we reach the most forlorn of all villages, Hsiao-wei-hsi 小維西 (Small Wei-hsi), the acme of neglect. At this village is a Catholic church in charge of a Chinese priest. Elevation of Hsiao-wei-hsi 6,400 feet, and a distance of 90 li from Ka-ka-t'ang.

Here the Mekong valley is inhabited by a tribe called the La-mao jen 倮毛人 (La-mao), besides Mo-so and Chinese. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* writes Tz'u-mao 倮毛, and has the following to say in ch. 202, p. 22b, "They dwell on the banks of the Lan-ts'ang Chiang; they delight to live near the

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water. Their language is a species [dialect] of that of the P'o-jen 僰人. Their disposition is like that of the Mo-so. They abhor litigation. They weave hemp cloth, plant fields, and pay taxes in kind."

From Hsiao-wei-hsi to Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪桶, on the east bank of the Mekong, is a distance of about three li. The village is situated about 200 feet above the river. The trail ascends to the summit of a hill whence a glorious view of the Mekong valley opens before the traveler, the hill being above Pai-lang-t'ung. From here we march through beautiful groves of walnut and chestnut trees, which also line the trail to the little hamlet of Chu-ta 出大 (H-M., Djüta bungun), with its terraced rice and maize-fields. At Chu-ta are large rapids in the Mekong, and high, conical mountains tower into the sky, resembling huge volcanic cones, one being especially conspicuous even from south of Hsiao-wei-hsi.

The trail crosses a tributary over a wooden bridge near the village of Pa-lo 巴羅 (H-M., Balo) and five li beyond passes the hamlet of Wo-nu 窩怒. The Mekong valley narrows, and beyond, at a bend of the river on the west bank, there is a small hamlet with pine forest above it; on the east bank diagonally across is the hamlet of Ngai-wa 岩瓦. Here two rope bridges span the Mekong. The trail passes at the foot of a vertical and overhanging wall of slate and mica schist, thence through stunted oak forest somewhat above the river-bed. For a considerable distance no habitation is visible and the region is wild and lonely. Beyond the narrow part, the valley widens into a flat, broad terrace, on which is situated the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村; maize here, too, is the principal crop. Again the trail leads along a bluff considerably above the river, only to descend to its banks at the mouth of a narrow canyon, with a torrent rushing to the Mekong. This torrent is called the Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河 (Large bridge River) and is spanned by a wooden bridge. The bridge was once covered but is now in ruins, and is not the large one that the name would imply. Apparently the narrow canyon widens into a broad valley, as a high, blue mountain range with rugged peaks is visible in the background. The village of Ta-ch'iao 大橋 (H-M., Tatschau) is situated on a terrace above. The river makes a rather wide curve, round a spur which extends considerably out into the stream-bed and forces the river against a steep mountain wall of purplish rock, some 1,500–2,000 feet high. At the foot of the rock wall the trail winds near the river-bed over many land-slides; it ascends again and leads high above the river through stunted pine forest, which covers the gravelly, sandy, much eroded hill-sides, following the contours of the deep ravines.

K'ang-p'u and Shou-kuo Ssu lamasery. — We emerge at K'ang-p'u 康普, called K'u-mbu (The threshold) in Na-khi; the land spreads out like a fan 500 feet above the river. K'ang-p'u is a somewhat neglected-looking affair, consisting of two villages proper, Upper and Lower K'ang-p'u, separated by a stream which flows in a ravine and is spanned by a wooden bridge. In the northern part of the village is the house of the chief who holds the rank of T'u-ch'ien-tsung (Native lieutenant). His family name is Nan 喃. He is a very pleasant and dignified-looking individual, with a dense greyish mustache, and resembles more an aristocratic Magyar than a Na-khi. In his

1 [i.e, the La-mao -- Analyst]

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spacious house and court, facing the west on the second floor, is the private Lama chapel of our friendly host. [He has since died; the early ancestor who was commissioned T'u-ch'ien-tsung in the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729) was Nan-chu-yu 喃珠由, see p. 296.] The lamas here are all Na-khi. (PLATE 159).

Their lamasery is called Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺 and is situated beyond K'ang-p'u in a grove of pines above the village of Ga-la-she (Ka-la-she 喀拉舍). It is 240 li north of Wei-hsi, and was built in the 12th year of Yung-cheng (1734). Its Tibetan name is bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling,[20] and the region in which K'ang-p'u is situated is known as Mi-nag-rong [21] (Valley of the black people). This, with the A-tun-tze lamasery called Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 in Chinese and bDe-chhen-gling [22] in Tibetan, and the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery called Don-grub-gling [23] in Tibetan, and situated at Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), belong to the (Ge-lug-pa Yellow reformed sect), whose head is the Dalai Lama of Lha-sa. To this same sect belongs also the lamasery of Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺, the Tibetan Yangs-pa-chan,[24] situated north-east of Wei-hsi and built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753).

From K'ang-p'u we descend to the Mekong over a rocky trail, then in great zigzags over a huge bluff to 500 feet above the river. Enormous boulders project everywhere, covered with orchids. At the summit of the bluff is a fine grove of pines and two *mani* shrines, with slabs of smooth rock engraved with the ubiquitous Tibetan formula. The Mekong is here very narrow, flowing between steep walls, but widens somewhat near the village of Ga-la-she, beyond which the river turns east-north-east. There a canyon opens into the Mekong gorge, sending a torrent of clear water between huge vertical cliffs of whitish-yellow limestone into the river, while high above a snow-capped peak crowns the scene.

The Mekong now enters a narrow gorge, the waters forming tremendous rapids of considerable length which undermine the walls of conglomerate and black slate on both banks. Near the village of Hsiao-sheng-tao the river widens, the hamlet being situated on a gentle, fan-shaped slope at the mouth of a circular ravine. Several li beyond, the trail skirts a huge, yellow sandstone cliff, over steep steps, with a sheer drop of 50 feet to the river. The trail is exceedingly narrow and hewn into the cliff, in places broadened by a plank or log with an abyss beneath. Ahead is a long island covered with forest; the river is here very broad, and terraced rice-fields extend down to its banks.

Yeh-chih plain. — The plain of Yeh-chih 葉枝 is called Yu-dtü in Na-khi and is under a Tu-ssu 土司 of the Na-khi tribe. The late chief's name was Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 (PLATE 160). He is known as the Mun-kwua (Military Official), commonly spoken of as the Mu-kua 木瓜 in Chi-

[20] བཀྲ་ཤིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་། [21] སྨི་ནག་རོང་། [22] དེ་ཆེན་གླིང་། [23] དོན་གྲུབ་གླིང་།

[24] ཡངས་པ་ཆན། Yangs-pa-chan is the Tibetan translation of the name of the town Vaisāli, in which Buddha often resided.

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nese. He was the descendant of a military officer placed there by the ancient Na-khi chiefs to rule the district.[25] His son has now succeeded him. His power extends to the Ch'iu Chiang 秋江, whence the Ch'iu-tzu 秋子 tribe pay him tribute-taxes in kind.[26] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* mentions as first ancestor a certain Wang Lien 王連 who ruled as sergeant at K'ang-p'u, (see page 296); the Wang family apparently moved to Yeh-chih later.

Following along the sandy stream-bed on the edge of the fields for about two li, we reach the hamlet of Yeh-chih. The T'u-ssu has a very spacious mansion and was a very hospitable host, and a friend of the foreigner. Mr. George Forrest, the English botanist, owed his life to him when he was pursued by the lamas of A-tun-tzu and other lamaseries in 1905, and even saw the venerable Père Dubernard murdered in cold blood at Tz'u-ku, where the Catholic mission used to be. At the time of my visit in 1923 the T'u-ssu was 65 years of age. In the rear of his yamen is a private chapel, where a lama prays and beats the drum and blows his conchshell for the spiritual benefit of the T'u-ssu and his household.

East of Yeh-chih is a peculiar mountain range, purple in color and much eroded. It is the Pai-ngai Shan 白崖山 (White cliff Mountain) which extends from north of Yeh-chih to below K'ang-p'u. To the west of Yeh-chih, forming the Mekong — Salween divide, is the Nu Shan 怒山, which extends from north of Yeh-chih to south of Wei-hsi. The southern part of this mountain, back of the hamlet of Fu-ch'uan 富川, on the west bank of the Mekong, is known as Fu-ch'uan Shan. North of Fu-ch'uan is the hamlet of Ch'i-p'u 其普. The Fu-ch'uan Shan is a wonderful botanical collecting ground, as is the entire Mekong — Salween divide in Yün-nan and Tibet. It is south of the Wei-hsi district border.

The climate of Yeh-chih is warm, but in the three winter months all the surrounding mountains are covered with snow, which even in the spring does not melt. In September heavy frosts begin, but the climate of Ch'i-tsung, La-p'u, is much hotter in the summertime.

[25] Père F. Gouré in his *Notes sur les Marches Tibétaines*, Hanoi, 1923, p. 47, calls him Nou Koua, chief of the Nou or Lou-tseu. This is, however, erroneous, for Mun-kwua is a Na-khi term meaning "Soldier Governor." There were only two Mun-kwua, one at Yeh-chih, the other at O-yü on the Zho Chhu and they were the highest-ranking officials after the chief at Li-chiang.

[26] The father of the late Mun-kwua was a great friend of the conqueror of the Ta-li Mohammedans, the famous Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科. He was assassinated in 1871 while carrying out the latter's orders to subjugate the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, one stage south of A-tun-tzu. Although the Chinese revenged his death, it was not sufficient for the new Mun-kwua, the son of the victim, for he called out 2,000 Li-su who, prior to marching forth, drank fresh bull's blood, swearing vengeance. They brought destruction to all the villages controlled by the Hung-p'o lamas to within sight of the village of Tz'u-ku 茨姑, but spared the Christians and the Catholic missions. They drove off the flocks of the peasants and the latter they carried off into slavery.

All foreigners who passed through Yeh-chih have only kind words and praise for the Mun-kwua. T. T. Cooper, who travelled through his territory in 1868 when Ta-li was in the hands of the Moslems, and when his way south was barred, enjoyed the hospitality of the father of the late Mun-kwua Wang Tsan-ch'en, and has the highest praise for him and his relatives. Even the Catholic priests, when expelled from Tz'u-ku, found refuge with the Mun-kwua, who was their friend.

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6. THE GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE YEH-CHIH T'U-SSU.

173 Through the courtesy of Mr. Yü Te-chün 俞德浚 a Chinese botanist who recently visited Yeh-chih, I have come into the possession of a copy of the genealogical record of the Wang family 王氏 of Yeh-chih. This record has been jealously guarded by the present T'u-ssu of Yeh-chih, who even declared not to possess any. The record is not flattering and this may account for his reluctancy to reveal it. The Wang family which since the death of the late T'u-ssu has degenerated, exercises now only a nominal control over the district. The record is brief and full of hostile remarks about certain members of the family. It was written by Li Wen-ch'üan 李蘊泉 alias Li Yü-lien 李玉濂 a Chinese, who was the tutor and secretary of the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣 also known as Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相. Both T'u-ssu and secretary were living at the time of my visit in October 1923, while leading an expedition in south-eastern Tibet for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D.C. Besides the Genealogical record here published, there exists apparently another one, but that is not available and may be no more extant.

It is most curious that so little is known about the male line of the Wang family, for the first two rulers mentioned are women. The first is a mother-in-law of the female tribal chiliarch, and the second is her daughter-in-law. The husband of the latter was presumably an outsider and is therefore not mentioned in the family record.

Introduction to the Genealogical Record. — Li Yü-lien, B.A., was requested by the T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en to compose this record, so we are told in the introductory remarks, which are as follows:

"There have been eight generations from the first ancestor to Hsiang 相 (Wang Kuo-hsiang). During that period some of the forefathers, leading a patriotic life, achieved much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, erecting temples and lamaseries; also in the construction of bridges. Others again distinguished themselves in military exploits. Among those who were repeatedly rewarded with medals and other decorations, mention may be made of the ancestor of the fourth generation on whom was bestowed an honorary tablet by the viceroy. The writer's (the late T'u-ssu Wang Tsan-ch'en) own father (T'ing-chao 廷詔) was promoted from a Pa-tsung 把總 (Sergeant) to a Ch'ien-tsung 千總 (Lieutenant) and Shou-pei 守備 (Second captain). On him was also bestowed the third grade peacock feather, as well as a tablet bearing the inscription Wei Kuo Chüan Ch'ü 爲國捐軀 (You gave your life for your country). Unfortunately he died suddenly while serving his country, as a result of a quarrel among the brothers in the family. The Li-chiang prefect Chu 朱[27] sent a eulogy for his funeral.

The writer's third uncle by the name of Hsüan 瑄, who harbored evil intentions, wanted a share of the property, kept on causing trouble until the case was finally brought before a court. Unexpectedly the writer's false uncle

[27] Chu Ch'ing-ch'un 朱慶椿 became Li-chiang Chih-fu 知府 or prefect in the eleventh year of Hsien-feng 咸豐 (1861).

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T'ing-tso 廷佐, who followed the bad example of the other uncle [28] caused incessant trouble. 173

Now several decades have elapsed and the writer's age is almost seventy. It is still remembered that the writer was treated like a dog or a sheep by his two wolf-like uncles who were bent on exterminating him. Moreover, the second and fourth uncles, who were lamas, trying to dig up the rats and catch the birds, compelled us to give them a portion of the family property and issue a title deed to cover their share. In consequence the family tie with them was severed.

Alas! Is it conceivable that my mortal body should have undergone so many upheavals of the world? The only consolation I have lies in the prosperity the family has gradually enjoyed by virtue of the secret blessings from the ancestors.

After the family residence was destroyed by fire, a new and more elaborate building was erected in its place. Farmsteads have been established at such villages as Pa-ti 巴滴, Tzu-li 子里, East Pai-man-lo 東白滿羅 and West Pai-man-lo 西白滿羅, To-lo 多猓 and Lung-t'o-lo 弄它洛. Difficulties were often experienced in arranging weddings and funerals. In handling official business and in dealing with public affairs, much was left to be desired. Putting my hand over my heart in self examination, I do not know how much energy has been spent over these matters.

Now I have sons and many nephews, and ere long the grandsons will themselves have children of their own. Time certainly flies and I am much moved by the fact that the span of life is merely like a dream.

I have requested Mr. Li Yü-lien, B.A., to compose this article. It is not intended to add anything to the glories already existing, but merely to state the facts so that a part of the grandeur of the past may still be seen by posterity."

"On a lucky day in the fourth lunar month, in the seventh year of the Republic of China (May 10th–June 9th, 1918).

Recorded by Wang Kuo-hsiang 王國相 (Wang Tsan-ch'en 王贊臣). Composed and written by Li Yü-lien (Li Wen-ch'üan) tutor 西席 to the ancient Hua-ma Kuo 花馬國 (Kingdom of the piebald horse."

Genealogical Record of the Wang family.

FIRST GENERATION. — *Ho-niang* 禾娘: The mother-in-law of the female tribal lieutenant Chih-ming 志明. Her daughter-in-law Chih-ming was brave and loyal and alone succeeded her husband in office and opened up Wei-hsi 維西. Unfortunately her husband died early, survived by a daughter. Ho-niang and her son's wife carried on extensive philanthropic work by erecting six temples which they endowed with land and fields. They rehabilitated

[28] The text actually says: ch'ui-hsien 垂涎 = (whose) mouth watered. As an old saying goes, 'who will quietly let another man snore beside his own bed'? A lawsuit was filed against him at the office of the prefect and the case was appealed to the office of the Tao-yin 道尹 and then to the viceroy. Complaint was made against the designs of the said false uncle and his son who intended to confuse our ancestral line by the admission of persons of different surnames. The case was finally settled when a definite verdict was issued for each party to abide by its documentary evidence.

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A13 the estates belonging to the various petty tribal officers, and clearly defined the boundaries of the properties of the inhabitants, and erected a city wall.

In the 15th or 16th year of Yung-cheng [29] (A.D. 1737 or 1738) they requested that the tribal system be changed to the Chinese system and that an office for the pacification of the tribespeople be established.

It may be mentioned that since the founding of the Republic, Wei-hsi has been made into a district.

SECOND GENERATION. — *Wang A-chih* 王阿芝: Daughter of Ho-niang, left K'ang-p'u for Yeh-chih where her surname was changed to Wang. She had no son but only a daughter who was married to Tsai-hsi 再錫. The latter lived with her in her family. Like her mother she inherited the hereditary position and increased the family property by the reclamation of waste land.

(The name of the daughter does not appear in the record, neither did she succeed her mother).

THIRD GENERATION. — *Wang Tsai-hsi* 王再錫: The son-in-law of Wang A-chih. He had two sons. No reference can be found in the family genealogy as to his birth place. However he succeeded his mother-in-law holding the same position and was known to be upright and unselfish. He was kind to the people.

FOURTH GENERATION. — *Wang An* 王安: The eldest son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He was sincere and honest by nature. He was systematic in performing official duties and efficient in tranquilizing the people. His superiors appreciated his ability and all the people liked to obey his orders. It was a pity that he did not live long. He had two sons Ch'ao-tung 朝棟 and Ch'ao-fu 朝輔.

Wang Ting 王定: The second son of Wang Tsai-hsi. He had two daughters, their names are not given; one of them was married to Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌 of Tien-ku 甸古,[30] who lived in his wife's family.

He was kind and righteous. Both the Chinese and tribespeople liked him. The viceroy presented him with an honorary tablet bearing the inscription: Hsing Tui Ku Ch'u 行敦古處 = Your character is sterling.

FIFTH GENERATION. — *Wang Ch'ao-tung* 王朝棟: The eldest son of Wang An died early. A man whose original name was Chao 趙 was taken into the family, which named him P'u 璞; Wang Ch'ao-tung's daughter was given him in marriage. It is impossible to ascertain whence P'u's father Chao Kuo-chün 趙國俊 had come from.[31]

[29] Yung-cheng ruled for thirteen years only; it should read the 2nd or 3rd year of Ch'ien-lung.

[30] Tien-ku is the Na-khi Dū-gkv; it is north of Yeh-chih.

[31] Chao Kuo-chün was the Yen-chiang t'u-pa-tsung 沿江土把總 the native sergeant of the Mekong river bank. His first ancestor was Chao Mu 趙睦 who was appointed to the above position in the seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1742); he had been victorious over Li-su robbers of Ngai-wa-lo 藹瓦喀. Chao Hsin 趙信, the son of Chao Kuo-chün inherited the

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Wang Ch'ao-fu 王朝輔: The second son of Wang An. He had no son but only two daughters. He was a prudent and industrious young man. He often shared the sufferings and joys of his servants. Villagers and members of his clan admired him for his industry and foresight. 173

Ho Shih-ch'ang 禾世昌: He married one of the daughters of Wang Ting; originally his personal name was Shih-ch'ang. Since he married one of the Wang daughters and lived with the Wang family, he should not have kept the surname Ho. It is also impossible to say why T'ien-chio 天爵 was called the son and heir. It is believed that perhaps at the time of succeeding to the hereditary title, the recorder played a trick and caused an erroneous entry. It will be noted that Ho Shih-ch'ang was the second son-in-law of Wang Ting and that T'ien-chio was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu. Why was he still called son in the records? The land register of the ancestor of the fourth generation was somewhat obscure and contradictory in this respect.

SIXTH GENERATION. — *Wang P'u* 王璞: He came to Yeh-chih from Wei-hsi and married the daughter of Wang Ch'ao-tung. He had two sons but no daughter. The names of his two sons were Wan-ch'un 萬春 and Wan-nien 萬年.

Wang T'ien-chio 王天爵: He was the adopted son of Wang Ch'ao-fu and had four sons and two daughters. His sons were named: T'ing-chao 廷韶; Ming-chüeh 明覺, he was the Chang-chiao 掌教 (Wielder of supreme religious authority) of Shou-kuo Ssu 壽國寺; T'ing-hsüan 廷選 and Te-tu 得度, the latter was a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. The eldest daughter was married to the Wang family of K'ang-p'u [32] and the second daughter was married to the Ho family of Tien-ku. T'ien-chio's parents had died when he was still young. Game huntin ; was his hobby. When he grew into manhood he was prudent and kind. He built the Hsien-jen tung 仙人洞 or the cave of the immortals and the Lo-tzu bridge 猓子橋. He did much in the reclamation of land and in mining.

Wang T'ien-lu 王天祿: He was T'ien-chio's younger brother, who was the adopted son of Ho Hui-tsu 禾輝祖. He was the assistant tribal officer of Yeh-chih. His false (spurious) younger brother, T'ien-kuei 天貴 was the father of the spurious uncle T'ing-tso 廷佐. The family register showed that the spurious father was given a share of the property and that his son was married to the daughter of the Sang family 桑氏 at Kung-shui 共水,[33] and lived in the wife's family.

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position. He was followed by his son Chao Ch'ao-chang 趙朝璋 who was killed in battle in the 12th year of T'ung-chih (1873). See also chapter: Wei-hsi native officials. — From: *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* ch. 145, fol. 33b.

[32] It would appear that there was a Wang family at K'ang-p'u which had nothing to do with the Wang family of Yeh-chih. The former was the native Pa-tsung of the Western circuit of Hsi-lu 西路. This Pa-tsung and the Pa-tsung of Northern circuit or Pei-lu 北路 named Nan 喃 resided at K'ang-p'u. Now only the Nan family resides at K'ang-p'u. There is also a Lin-ch'eng t'u pa-tsung 麟城土把總 by the name Wang who lives thirty li east of Li-ti-p'ing 栗地坪 at Yung-an-ts'un 永安村.

[33] The members of the Sang family were T'u-pa-tsungs of A-tun-tzu, dating to the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

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13 It could not be understood why he started a lawsuit to get a share of the property. He would not have left his wife and children and come to T'o-pa-k'o 拖八科, had there not been a prospect of snatching a further portion of the family property.

SEVENTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wan-ch'un* 王萬春 and *Wang Wan-nien* 王萬年: They were the elder and second sons of Wang P'u, and became the adopted sons of T'ing-hsüan 廷選, the third son of T'ien-chio. They should have been able to get along with others amicably but after their cousin was assassinated at Hung-p'o 紅坡, they at first attempted in vain to encroach upon the property; later they instituted a lawsuit with a view of seizing the property. It was a great pity that they had no consideration for their sister-in-law and nephews, who were thus exposed to starvation.

Wang T'ing-chao 王廷詔: He was the eldest son of T'ien-chio. He was brave and resourceful by instinct. He won victories in suppressing the Mohammedan uprising led by Tu 杜. Five of the districts under the Li-chiang prefect sent tablets bearing the inscriptions: Li Yüan Pao Chang 麗垣保障 = the Bulwark of Li-chiang, and Wei Kuo Wei Min 爲國爲民 = for the Country and for the People, etc. He was later instructed by Yang Wu-min 楊武愍 (General Yang Yü-k'o 楊玉科 of Ta-li fame) to urge the people to pay the military tax, but he was unfortunately murdered by the wicked lamas. Prefect Chu 朱 a former prefect of Li-chiang and Li 李 the prefect then in office, sent eulogies for his funeral. One of the eulogies was engraved on his tombstone.

EIGHTH GENERATION. — *Wang Kuo-hsiang* 王國相 (PLATE 160): He was the eldest son of Wang T'ing-chao. He was clever when young and skilled in painting. While he has enjoyed Heaven's blessing, he has been prudent and modest. He has continued the good works of his ancestors in such projects as building highways, repairing bridges, erecting temples and developing waste land. Most of his achievements have already been recorded in the new family genealogy. He has started to accumulate funds for constructing a rope-bridge and ferries. He is most congenial when dealing with the people, and has been quite successful in teaching his sons, grandsons, younger brothers and nephews. The composer of this article has been in his employ for over a decade and is well aware of his enjoyment of prosperity, good reputation and ripe old age. All necessary enterprises have been carried out in all speediness. It may be appropriate to present him with the following eulogies: A noble pair of brothers and a good father and son. He had four brothers named Kuo-tung 國棟; Kuo-liang 國樑; Teng-tzu 登子 [he was a lama of Shou-kuo Ssu] and Kuo-ts'ai 國材. His brother Kuo-tung became a member of the Ho family; he had seven daughters and one son Ho Hou-pen 禾厚本. Kuo-liang had one daughter and one son by name Wen-min 文敏. Kuo-ts'ai had one daughter and three sons: Wen-ch'ang 文敞 who became the Chang-chiao of Shou-kuo Ssu, Wen-fu 文敷 and Wen-huan 文煥 who became a lama in Shou-kuo Ssu. Wang Kuo-hsiang had three daughters and three sons. The first born is Wang Wen-cheng 王文政, then Wen-shu 文淑 who died in childhood, and Wen-tien 文典.

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Wang Kuo-cheng 王國楨: Was the son of Wang T'ing-hsüan [The assertions made by the author of this genealogy are so uncomplimentary that they are here omitted. Suffice it to say that the clan has degenerated and that opium has played its part in the downfall of the family]. 173

NINTH GENERATION. — *Wang Wen-cheng* 王文政: Is the eldest son of Wang Kuo-hsiang and is the present ruler of Yeh-chih. He exercises however little authority and it is doubtful if his son will ever inherit the office. He is the father of three sons and one daughter. The sons are named: Wang Chia-lu 王嘉祿, Wang Chia-jui 王嘉瑞 and Wang Chia-pi 王嘉弼. Wang Wen-cheng has since died and his son Wang Chia-lu has succeeded him.

Concluding remarks. — When the Genealogical record was written, Wang Kuo-hsiang was the eighth generation of rulers, but the seventh who ruled at Yeh-chih, for the first generation lived at Wei-hsi. In fact the town is said to have been opened by Chih-ming who also is said to have built the city wall. The first reference to Na-khi being given charge of the region of Wei-hsi, the ancient Lin-hsi and the Na-khi Nyi-na, occurs in the Mu family Chronicle during the rule of A-te A-chu, the eighth generation, in the year 1406.

Recently K'ang-p'u has been attached to Yeh-chih and now forms only a chü 局; the T'u-ssu has lost part of his authority and is only permitted to collect taxes from the Li-su living in the mountains and from Na-khi villages. He administers about 800 families in all.

7. FROM YEH-CHIH PLAIN TO TE-CH'IN 德欽 (A-TUN-TZU 阿墩子)

After leaving the Yeh-chih T'u-ssu's yamen we cross the Yeh-chih stream and climb high above the Mekong, passing the village of Tien-ku 甸古, the Dü-gkv of the Na-khi. The trail is again very narrow, covered by landslides and often dropping vertically into the Mekong, which runs like a mill-race. We next pass the village of 'A-wùa (Ngai-wa),[34] skirting sandstone bluffs, the slopes of which are covered with oak and walnut, while on the terraced slopes near the village maize, rice and tobacco are cultivated. The villages next passed are P'u-lo-tzu 普羅子[35] (H.-M., Palonso) and Ssi-li the Chinese Tzu-li 子里, each near a lateral stream. The Mekong beyond the last village makes a sharp curve, due to the resistance of the conglomerate, and ahead on a bluff is visible the hamlet of P'u-ti 普地. After crossing over a long wooden bridge a tributary between two vertical cliffs, two li more bring us to the village of Na-kan-to 那干多, and, near another bend of the river, to the village of Ba-dü, (Pa-ti 巴滴 or 巴的), distance 65 li from Yeh-chih. Ba-dü is a pure Na-khi village, situated at the foot of a hill forested with pines; opposite on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ku-pu 故布. 487* 133* 137*

Skirting the village of Ba-dü, we come to the hamlet of Lo-ndu (PLATES 161, 162) (Lo-ta 猓猹 in Chinese; MAJ. D., Nan-tao), and follow the curves

[34] The Chinese Yen-wa 鹽瓦, pronounced Ngai-wa in Yün-nan.

[35] In Tibetan Ba-glang-tsho ཕ་གླང་མཚོ, pronounced Ba-lang-tsho.

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of the mountain slopes over loose slate; on the very banks of the river a short distance beyond Lo-ndu, are hot springs of clear water, forming several small pools almost in contact with the waters of the Mekong. The vegetation is here composed of Excoecaria and other small shrubs. Beyond are large boulders with broad, white quartz veins. After passing a lateral torrent over a wood-plank bridge, we come to the hamlet of Pa-lo or Po-lo (on the Chinese map, Wu-lu 霧路, Tibetan U-rong). One li beyond Po-lo the Mekong emerges from a very narrow gorge, with rock walls worn smooth by the torrent, the sides vertical and overhanging. Along the exceedingly narrow trail one can see huge pot-holes, made in the walls by the surging waters of the river thousands of years ago. In places there is no solid trail and wooden planks are laid across narrow chasms, the waters of the Mekong roaring beneath. Again we meet with the magic formula, *Om mani padme hum*, this time engraved in large letters on the smooth, worn rock wall. The valley becomes still narrower, the trail passing through forests of *Quercus variabilis*, *Cupressus Duclouxiana*, and *Thuja orientalis*, which grow along the river bank.[36] The Thuja trees are as wild as the cypresses, and are not escaped from cultivation as some plant collectors claim.

The gorge of Lung-dre (Liu-tui 六堆 or Lu-tui 魯堆, Na-khi Lo-ndĕr; in Tibetan Lung-hbrel,[37] or Connecting valley), which debouches further north from the west into the Mekong, is one grand forest of Thujas and cypresses. I have met with them in gorges east of the Ya-lung in uninhabited regions, where they formed the only covering of the mountain slopes, but nowhere are they so stately as in the drier, lateral canyons which debouch into the Mekong from the Salween — Mekong watershed. There they occupy the inaccessible cliffs and for that reason are immense, well-formed trees. These trees are first met with here and beyond the narrow, rocky gorge of the Mekong.

The trail descends to the stream-bed littered with huge boulders, which cause a tremendous rapid. The mica schist is here arranged in vertical folds. Not far beyond is the hamlet of Tse-yi-p'o (Chieh-i-p'o 結衣坡, or 節義坡) half Chinese, half Tibetan. Here again are formidable rapids which would preclude any attempt at navigation. The mountains rise high on both sides, while the river passes through a most beautiful but short, rocky gorge, forested with junipers (PLATE 163). Beyond, on the west bank of the river, high up on the steep hill-side, is the village of Pa-thang (Pa-tung 巴東).[38] This is the first village in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) district west of the Mekong, and Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭 is the first east of the Mekong.

Tz'u-ku and its rope bridge. — A short distance beyond we arrive at the rope bridge of Tz'u-ku 茨姑,[39] also written Chu-ku 著姑. Here prior to

[36] In the January, 1926, number of the (London) *Geographical Journal* (DR. H. GORDON THOMPSON: From Yün-nan fu to Peking, etc.), there is a photograph of this gorge facing p. 12, the title of which is "The Mekong near Pah-tih."

[37] ལུང་འབྲེལ

[38] In Tibetan སྤྲག་ཐང or སྤྲག་གཏོང. Spag-thang or Spag-gtong.

[39] Tz'u-ku is the name of a marsh plant *Sagittaria sagittifolia* L. cultivated for its tubers.

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Here[1] prior to

1905 a Catholic mission was established, where Père Dubernard was murdered in cold blood by the fanatic lamas. The bridge is 150 feet above the river-bed and one glides down at express speed to less than 50 feet on the other side. Those unaccustomed to crossing by such not altogether too safe means, strapped to an oak-wood slider greased with yak butter, are all but cheerful at the prospect, be they native or European; those used to crossing such ropes suspended high above the river, pass back and forth as unconcerned as we would cross a courtyard. The rope is often greased by the man sliding across; he would put liquid butter from a bamboo tube into his mouth and, holding his head above the rope, would let the butter run out of his mouth on to the rope. Only mules, horses and heavyweights reach the other bank without aid. Lightweights remain suspended on the sagging rope, in the middle over the roaring torrent. This necessitates pulling oneself up hand over hand to the other side. Once crossed one must confess that this sliding into space is not an unpleasant sensation, the only disagreeable feature is the preliminary tying up in leather straps, fastened to the short semicircular oaken slider. The horses are not less frightened than their riders, for they kick the air with tails up and open mouths, and lie down exhausted from fear on the other side (PLATE 164). 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku to Tz'u-chung 茨中 (in Na-khi, Tsu-dĕr)[40] is a distance of five li. The latter is a scattered Tibetan village consisting of about 30 houses, with a few Na-khi families who have settled there, while beyond the poor village are a few leper huts. The most imposing building here is the Catholic church, almost worthy of the name cathedral. It was built here, after the destruction of the mission at Tz'u-ku in 1905, by Père Ouvrard who also built the church at Ta-chien-lu. He died later at Tz'u-chung. It was Père Ouvrard who told me that it was easier to convert a Tibetan lama than a Na-khi layman, of whom he had not a single convert. A short distance north of Tz'u-ku, on the west bank of the Mekong, is the hamlet of Ch'eng-to-lo 秤多洛, in Tibetan, Chhu-rdo-lung, pronounced Chhu-do-lung or Valley of water and stones. 361 797 487* 133* 137*

From Tz'u-ku a trail leads up the mountain range to the Hsi La 夕拉 in Tibetan Sribs La,[41] a pass over the Mekong-Salween divide (this part of the range being also called Hsi-la hsüeh-shan 錫拉雪山), and thence to the Salween, which route will be described in a separate chapter, although no Na-khi live there. Between Tz'u-ku and Tz'u-chung the river bank is strewn with boulders of coarse-grained purple porphyry and rhyolite, marking the beginning of another development of igneous rocks. At Tz'u-chung proper the river bank consists of pink and black porphyry, which also extends up the hill-side to about 6,800 feet (GREGORY).

Do-lung gorge and Mt. Me-tse-mo. — From Tz'u-ku we follow the east bank of the Mekong, never wider than 60–80 yards, to the Tibetan village of Huan-fu-p'ing 換夫坪 or 換富坪 (H-M., Fangfuping) 25 li distant, and

[40] In Tibetan the name is variably written Tshogs-drug ཚགས་དྲུག or Tshed-grong ཚད་གྲོང pronounced Tshe-drong.

[41] སྲིབས་ལ 1 [Tz'u-ku -- Analyst]

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*487 thence to Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 situated on a bend of the great river. Twenty
*133 li beyond Huan-fu-p'ing we come to an exceedingly narrow part of the
*137 Mekong gorge, arid in the extreme, and scarcely more than a trench. The trail which leads through the gorge is passable for porters only, while the mule caravans pass over the mountain-side at its entrance, emerging near Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大壩子). This gorge is called Do-lung [42] in Tibetan, and To-lo 多落 in Chinese. The trail is one of the worst on the entire stretch to A-tun-tzu, and is simply an echelon, built by means of slender props against the cliff, a sort of trestle-work spanning a chasm. Where the Mekong enters the gorge there is a fierce rapid but in the gorge itself the river flows placidly enough. Nyi-thang [43] called To-lo-t'ang 多落塘 in Chinese, is a Tibetan village situated on a flat spur north of the Do-lung gorge, and consists of a few houses only (PLATE 165).

[436] Money is here valueless, for the peasants of this area will sell nothing, but are willing to exchange grain or other victuals for salt and coarse Chinese tea, two commodities unobtainable in this region. The peasants are much
[147] afflicted with goitre.

From here one has the first glimpse of the mighty promontory of the Kha-wa-kar-po [44] range, Mt. Me-tse-mo,[45] the southernmost and highest mountain of that magnificent divide. On a manuscript map of the district of A-tun-tzu in the Provincial Library at K'un-ming, the range is marked Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 庸支雪山, after a village called Yung-chih, situated on the eastern slopes, and on the west bank of the Mekong. The northern end of the same range is marked as Tu-ch'ü-ling hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山. Mt. Me-tse-mo is a wonderful dome, standing separately and projecting from the rest of the range; it is covered with immense masses of snow, with buttresses on each side at the base of the peak. In the early hour of dawn the dome looked a death-like grey, cold and forbidding, but as soon as the sun shone on its almost vertical snow-fields it turned to a rich pink, while the Mekong valley was still sleeping in deep, gloomy shadows.

The trail leads past a narrow lateral gorge and then opposite the Lung-dre canyon which debouches from the west, misty and mysterious, into the Mekong. Up Lung-dre gorge a trail leads to the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la) [46] and to the Salween.

Yang-tsa village. — Cypress trees (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*) line the Mekong river banks; the valley becomes narrower and more arid, the walls steep and furrowed by huge land-slides. The hamlet of Se-ra-thang (Se-lo-t'ung 色勒通) is here situated on a small meadow with the mountain walls rising steeply back of it. A few li beyond and the scenery is still more arid save for the cypress trees; not far beyond is the village of Yang-tsa 羊咱, also called La-tsa 拉咱, a few scattered houses among boulders. Three rope-bridges are stretched across the river here (PLATE 166). In the autumn

[42] rDo-lung དོ་ལུང (Rock valley). [43] ཉི་ཐང Nyi-thang or gNyis-thang གཉིས་ཐང

[44] Khwa-dkar-po ཁྭ་དཀར་པོ or Kha-wa-dkar-po gangs-ri [45] sMad-rtse-mo སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

[46] bZhi-hdzom-la བཞི་འཛོམ་ལ

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this is a very busy place, for pilgrims, who circumambulate the sacred Kha-wa-kar-po mountains, must cross here to ascend the Do-kar La into Tibet. Then hundreds will slide across in a day, and the rope must be changed once a week, or every three days when the traffic is heavy, as the slender, twisted strands are unable to withstand the strain, for heavy horses cross as well as men. Opposite Yang-tsa is a small Tibetan temple, and above it is situated the Tibetan village of Gyang-dzom [47] (Yung-chih 庸支), whence a trail leads to the sacred Do-kar La (rDo-dkar-la,[48] Pass of the white rocks; the Chinese To-k'a-la 多卡拉). The valley narrows again, the rock walls are red and bare, and only among the fields of Yang-tsa are walnut trees grown, the only trees in this region.

From Yang-tsa two roads or trails lead to Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 燕子). The upper or main trail leads high above the river, while the smaller one leads directly through the deep, narrow gorge ahead. Only dry, arid scrub vegetation, consisting mainly of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, and bushes of the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*, sparingly covers the loose, rocky slopes. The lower trail through the gorge is built up against the vertical cliff by means of posts which rest on rocks below (PLATE 167). It thus leads zigzag up the face of the cliff, suspended over the chasm below in which the Mekong roars. This part is known to the Chinese as So-shih-p'o 枝石坡. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* says that "it is 300 li north of Wei-hsi. The rocks are like a shuttle, always sliding and ever restless, hence the name So-shih-p'o (Hill of the shuttle rocks). It is three li long, its foot resting in the Mekong. In wind and rain the gravel rolls down and rocks fall from the heights. When travelers wish to pass through they must observe whether there is any wind or rain. Only when there is neither is it possible to traverse this place. Once the rocks and gravel start sliding there is no escape. Anyone travelling from Wei-hsi up the Mekong to Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) must cross this region, there is no other way; it is on the road to Ba-thang [49] (Pa-t'ang 巴塘) in Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) and Tibet."

This is true indeed. It is necessary to traverse the place in the early morning ere the wind rises, for by 10 or 11 a.m. a terrific wind howls through the canyon, hurling down rocks which cause avalanches and woe to the traveler caught in this gorge. A new grave on the slopes, if such it could be called — for a man was simply buried under the rocks — testified to the truth of the statement.

Yeh-tsi and Hung-p'o lamaseries. — Beyond, in a flat, circular depression, is situated the village of Yeh-tsi (Chinese Yen-tzu 燕子) and diagonally across on the western mountain slopes the village of Bar-ta; three rope-bridges span the river, which is comparatively wide at this place. The only vegetation growing here and there consists of bushes of *Osteomeles Schwerinae*, *Bauhinia densiflora* and the prostrate *Thuja orientalis*. The people of Yeh-tsi, in contrast to the inhabitants of other Tibetan villages along the Mekong, are rather surly and unfriendly. A valley opens out here which

[47] Gyang-hdzom གཡང་འཛོམ [48] དོ་དཀར་ལ།

[49] hBah-thang འབའ་ཐང་

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has its source on the western slopes of Pai-mang Shan 白忙山 (also written 芒 and 鋒), which are visible through Yeh-tsi valley. Part of the waters of its stream are led by ditches to the village, which is inhabited by Tibetans only. The sky is an azure blue, the atmosphere crystal clear, making every rock stand out sharply defined.

In this valley is situated the Hung-p'o 紅坡 Lamasery, called Yang-pa-chen-ling (Yangs-pa-chan-gling,[80] Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八景寺), which belongs to the Yellow sect, perhaps so named after a monastery in northern Tibet of the same name. It is, however, also the name of a city in Magadha on the site of modern Allahabad. The lamasery was built in the 18th year of Ch'ien-lung (1753). Hung-p'o is known in Tibetan as Ngü-phu,[81] from *dngul*, silver, and *phu*, the upper part of a sloping valley. There are also two villages called Hung-po, one north and one south of the lamasery.

Ngun-ya village. — Beyond Yeh-tsi we cross a spur and follow along the now more gently sloping hill-side, past another gap, and arrive at the village of Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 果念); this is entirely inhabited by Na-khi, and is the last pure Na-khi village in north-west Yün-nan. There are, however, other villages inhabited either wholly or in part by Na-khi, across the Yün-nan border in Hsi-k'ang.

At Ngun-ya, or Gun-ya, the Mekong flows in a deep trench imprisoned by steep rock walls. It makes a sharp curve to the east, flows through a defile and encircles the spur on the southern slopes of which Ngun-ya is situated; it makes in fact a double horseshoe bend. (PLATES 168). Beyond Ngun-ya it flows through a very narrow gorge with a tributary descending through a rocky, arid canyon with the pinnacles of the high mountains visible in the distance.

Fuel is scarce here, the nearest wooded mountain being Pai-mang Shan to the east. The people of Ngun-ya are very friendly and helpful to the traveler, quite a contrast to the surly attitude of the people of Yeh-tsi. They are, however, sorely afflicted with goitre. On the road one meets now only Tibetans, stalwart fellows who greet one with upturned hands raised to about the chest — survival of an ancient custom to show that the hands hold no arms.

All along the Mekong on small promontories are more or less ruined watch-towers built of mud bricks (PLATE 169) their walls pierced with loop-holes. It used to be, and still is, the belief that these towers were built by the ancient Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pe (Mu Sen-pe, as it is pronounced by the Na-khi). But, as has already been related, they were not erected by the Na-khi rulers but by the T'u-fan, against the invasion of Na-khi soldiers led by their chiefs. These towers are to be found all along the Chinese — Tibetan, not political, but ethnic border. They are common north in Mu-li, on the Zho Chhu, on the hills in the Li-t'ang River valley, on the Ya-lung, and in the region of Chiu-lung hsien 九龍縣, south of Ta-chien-lu. They form, in fact, an ethnic boundary line from the Mekong to the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河.

From the gorge beyond Ngun-ya the trail again climbs the rocky, steep

[80] ཡངས་པ་ཆན་གླིང་ [81] dNgul-phu དངུལ་ཕུ

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slopes, whence the tip of Me-tse-mo becomes visible in the west. Here the Mekong makes a complete S figure, flowing through a very narrow defile. The trail leads to the top of the spur, through a gap with two *mani* pyramids. No view is, however, obtainable from this spur as one might expect. At the northern slope of the spur is an oblong, somewhat horse-shoe-shaped valley, with fields and scattered walnut trees, and a conglomeration of houses which form the village of Chia-pieh 加別 or Chia-pi 加必. The Chia-pieh stream flows below the village through a narrow ravine cut through brown sandstone into the Mekong. We follow the stream to the Mekong which, a little south of Chia-pieh, enters a very narrow, forbidding-looking gorge; the stream is here not wider than 60 yards with a strong current. Boulders of limestone in the Chia-pieh stream are covered with the familiar Tibetan magic formula in bas-relief. Here the Mekong is a fierce rapid, rushing madly into the weird black gorge.

The trail follows the Mekong in its arid trench, here with less steep slopes. On the west side a torrent joins it; it is a glacier stream from the Kha-wa-kar-po range. Far away to the north there could clearly be seen a white pyramid west of Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs or lho),[52] the Chinese Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛, in south-east Tibet. It is the Ta-mo-yum [53] (written stag-mo-yum, Tigress mother), another sacred peak of the Tibetans. Kingdon Ward tells us that Ta-mo-yum is a hump of porphyry.

The trail follows over a small plain strewn with boulders and rocks; the mountains rise gently from it, and the Mekong flows between rock walls some 60 feet below it. The vegetation here is a typical xerophytic one consisting mainly of *Sophora viciifolia*, Berberis, and the small-leaved *Bauhinia densiflora*.

Up the Te-ch'in valley from Chin-ta. — A few li bring us to the mouth of a narrow valley; it is the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley with its stream rushing into the Mekong at the foot of a small flat spur on which is situated the Tibetan hamlet of Jö-mda (hJol-mdah),[54] in Chinese, Chin-ta 金打. Leaving the Mekong behind we follow the narrow lateral valley up to the village of Lo-ga-ngu, where a stream descends the slopes of Pai-mang Shan and joins the Te-ch'in stream. Here the mountain slopes, higher up, are again covered with *Thuja orientalis*, but stunted trees. A short distance beyond is the hamlet of Ch'i-tzu-shih 棋子石, inhabited by friendly Tibetans (PLATE 170). Maize is still cultivated in the otherwise barren valley. From the slopes back of the village a view can be had of Mt. Me-tse-mo (Yung-chih hsüeh-shan 庸支雪山), the highest and southernmost peak of the Kha-wa-dkar-po range (PLATE 171).

The trail follows the A-tun-tzu stream, crossing it several times, once over a wooden bridge, past the village of Ching-k'ou 箐口 to the town of A-tun-tzu (PLATE 172). The A-tun-tzu valley is bounded on the East by the steep walls of a plateau (13,000 ft.), from the edge of which the country rises to the rocky peaks of the Mekong-Yangtze divide. Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) itself lies between hills of mica-schist on the west and limestone (Minchia Series) to the east.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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CHAPTER III

Te-ch'in and the Mekong — Salween Divide

1. The town of Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子)

361 The town of Te-ch'in is situated at the head of the valley at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it consists of 300–400 houses extending from wall to wall, filling the valley completely. In Tibetan the town is known as Jö or Jöl 346 (written hJol).[1] On a hill overlooking the town to the north, is situated the lamasery of Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (in Tibetan bDe-chhen-gling, Lamasery of great happiness),[2] founded in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). Its 30 buildings including a large chanting hall have been built since 1905 after the destruction of the original lamasery, which was situated in the valley in the outskirts of the town. This was destroyed by Chinese soldiers in punishment for the murder of the Catholic priests and the burning of their missions in the Mekong and Salween valleys. The present site is a strategic one overlooking the town and, being situated at the summit of a hill, can be easily defended. Like the Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery further south, it belongs to the Yellow sect.

361 In ancient days A-tun-tzu had no wall. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730), a garrison of soldiers was established and a tamped earth wall built. No wall exists, however, at present (Plate 173). The town is inhabited by Tibetans, Chinese, and Na-khi, and has experienced many a raid by the Tibetans from the north, so that the merchants of A-tun-tzu used to keep their better-class goods a few days' journey south, on the west bank of the Mekong. It is the last frontier town in north-west Yün-nan, and one of the highest situated in the province. Its climate is raw, cold and dusty in the winter, quite a contrast to the villages a little further down in the same valley near the Mekong. Being shut in at the head of the valley, surrounded by steep, high mountains, the sun does not shine long in A-tun-tzu during the winter months.

622 Although the place is now a hsien city, a native official, whose Tibetan title is Zhal-ngo[3] (Face or Presence, formerly a term applied to an officer over 50 soldiers), still holds office, subject to the magistrate of the town. The title for a Ch'ien-tsung (Lieutenant or leader of 1,000 soldiers) is Tong-pön, written sTong-dpon.[4] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* 雲南通志 has the following to say about A-tun-tzu, ch. 145, fol. 32:

"In former days A-tun-tzu was ruled by Wei-hsi, but was under the immediate control of one native lieutenant and one native sergeant or Dang-pön (ldang-dpon),[5] the equivalent to the Chinese Pa-tsung (there are said

[1] གྲོལ།
[2] བདེ་ཆེན་གླིང་
[3] ཞལ་ངོ་
[4] སྟོང་དཔོན།
[5] ལྡང་དཔོན།

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now to be two sergeants in office), responsible to the Wei-hsi magistrate. They attended to the affairs of A-tun-tzu, Ta A-tung 大阿童 (the Tibetan Dang or Dang-po[6]) and Hsiao A-tung, also Tung-ti-kung 動地公, Hung-p'o and other villages. 622

"The A-tun-tzu native lieutenant for generations had his seat at A-tun-tzu, and his territory extended east to Lu-k'a 路卡 adjoining Yeh-chih, 240 li; south to Ch'a-li-p'o 察利坡 adjoining the territory of Ssu-ch'uan, 100 li; west to Hsü-kung-ts'un 敍工村[7] adjoining Hsi-ts'ang 西藏 (Tibet), 200 li; north to Pi-yung-kung-ts'un 必用工村[8] adjoining Ssu-ch'uan, 200 li. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Ho Liang-tou 禾良斗 was ordered to lead his native [barbarian] soldiers to attack the K'ang-p'u Li-su robbers. He acquired merit, and was rewarded with the raven plume, and confirmed as the hereditary A-tun-tzu lieutenant (T'u-ch'ien-tsung). The office was transmitted to his son, Ssu-na Weng-hsüeh 思那翁學. Ssu-na died and the office was inherited by Kung-pu 工布 Weng-hsüeh. Kung-pu died and his son, Ting-pan 定邦, inherited the office. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume.

"The A-tun-tzu T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the lieutenant, restrained the barbarian peasants, and guarded the borders of Ssu-ch'uan and Tibet. In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) Sang Shang-ta 桑上達 went to attack the Li-su robbers at K'ang-p'u and acquired merit; he was rewarded with the raven plume, and was confirmed as hereditary native sergeant (T'u-pa-tsung) of A-tun-tzu. Shang-ta handed down his office to Lung-pu 隆布, the latter to Pu-kung 布工. During the reign of T'ung-chih (1862–1874) he acquired military merit, and was rewarded with the fifth grade raven plume. Pu-kung died, his son, Ch'un-hua 春華, also died of illness, and his grandson, Wen-han 文翰, being still a minor, his mother attended to the affairs of the orphan."

* * *

2. COLOPHON ON MANUSCRIPT MAP IN K'UN-MING PROVINCIAL LIBRARY

"In the olden days A-tun-tzu belonged to the Tibetans. When Chung-tien and Wei-hsi came under the government of Yün-nan, the native officials were abolished, and transferable officers appointed. The first Chinese official in A-tun-tzu was a Tan-yao wei-yüan 彈壓委員 (a Delegate repressing violence) whose duty it was to control the frontier. At first A-tun-tzu came under the rule of Li-chiang, and later under Wei-hsi. At that time the Tan- 634

[6] གདང་པོ , A-dang is half Chinese and half Tibetan, the Tibetan name is more often written Dang གདང ; according to P. F. Goré the inhabitants are known as Dang-po-wa གདང་པ which means angry or hostile people.

[7] Hsü-kung is the last village north-west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and west of the Mekong, on the eastern slopes of the Kha-wa-kar-po range on the Tibetan border.

[8] Pi-yung-kung is on the east bank of the Mekong, south of the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border.

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634 yao wei-yüan was abolished and a magistrate appointed in his stead. The boundary, where the district is surrounded by the four snow ranges, has not yet been delineated.

"It is believed that the border of the district extends east to Pen-tzu-lan, adjoining the Chung-tien and Ba-thang (Pa-t'ang) districts and the Yang-tze. In the north it extends to Pi-yung-kung 必用工, the Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山, and to Yen-ching on the Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang) border. The A-tun-tzu district according to Chinese records comprises about 1,000 square li, and 12,000 inhabitants. There is much snow and the climate is raw and cold. The inhabitants are mostly Tibetans and Mo-so [Na-khi]; a few Chinese, also Moslems and natives of Shensi several ten families, also reside there. There are in all four Hsiang 鄉 (suburban districts), viz., Mou-ting 茂頂 [also written Mu-ting 穆頂], A-tung 阿東, Pen-tzu-lan (Pong-tse-ra), and in the west Chiang-hsi 江西. In ancient days there were two native lieutenants, and two T'u-pa-tsung, who ruled over the peasants.

[311] [651] [992] [777] [463] [438] [135] [34] [197] "Arable land is very scarce in the district, and dry grains only are grown. Therefore taxes which are 10 per cent in Wei-hsi, are only 8 per cent in A-tun-tzu. There are over 10 lamaseries in the district belonging to both the Red and Yellow sects. The Catholics are said to have over 100 believers. Of the inhabitants of A-tun-tzu half are lamas. Outside of the few merchants who reside in the town proper, the people are all farmers and shepherds. Salt is taken by them to Chung-tien and Wei-hsi and exchanged for victuals. The main products imported are tea and sugar, while musk, wool, felts and salt are exported. There are no craftsmen or laborers. Rich mineral deposits are found throughout the district. The town of A-tun-tzu possesses a yamen, a school, and a jail. As the inhabitants are ignorant of the Chinese language, and are unable to govern themselves, a Chinese magistrate was established."

(*Translated from manuscript notes attached to an unpublished A-tun-tzu district map in the Government Library in K'un-ming.*)

3. KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE (MOUNTAIN OF WHITE SNOW)

*133 The finest mountain range in north-western Yün-nan is undoubtedly Kha-wa-kar-po (written Kha-wa-dkar-po or Khwa-dkar-po) which forms the Yün-nan—Tibet border and the western wall of the Mekong valley (in Tibetan, La Chhu, written gLa Chhu or bLa Chhu according to *Dict., Thib. Lat. Fr.*, p. 687).[9] It extends from north to south and consists of five main peaks of which the southernmost, Me-tse-mo or Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan, is the highest. Although it has never been actually measured I estimate its height to be 21,000 feet. Its Tibetan name Me-tse-mo (written sMad-rtse-mo) [10] means "Lower peak," but not in the sense of being lower in altitude, but as being the southernmost of the range. It stands out isolated towards the east of the main range and is the most beautiful peak of the entire chain, resembling an ice palace of a fairy tale, or an enormous mausoleum with gigantic steps and buttresses, all crowned by a huge, majestic dome of

[9] ཀླ་ཆུ [10] སྨད་རྩེ་མོ

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ice, tapering into a spire of ethereal blue, almost transparent and merging into an azure sky. 133*

Next to it is a huge crest of ice, a giant cock's comb known as Pe-zhwa (Pad-zhwa པདཞྭ) or Lotus hat, while the peak Dam-pa Sang-gye (written Dam-pa sangs-rgyas),[11] meaning "Excellent (Holy) Buddha" adjoins it to the north. The central pyramid is Kha-wa-kar-po proper, with radiating glaciers, one of which extends deep down into the Mekong valley to within two miles of the river. The glaciers are however retreating. The peak to the north of the central pyramid is called Si-go-dum (written Sri-mgo-rdum)[12] which means "Headless demon Si (Sri)." A village situated at its foot is also called Si. This last of the higher peaks is adjoined by two minor ones to the north, beyond which the range dwindles to snowless crags. The base of the range consists of mica schist, covered by Minchia limestone and black shale, which are overlaid by basalt, which lies beneath tuffaceous trachyte with coarsely porphyritic sanidine trachyte on the summit (GREGORY). In Chinese the northern end of the range is called Tu-ch'ü-ling Hsüeh-shan 都取嶺雪山.

The entire range is called Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh-shan 四蟒大雪山 — "Great snow-range of the four Mang."[13] The Tibetans look upon the range, or Kha-wa-kar-po proper, as the abode of the great Yi-dam bDe-mchhog,[14] the Sanskrit Samvara, Chief of happiness, also called dPal-khor-lo-sdam-pa.[15] This Yi-dam is the tutelary deity of the Kar-gyu-pa sect, a branch of the Nying-ma-pa (rNying-ma-pa) Red lama sect. 133* 778

One of the best views obtainable of this range is from a mountain west of A-tun-tzu called Mt. Drong-go (written Grong-gog),[16] 13,500 feet in height. The summit of this mountain is clear of trees, although Abies and rhododendron forest cover its slopes. On this summit-meadow a seat of stone slabs has been erected for lamas to sit and meditate. A more wonderful place for meditation it is certainly difficult to find. The Mekong flows about 12,500 feet below the summit of the Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid (PLATE 174), at an elevation of 7,500 feet. 133* 137*

From Pai-mang Shan a beautiful view of this range is also to be had (PLATE 203) but the best view is unquestionably from Mt. Drong-go.

The Tibetans circumambulate this range in the late summer, ere the passes become closed by the snow. Coming from Tsha-rong (Hot valley) in South-eastern Tibet, they cross the Shu La (Shug-la),[17] a 16,000 feet high pass, and descend by Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹) into the Mekong valley whence they go south, crossing the Mekong to the east bank at Liu-t'ung-

[11] དམ་པ་སངས་རྒྱས [12] སྲིམགོ་དུམ

[13] The *Mang* 蟒 are large serpents; they are the Mahoraga of the Hindu-Buddhists and Lamaists, which the Tibetans call lTo-hphye-chhen-po ལྟོ་འཕྱེ་ཆེན་པོ. They are the great reptile or creeper demons in shape like boas. The *Mang* are also large serpents as the python, and it is possible that that name has been given the range on account of its length, or on account of the long snake-like glacier which descends from Kha-wa-kar-po into the Mekong valley.

[14] ཀྱེ་དམ་བདེ་མཆོག [15] དཔལ་ཁོར་ལོ་སྡམ་པ [16] གྲོང་གོག [17] ཤུག་ལ

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*133 *137 chiang 瀘筒江 north of A-tun-tzu. They continue south to Yang-tsa whence they again cross to the west over a rope-bridge and climb to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), from here descending once more into Tibet. This is the Yün-nan—Tibet—Tsha-rong border. The journey via the Do-kar La is described elsewhere.

4. FROM TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU) NORTH TO THE MEKONG

*487 *133 *137 From Te-ch'in the trail leads north of the town out of the valley, climbing zigzag up the mountain slopes. Turning to the right, or east, we enter the Dru La (written hBrug-la, Thunder-dragon Pass)[18], elevation 12,500 feet, and descend into a ravine. We follow down its stream which flows by Hsia A-tung 下阿董 (Dang), and debouches into the Chü-k'o-ti Chiang 鞠克底江.[19] United they flow into the Mekong. Before us is the A-dang mountain; the ravine becomes very rocky and the cliffs are covered with Picea trees, rhododendrons, Berberis, willows, etc. We follow the A-dang lung-pa (valley) through a narrow, rocky gap to A-dang village, situated at an elevation of 9,400 feet and inhabited entirely by Tibetans (PLATE 175). East of A-dang a trail leads to the Tsha-le Pass (Tsa-li 咱里 or Ts'a-li 擦甲), the actual border between Yün-nan and Hsi-k'ang and the shortest route to Ba-thang.

Here on the trail we met with many pilgrims bent on circumambulating the snow range, their only pack animals being sheep loaded with *tsamba* (roasted barley flour), the staple food of the Tibetans (PLATE 176). The sheep had their ears pierced and, instead of ear-rings, red and yellow tassels were fastened in the holes. This ear-mark denotes their being sacred, for once they have circumambulated the sacred snow range with their masters, they are never killed but allowed to die a natural death.

From A-dang (A-tung) we turn west and follow the A-dang lung-pa over a narrow trail along the mountain-side, bare save for stunted *Thuja orientalis*, a few Berberis, Cotoneaster, and the small-leafed *Bauhinia densiflora* bushes. The slopes become steeper, the tremendous rock-slides and enormous boulders which lie about testify to the danger of the trail. On the north side of the gorge are pure limestone outcroppings with hot springs. The stream flows through a broad but steep gorge and the entire rock canyon is filled with the most awe-inspiring scenery. A peerless peak, the last of the Kha-wa-kar-po range, shone forth in all its glory.

The trail is built of logs above the river-bed against the steep cliff. It is useless in the winter when the stream carries less than half of its summer volume, and one can meander anywhere in the broad gorge. From the village of Dza-dü, within the gorge, the river descends in huge cascades over enormous boulders, the stream-bed being lined with cypresses and *Thuja orientalis* trees. High above the mouth of the gorge, the stream turns south as a long, narrow spur extends south into the Mekong valley, separating it from

[18] འབྲུག་ལ

[19] Another name for this stream which has its source in the Tsha-le (Tsa-li) mountain (Ts'a-li Hsüeh-shan) is Jung-p'u Ho 榮普河.

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the Dang or A-dang lung-pa (Chü-k'o-ti Chiang). Instead of following the stream a rocky trail leads to a pass on the spur, and we descend to what is left of or originally was Liu-t'ung-chiang 溜筒江 (MAJ. D., Liu-t'ou-chiang 溜頭江; Ting's New Chinese Atlas gives the name Lan-ts'ang-chiang = Mekong instead, this is an error) situated on the east bank of the Mekong at an elevation of 7,800 feet. Liu-t'ung-chiang refers to the rope-bridge which spans the Mekong here; the village, if such it can be called, consisted of one single mud-brick house in ruins, but inhabited by a poor family, apparently squatters. Opposite on the west bank of the Mekong is the Tibetan hamlet of Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定 (written Mag-pa-sdeng in Tibetan).[20] The rope bridge here spanning the Mekong is about 100 feet above it, the river flowing between steep rock walls and is about seventy yards wide. The only water available is the muddy water of the Mekong. Women go down with huge wooden cylinders to fetch it; to prevent the water from splashing they float a lot of dead twigs on it, in lieu of green leaves or leafy twigs as is usual.

The wind howls furiously in this arid gorge, filling the air with dust. It is one of the dreariest regions, dry, forsaken, and forlorn, a veritable desert.

5. YAR-KHA-LO (YA-K'A-LO 雅卡洛)

A trail continues along the gorges of the Mekong to Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo), a distance of five days from Liu-t'ung-chiang. The mountains which hem in the Mekong are steep and the trail is here and there obliterated by land-slides of loose shale. It often leads to a height of 10,000 feet or even more, crossing bare spurs between which lateral streams descend from the snowy heights. In these lateral valleys are situated Tibetan hamlets, where barley and wheat are cultivated, with fruit trees such as pears, peaches, and walnuts, on the margins of the fields.

On the west bank of the Mekong are about as many villages as on the east bank. North of Liu-t'ung-chiang beyond the village of Ma-pa-ting there are the following in the order named from south to north: Ssu-ts'un 司村, Jung-ma 容馬 and Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu). South of Ssu-ts'un are the hamlets of Kua-lo 瓜洛 and Hu-li 呼里. On the east bank Chiang-p'u 江舖, La-p'u 拉舖, Pa-me or Pa-mei 巴美 (MAJ. D., Pamien) and Pa-yung-kuo 壩永鍋 (MAJ. D., Pa-yung-ko) and then Yar-kha-lo. Pa-yung-kuo is at an elevation of 11,500 feet.

Yar-kha-lo (Yar-kha-logs) is a town of about 100 houses, and is situated at 9,500 feet elevation (latitude 29° 2′ 30″). Here are important salt wells situated on the banks of the Mekong between giant blocks of granite; they supply all the villages of this region with salt. The valley slopes are composed of weathered sandstone, while about 300 feet above the river are beds of rubble which are apparently river terraces. A Catholic mission station has been established for many years in the town. Since the Tibetan wars in 1930–1931 Ya-k'a-lo has been annexed by the Tibetans, and is now reckoned to Tibet proper instead of Ssu-ch'uan. The Yün-nan — Tibet and former Ssu-ch'uan border is only a short distance beyond Pa-yung-kuo.

[20] གཡག་སྡེང་

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*487 The last village inhabited by Na-khi is called Chüeh-lung 覺隴 the Tibetan
*133 Chang-lung written lChang-lung [21] or Willow valley.
*137 Chang-lung is really a district of villages situated at the head of a lateral valley which merges into a plateau. This valley, debouching from the north-east into the Mekong, divides the salt wells of Yen-ching 鹽井 (called in Tibetan Tsha-kha-lo, written Tshwa-kha-logs,[22] Region of the salt mines) with the seven small villages around the brine wells on both banks of the Mekong from the village of Yar-kha-lo a thousand feet above the river.[23] The tributary is crossed over a bridge after which the trail leads up Yar-kha-lo.

Opposite Yen-ching, on the west bank of the Mekong is the village of Chia-ta 加打.

The Na-khi living in and around Tsha-kha-lo are called Jang-böd or Tibetan-Na-khi, written hJangs-bod [24] and those to the south in Yün-nan, Chinese-Na-khi or hJangs-rgya [25] (Chinese Jang). This is the last group of Na-khi on the Mekong. According to Père Goré, the Tibetan-Na-khi are still found further north, one group in the small valley of the Ta Chhu, north-east of Yen-ching and Dzang-ngön written rDzang-sngon [26] north of the Yün-nan border and west of the Yangtze; the other on the Teng Chhu written sTeng-chhu or Upper river,[27] a tributary of the Yangtze, in the Ba-thang district.

6. TSHA-RONG (CH'A-WA-LUNG 察瓦龍)

From Yang-tsa up Lung-dre Gorge. — Crossing the rope-bridge at Yang-tsa 羊咱, the Tibetan La-tsa, one finds a Tibetan village on the west bank of the Mekong, called Tse-ri-teng (rTse-ri-teng རྩེ་རི་ཏེང་), with a small temple on a promontory. Here the Tibetans are quite friendly, but it is necessary to be firm with them in engaging porters, for it is impossible to take pack animals across the Do-kar La owing to the narrowness and steepness of the trail, and also because it is impossible to buy fodder for them in that wilderness. The only pack animals that are taken across are sheep, as has already been mentioned.

The headman of Tse-ri-teng provides the porters, in fact he is obliged to do so on presentation of a written order in Tibetan fro mthe Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) magistrate. Having secured porters for the baggage, we follow the stream-bed zigzag, back of the little temple until we enter pine forest; from here one can survey the Mekong — Yangtze divide and the arid gorge of the Mekong. Crossing a spur we find ourselves in the Lung-dre gorge [28]

[21] ལྕང་ལུང་ [22] རྒྱ་ཁ་ལོགས

[23] Yar-kha-lo is merely a Catholic settlement around a mission where Père F. Goré labored for many years. Another village called P'u-ting 浦丁 was the seat of the magistrate ere the Chinese lost the region to the Tibetans, and is therefore known as the real Yen-ching to the Chinese.

[24] འཇིང་སྦོད [25] འཇིང་སྒྲ

[26] ཛང་སྔོན [27] སྟེང་ཆུ [28] ལུང་འབྲེལ

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(Lo-ndĕr in Na-khi), and have an unobstructed view up to the Zhi-dzom La which leads to the Salween valley (*see* journey to Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 菖蒲桶). At the head of the latter is the Dra-chhen (Brag-chhen) [29] peak, the "Great rock" which the French baptized Francis Garnier Peak, and which has been erroneously called Maya by foreign travelers. The trail leads high up on the ridge above Lung-dre through stunted oaks, with the deep and densely forested ravine to our left or south. Up this deep gorge a magnificent panorama of the snow peaks to the west in Tsha-rong, or Tshwa-rong [30] the Chinese Ch'a-wa-lung 察瓦龍, unfolds itself.

The mountain mass, with its enormous limestone crags projecting from the snow-fields, is known to the Tibetans as Drö-su-po, and is no longer in Yün-nan but Tsha-rong, south-east Tibet.

The trail continues up the deep ravine through oak and pine forest, high above the roaring stream which descends from Mt. Drö-su-po, while from the north it is joined by a stream which has its source in one of the glaciers of Me-tse-mo.

Do-kar La. — Leaving the Lung-dre gorge we turn north, up the valley which leads to the Do-kar La (White rock Pass), following a glacier torrent through Abies (*Abies Forrestii*) and maple (Acer) forest with a few rhododendrons as undergrowth. Near the junction of the two streams the Do-kar La valley is narrow, but gradually widens and large birches (*Betula japonica* var. *szechuanica*) take the place of the Abies or firs. The trail is rocky and leads gently out of the forest into meadow-land with birch forest surrounding it. Limestone cliffs hem in the valley; a waterfall descends from the rocky crest of the western wall, and icicles hang everywhere. Mountain ranges forming an amphitheater separate the Mekong from the Salween.

The Do-kar La itself is a disappointing rocky peak with three or four crags resembling a cock's comb; it is situated at the head of a lateral valley. The main valley is closed by a low mountain crest, snow-capped and glacier-bearing; the snout of the glacier which fills the head of the valley descends from Me-tse-mo. This peak is entirely in Yün-nan, while the western slopes of the main Kha-wa-kar-po Range are in Tibet proper.

The trail leads first through forest and then crosses the stream which has its source in the glacier at the head of the valley called Muandri, enters fir forest, and ascends zigzag in the Do-kar La gorge. Various species of rhododendron form the undergrowth among the firs. We enter finally an amphitheater surrounded by rocky peaks crowned with snow, while a gap at the head of it is the pass which leads to Tsha-rong. From the pass there is no view to be had of any of the peaks which form the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, with the exception of the very tip of the southern-most peak which is only visible from the steep slopes leading up from the Muandri glacier stream to the mouth of the actual Do-kar La valley. To see this mountain close it is best to follow to the end of the main narrowing valley, and climb up the Muandri glacier which descends from it.

The trail leads through rhododendron bushes among limestone boulders to the edge of a meadow in a fairly straight line, but when reaching the sloping

[29] བྲག་ཆེན [30] ཚ་རོང

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meadow ascends in long zigzags to the pass (PLATE 177). From near the top of the pass a view opens out to the Mekong—Yangtze divide and also to the Si La which leads over the same divide into the Salween further south. At the summit of the Do-kar La, 14,500 feet, an *obo* or cairn of rocks with prayer flags and rags tied to bamboo marked the pass. A wonderful panorama of the mountains unfolds to the east and the rocky snow-crowned range in Tsha-rong to the west (PLATES 178, 179). It is impossible to remain long on the summit owing to the terrific winds, and one is glad to seek the shelter of the western vertical wall. The descent into Tsha-rong is a sheer drop down which the trail leads in short zigzags said to be 118 in number (PLATE 180). In winter when ice covers the narrow path the descent is dangerous, for a slip would land one a thousand feet or more below.

The trail to Men-kung. — We go down into a deep valley, closed to the south by a snow peak of the Drö-su-po Range, from which a glacier descends, and a stream sends its waters to the Salween at Lha-khang-ra,[31] the Chinese La-kung-lo 拉公羅. This stream, here called Drö-su Chhu, flows through lovely Abies forest and then disappears under the black rocks and boulders with which its bed is strewn. We emerge from the valley at a small meadow faced by a huge, bare, red rock wall.

The trail continues along the stream-bed, here flat and broad, lined by birches, while firs cling to the mountain-side. Five li beyond a valley opens out to the west with a trail leading to the Salween; the stream and valley being called Chò-dzung. Instead of descending we keep to the western wall of the gorge above the roaring torrent. The trail now enters beautiful forest of tall Abies and Picea (spruce) trees. Fifteen li beyond we cross, by a few logs, a stream issuing from the east, and which has its source in a lake called Shü-tong Tsho up the mountain-side. Now the Abies trees give way to Picea, and the latter further on to Tsuga (hemlock) trees. The trail leads high above the river, a huge torrent of white foam, in a deep ravine. Deeper becomes the valley, hemmed in by massive snow peaks in the east, while ahead they seem to close it. The conifers give way to evergreen forest composed solely of enormous oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, with *Rhododendron decorum* as undergrowth. Skirting a lateral ravine over a narrow trail we reach the mouth of a valley, here called Dö-chu-pu-dròn, which opens out from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Looking up this rocky valley (mostly greyish-blue limestone), with its upper slopes forested with tall firs, we behold the western slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po and neighboring peaks. This deep and narrow valley leads east, out into a long, broad valley, densely forested on the western side, and extending along the Kha-wa-kar-po Range from north to south (PLATE 181).

The slopes of Kha-wa-kar-po on the Tibetan side are steeper, yet the snow descends much lower than on the Mekong side. At the entrance to the ravine, or rather at the mouth, for no trail leads into it, there is a peculiar *obo*, if such it can be called, consisting of huge bundles of bamboo or canebrake, leaning so as to form a pyramid. Stones are tied to these bundles,

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and to the branches of nearby trees; flags and rags covered with prayers are fluttering from the cane-brake, to which also Tibetan pilgrims have added their queues as offerings to the mountain gods. Innumerable wooden tea-bowls lay scattered on the ground (PLATE 182). The little hill on which these offerings are placed by the devout pilgrims (PLATE 183), in full view of Kha-wa-kar-po, is called Hlu-wu-si. A glacier, descending from the Kha-wa-kar-po Range, deposited enormous quantities of detritus in the flat valley bottom immediately below giving it the appearance of a quarry.

The stream flows nearly a thousand feet below the trail and, turning south-west, joins the Salween one and a half days' journey distant at Lha-khang-ra, while a trail leads to Bonga and A-bong (A-pan 阿板). At Bonga formerly the French Catholic Mission du Thibet had established a station. They were, however, driven out by the lamas of Men-khang, the capital of Tsha-rong.[32]

From Hlu-wu-si the trail descends to a meadow called Chhu-na-thang written Chhu-nag-thang[33] or Plain of the black river; the Chinese Cho-na-t'ang 卓那塘. Here we met our Tibetan pilgrim friends with their sheep laden with tsamba, everyone carrying two bamboos, one as a staff, the other to be deposited at Hlu-wu-si and added to the *obo* pile. They constantly mumbled the magic formula *Om mani padme hum*. At Chhu-na-thang the pilgrims tarry to eat their frugal meal of tsamba and buttered tea churned with salt. Some there are, especially nuns and monks, who do nothing all year long but cross the Do-kar La in penance, to acquire merit. Others even go so far as to measure the entire distance, with their own bodies, up and down the rocky path, over ice and snow, lying down flat, next rising, folding their hands in prayer above their head, and lie down again where their outstretched arms and hands had marked the ground, repeating the performance. Thus they consume months in making the weary journey.

Men-khang written sMan-khang[34] the Chinese Men-kung 門工, is situated south of the Salween at an elevation of 7,044 feet (BAILEY), while the river, which here makes a bend at right angles, flows at a height of 6,050 feet. North-west of it is the lamasery of Men-k'ung Ssu 悶空寺. A trail leads from here to Dza-yül written rDza-yul[35] or Land of clay; the Chinese Ch'a-yü 察隅, via Jih-chien 日東, Na-chiao 納交 and Tu-wa 度瓦. From Na-chiao a trail leads west to Ri-ma (Li-ma 力馬), and also to Sha-mei 沙美 (Assam).

[32] The Catholic mission at Bonga was founded by M. Renou in 1854. The mission had been repeatedly attacked, until on September 29th, 1865, MM. F. Biet and C. H. Desgodins were attacked there by 300 armed men headed by the Abbot Atu of the lamasery of Men-khang, four persons sent by the chiefs of Lhasa, and the chief of the three great lamaseries. The priests were made prisoners, told to pack their belongings, and depart. On October 7th, 1865, when they left Bonga and as they were marching along the foot of the mountains, they saw their mission station go up in flames. Bonga had been ceded in perpetuity to the French Catholic mission in 1862 by the Peking Government, ratified by Lhasa. It seems that the French ambassador at Peking, so states M. Desgodins, in order to spare himself the trouble of protecting the missionaries, preferred himself to order their expulsion. (*La Mission du Thibet* 1872, p. 110.)

[33] ཆུ་ནག་ཐང་ [34] སྨན་ཁང་ [35] ཛ་ཡུལ

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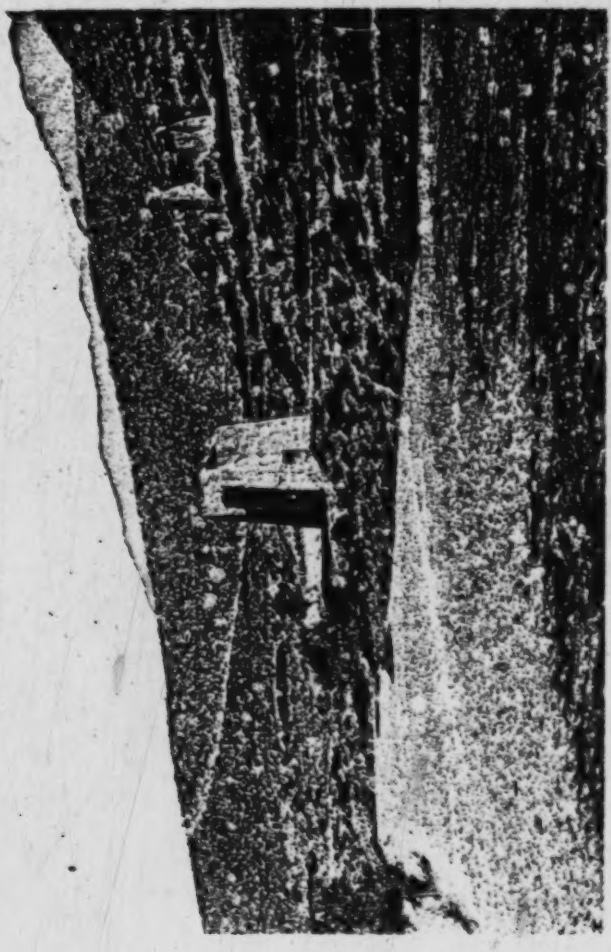

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 169.—ANCIENT TIBETAN WATCH TOWERS, COMMON IN THE MEKONG VALLEY

These towers were built by the Tibetans to ward off Na-khi troops led by their chiefs, bent on punishing Tibetan outlaws.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.*)

PLATE 170.— MEKONG TIBETANS FROM THE VILLAGE OF CH'I-TZU-SHIH

旗子石古衆農夫

Although it was quite cold the people went about half naked, and the children entirely so. Their village is at an altitude of 9,500 feet in an arid canyon east of the Mekong (November 1923).

[p. 330 B]

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 171. — MOUNT ME-TSE-MO, THE HIGHEST PEAK OF THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE

梅立大雪山. 阿墩大雪山之最高峯

The peak is approximately 21,000 feet — in height. Photographed from an elevation of 9,500 feet above the village Ch'i-tzu-shih in the Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) valley.

[p. 330 C]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 172.—THE TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU) AS SEEN FROM THE DRU LA, ELEVATION 13,500 FEET

德欽（阿墩子）城，自白馬山背來

To the right on the hillside is the lamasery of Te-ch'in Szu. In the background Pai-mang Shan.

[p.330 D]

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p. 330 E.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 173. — THE BLEAK TOWN OF TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU)

It is situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet at the head of a valley. Its inhabitants are Tibetan, Na-khi and Chinese; the latter are the merchants who for fear of Tibetan raids keep their more valuable merchandise on the west bank of the Mekong, two to three days' journey south.

[p. 330E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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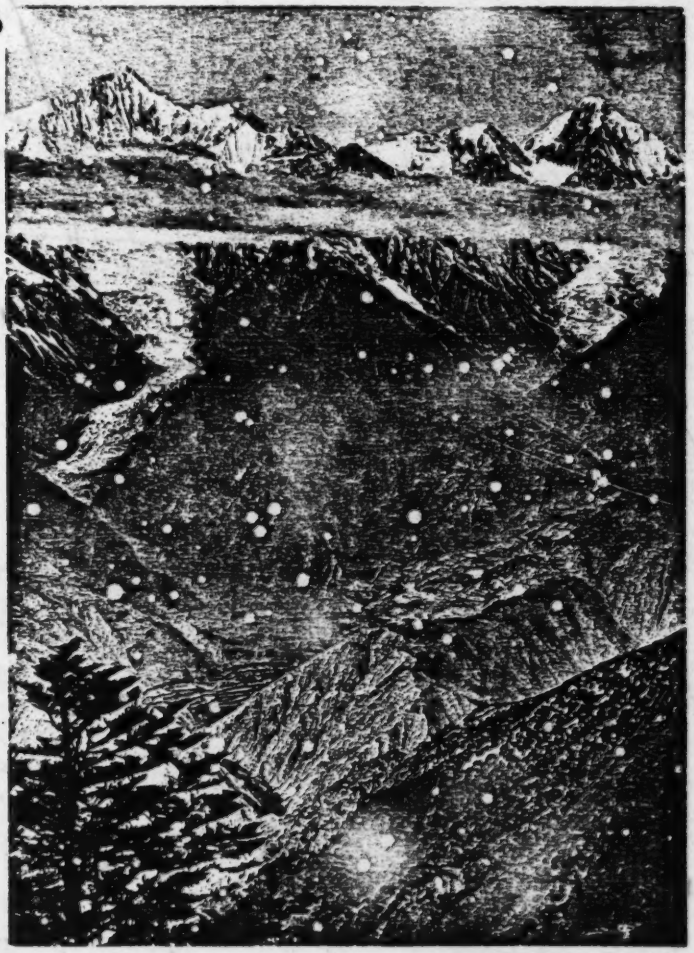


(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 174. — KHA-WA-KAR-PO, THE CENTRAL PEAK OF THE RANGE

雲南方面岡卡大雪山

This magnificent range whose glaciers descend deep into the Mekong valley, forms the Yün-nan — Tibet border. Abies in foreground. Photographed from Mount Drong-go, west of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu).

[p. 330 F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

714
411

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 175. — A TIBETAN SOLDIER FROM A-TUNG

阿墩古番兵

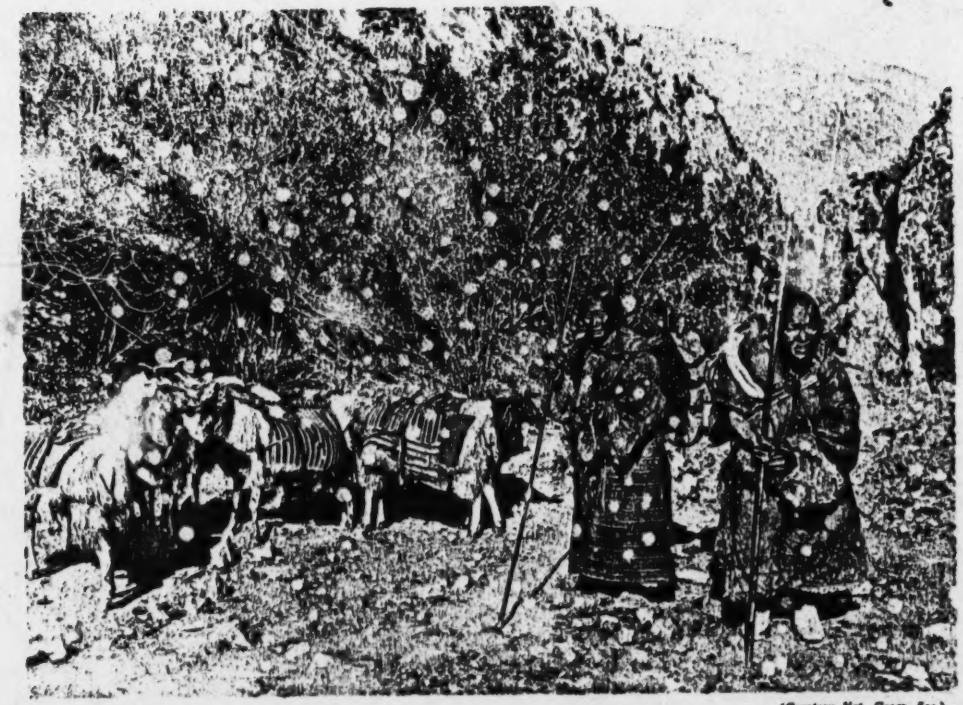
He is armed with flintlock gun and sword; his garment is of P'u-lu (Tibetan woolen cloth) and his boots of felt with leather soles.

[p. 330 G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

291
492

[p. 330 H]



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 176. — TIBETAN WOMEN PILGRIMS

拉卡多雄巡山朝始尼宗古

Women are especially religious, and nuns often perform continuous pilgrimages around the Kha-wa-kar-po Range. Sheep loaded with *tsamba* serve as pack animals, as the Do-kar La trail is not negotiable for mules or horses.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 177.—T[illegible] DO-KAR LA

[illegible]

The "Pass of the White Rock" is at the head of the Valley at an elevation of 14,500 feet. Masses of Rhododendron in foreground.

[p. 330 I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

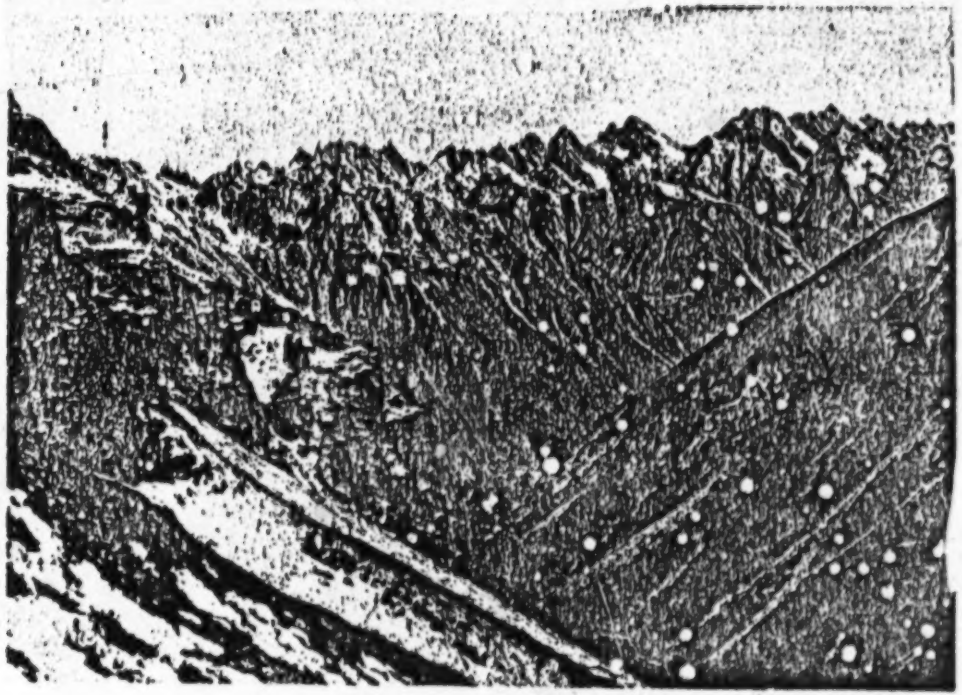
PLATE 178. — LOOKING TOWARD YÜN-NAN FROM THE DO-KAR LA

自多卡拉眺望雲南境

View down the Do-kar La valley; the range in the distance is the Mekong — Yangtse divide.

[p. 330 J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 179. — THE MOUNTAINS OF TSHA-RONG

[illegible]

View west from the Do-kar La into Tsha-rong; the range in the background is the Drö-su Chhu — Salween divide in Lha-sa — controlled Tibet.

[p. 330 K]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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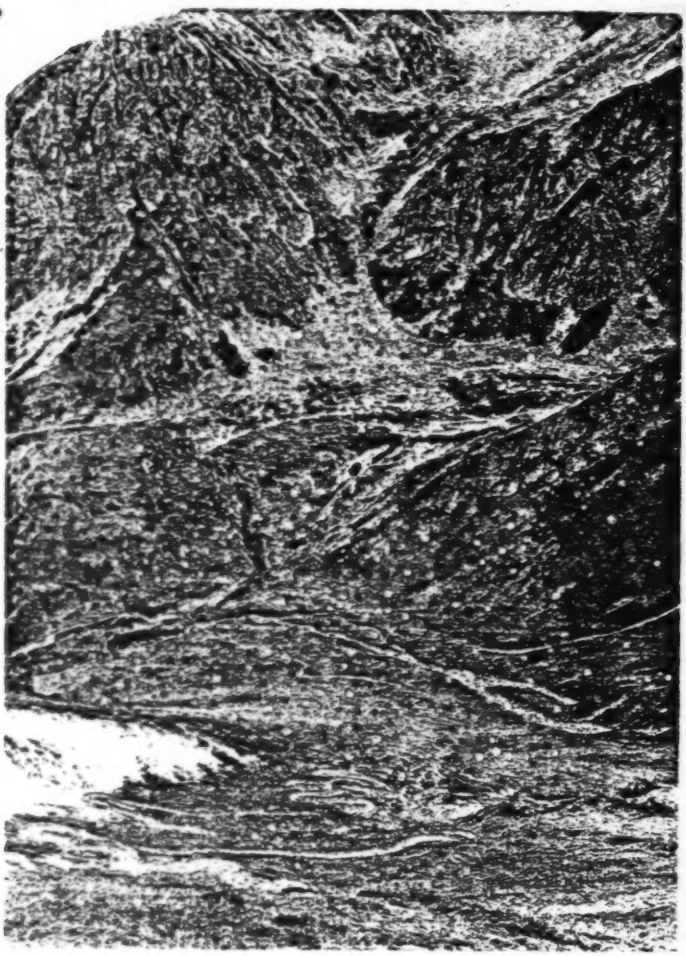

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 180. — THE DESCENT INTO TSHA-RONG SOUTHEASTERN TIBET

多卡拉麓西藏路

In 118 zigzags the trail leads from the Do-kar La into the Drö-su Chhu valley of Tsha-rong.

[p. 330 L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF/6

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 181. — THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO PEAK VIEWED FROM TSHA-RONG, TIBET

Looking east up Dö-chu-pu-drön valley towards the massive Kha-wa-kar-po pyramid. Spruces and firs cling to the limestone cliffs.

[p.330 M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

778

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 182. — TIBETAN OFFERINGS TO THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO MOUNTAIN GOD

On a small hill called Hlu-wu-si, in full view of the Kha-wa-kar-po Peaks, Tibetan pilgrims deposit bamboo canes, wooden tea bowls, queues, stones, flags, rags, etc., as offerings to the gods believed to inhabit the snow peaks.

[p. 330 N]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 183. — TIBETAN PILGRIMS FROM KHAM *en route* TO THE SACRED DO-KAR LA

藏古宗鎮由之人造圖多卡拉

Thousands of Tibetan Pilgrims from all over Eastern Tibet circumambulate the Kha-wa-kar-po Range annually. The more inclement the weather the greater the merit.

[p.330-0]

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2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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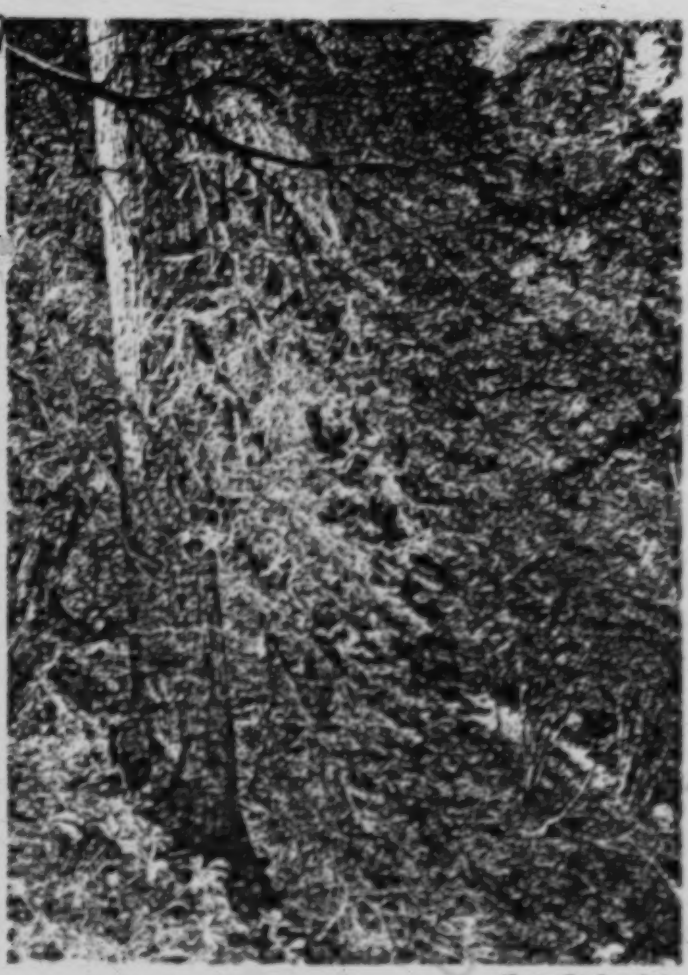

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 184.—ABIES CHENSIENSIS, THE TALLEST CONIFER BELOW THE SI LA

大 [illegible] 多 [illegible] 丁

With Birches, Hemlocks (Tsuga), Maples and many other trees, this magnificent fir forms lovely forests on the eastern slopes of the Mekong.—Salween divide at an elevation of [illegible] to [illegible] feet.

[p. 330 P]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *From Tz'u-ku to Ri-sha-thang.* — Between Tz'u-ku village and Tz'u-
*133 chung the narrow, rocky trail ascends the mountain slope at a terrific angle,
*137 zigzag through scrub oak, thence through pine forest. From this trail a magnificent view unfolds over the Mekong—Yangtze watershed with Paimang Shan the prominent peak in the distance, and the narrow band of the Mekong deep below. Higher up the vegetation changes from pine forest to deciduous forest composed of large-leaved Cornus, Prunus, *Rhododendron decorum* and *Pinus Armandi*. The exceedingly narrow trail leads finally in short zigzags to the top of the ridge; a steep, rocky bluff dropping vertically to the Mekong. From this bluff there is an unobstructed view of the Si La across a circular, deep valley with a torrent rushing towards the Mekong. Here one is as in another world, for the vegetation changes completely. The trail enters mixed forest of enormous conifers such as *Abies chensiensis* (PLATE 184), trees 150 feet in height and trunks four feet in diameter, immense Betula (birches) 80 feet tall, and huge *Tsuga yünnanensis* (hemlocks). These and many others reared their crowns into the azure autumn sky, forming a vast canopy of foliage.

The undergrowth is mainly composed of rhododendrons with thick leathery leaves and brown or silvery tomentum on their lower surface. Hugh strands of the pale yellow lichen, *Usnea longissima*, draped the branches of the tall conifers and large maples, some in crimson foliage, others of a golden yellow; the copper-colored, curled bark of the giant birches and the scarlet leaves of Ampelopscissus vines gave additional colors to Nature's palette. The soil is mainly composed of black humus, a tangle of roots and holes.

The trail descends gradually through this glorious forest, where many birds fluttered about, small orchids and numerous ferns festooned the trees, and moss carpeted the ground. From this forest one enjoys glimpses of the Si La, whose reddish rocks were still void of snow. The track emerges onto a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, bordered by tall conifers. Savage cliffs rise steeply thousands of feet above us covered with Abies, junipers, Cupressus, Thuja and Taxus trees, interspersed with brilliantly colored Sorbus and Acer (maples). Ahead, the entire aspect of the scene changes, the region becomes drier, the trees crooked and smaller, most of them now leafless, and cane-brake (Arundinaria) makes its appearance, indicating higher altitude. We follow along the bed of a crystal brook, a torrent in the rainy season, as the presence of huge trees washed down roots and all testified. On the north bank of the stream at an elevation of 10,350 feet is a small meadow with a shepherd's hut, called Ri-sha-thang written Ri-bya-thang.[38]

Here the forest is open and consists of crooked trees of birch and Sorbus, whose white fruits were set off against the crimson foliage; of conifers, Abies, Picea, and Tsuga also abound. In this region little frequented by man the birds are tame, so much so that as I wrote my notes sitting on a fallen log on the edge of the forest, two birds boldly alighted, one on my arm and the other on my hand, and I stopped writing to behold my friendly visitors.

From Ri-sha-thang the trail leads steeply through rhododendron forest of several species, over ground thickly covered with moss. After climbing over

* ཅིག

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 a rocky path, we emerge, onto a meadow full of boulders encrusted with
*133 lichens. The rhododendron forest is here mixed with Larix (larches), with
*137 undergrowth of Rubus, and cane-brake. The mountain slopes are deeply furrowed by cascades which descend over talus slopes to the stream-bed. Beyond the meadow open moorland commences; green, slimy pools, deep peat and sphagnum moss cover a considerable area. This is the favorite abode of many primulas, especially Omphallogramme, also Pedicularis, Corydalis, and Potentilla associated with shrubby rhododendrons of many species.

The Si La. — The trail follows first along the stream-bed then crossing it twice ascends the talus slope. The valley now widens into an amphitheater with high snow peaks to the north. Rhododendrons are everywhere; it is indeed the botanist's paradise. Prostrate shrubby rhododendrons cover the mountain slopes as with a densely woven mat associated with other prostrate plants such as Gaultherias and Vacciniums. At 11,600 feet we encounter the last Abies which here line the margins of the moorland, turned brown by the frost of approaching winter.

A glorious view is obtained of a conical peak about 17,000 feet in height, to the north-north-west, which my Tibetan porters called Dra-chhen (PLATES 185, 198); written Brag-chhen, the Francis Garnier Peak of the French). The peak is part of the main Mekong—Salween divide, only projecting above the range of lower peaks like an overhanging pyramid. The trail leads up the dome-like crest, over loose rocks and boulders,[39] where ill-defined hoofmarks made by laden mules are the only guide across the stony waste. The mountain is bleak, no shrubs or bushes occur, only alpine flowers between the cracks, such as Delphinium, Cremanthodium, Potentilla and others. The Si La written Sribs-la [40] is 14,500 feet in height with a vast flank of mountains all around the pass several thousand feet higher and white with snow. From the weird, inhospitable summit we look down into a deep, narrow valley, its sides dropping vertically; the mountains to the west rise steeply, their peaks hidden in snow clouds. Here below the pass, the small purple-flowered *Rhododendron saluenense* made its home, indifferent to cold and the snow which covers it for several months in the year. Further down is a grove of Abies and the trail is lined with various species of rhododendron. Far below the pass, some 3,000 feet, there is a small, deep blue lake at the foot of a precipitous wall. It sends a little stream into the Ser-wa lung-pa [41] or Hailstone valley, the lower slopes of which are covered with cane-brake and Lonicera (honeysuckle) bushes. Looking from the valley floor of Ser-wa lung-pa (H-M., Saua lumba) to the summit of the Si La, the steep mountain wall appears almost unnegotiable. Gazing south, down the

[39] The ascent to the Si La is over schistose grits, which also form the peaks to both sides of the pass. At 11,100 feet we find the first evidence of glacial action by a few moraines, which rest further up on glaciated surfaces of a grey to brownish quartzose gneiss. Higher up the characteristic rock is a schistose quartzite formed from a grit (GREGORY).

[40] སྲིབསལ [41] སེར་བལུང་པ

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S 489* 133* 139*

narrow valley, the eye meets wonderful mountain ranges and deep, narrow canyons, all densely forested. Indeed a wild and glorious country.

Nying-ser La (Pass). — From the Ser-wa lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo of the Li-su) the trail ascends gradually, at first zigzag and then steeply, through Abies and Picea forest, with undergrowth composed of several species of rhododendron. To the south the Nam-la-shu-ga Peak [42] glistened in the morning sun; a pale pink sky illuminated the lovely icy scenery, while the deep valley of the Ser-wa lung-pa lay hidden in purplish-black shadows; only the projecting ridges were aglow from the faint, misty rays, reflected from the snow peaks. Higher and higher we ascend, stately Abies trees, 80–90 feet in height, towering all around us, their somber branches festooned with the long, yellow streamers of *Usnea longissima* and their feet embedded in soft, rich, green moss. As the sun appeared above the great divide and a flood of light permeated all, the frost and icicles glistened like diamonds in the morning sun and the entire forest likened a transparent, flawless emerald.

We reached the pass called Nying-ser La [43] (Yellow bamboo pass) at an elevation of 12,400 feet, and a wonderful panorama lay before us (PLATE 186). A tangled mass of rhododendrons, mixed with the ericaceous *Cassiope dendrotricha* with quadrangularly arranged foliage, covered the ground. Looking east there towered the great Salween—Mekong divide with its conical peak Dra-chhen; and to the west lay the huge Salween valley with its central barrier range called A-lo-la-kha. This range is much lower and the Doyon Stream flows east of it parallel to the Salween, into which it debouches farther south, united with the Ser-wa lung-pa. Buttresses covered with deciduous forest now in the most glorious autumn tints, drop abruptly into the deep valley below. From the Mekong divide a triangular spur extends steeply into the Salween valley, while to the south of it, a deep valley opens from the west, up which a trail leads to the eastern branch of the Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang 瑞江), the Trun [44] of the Lu-tzu and Ch'iu-tzu. From the Nying-ser La (Pass) we descend through somber Abies and Picea forest with rhododendron bushes, and over an open fell which further on gave place to deciduous forests of Sorbus, Prunus, Pyrus, Populus, Litsea, Aralia, and rhododendron.

ST 361 799

Bahang village of the Lu-tzu tribe. — Bahang (Pai-han-lo 白汗洛), situated on a grassy bluff composed of granite-gneiss is reached after a zigzag descent through pine forest mixed with willows and poplars. The largest part of this bluff is occupied by the Catholic mission, with the Lu-tzu huts arranged around the slopes (PLATE 187). Bahang consists of 18 huts, besides the mission, and Père Georges André, the most friendly host, is the spiritual adviser of the Lu-tzu. The mission had been burnt twice in 34 years by the lamas of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, the last time in 1905. For four or

[42] This is the Nange La of HANDEL-MAZZETTI. The real Nange La Pass and Peak is however south-west of the Nam-la-shu-ga. The latter is a Lu-tzu name.

[43] This is the Nisirengo of HANDEL-MAZZETTI, *see*: note 36, page 330.

[44] The Ch'iu-tzu name is Trun, and not Taron as given on the maps and in books.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

131 For four or five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 212 The Lu-tzu 倮倮 have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] 262 273 The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 瀘江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yün-nan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 拉薩 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan T'i-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 倮麥基 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 50 catties of yellow beeswax, 12 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows ST [41] 291
and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* 藤 (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, ST 304
phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for ST 262
their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats."

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into ST 302
a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high." ST
The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting 411
every bird in sight. 204

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver S
per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on 487
a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south. 133

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190); the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a small alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

alluvial slope at an elevation of 5,800 feet. On our arrival the whole village of Chang-ra was assembled in one house where a wedding was taking place. All were celebrating the occasion by getting drunk. From Chang-ra we descend to the Salween which flows swiftly, entering a deep and narrow gorge south of the village. A single rope-bridge spans the river here, used only in the summer, when, owing to the swift current, crossing by dug-out is impossible. Several dug-out canoes were on the bank but only two were serviceable. Seven Lu-tzu, all gloriously drunk, made up the crew; one canoe was large, the other small and as tipsy as the crew (PLATES 191, 192). They rowed up-stream into the center of the current and pounding the sides of the canoe with their long, narrow paddles, gave a few yells and allowed it to drift swiftly with the current, until at a signal they paddled it out again to the other side. Horses and mules must swim across at the side of a large canoe.

The Salween, called in Tibetan rGya-mo-rngol Chhu,[47] flows here in wide curves at an elevation of 5,800 feet. (Our word Salween is said to be derived from the Burmese name of the river, which is Than-lwen.)

Administrative post of Da-ra and Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — At the hamlet of Chang-thang ལྗང་ཐང (Cho-ts'ung 卓從; Shu-lang of the Lu-tzu), on the west bank of the river opposite Chang-ra the trail leads north, high above the river, through buckwheat fields followed by dense woods, to the Tibetan village of Da-ra[48] with its many *mani* pyramids. The houses which are constructed of dried mud have carved window frames and slate roofs.

Beyond Da-ra the river makes a deep and sharp curve, giving the appearance of a tributary entering it, the bend being almost O-shaped. Ten li from Da-ra we strike first the hamlet of Bä-du and then the plain of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung 八蒲桶. The trail follows the mountain wall in a wide curve ere reaching the gentle, cultivated slopes (PLATE 193).

West of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, called Hra-mu-dam by the Lu-tzu, is a huge limestone cliff crowned by forest; here a large valley opens out which makes a bend southward, the stream flowing past the village into the Salween. In this deep valley back of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung is a high, rocky mountain called Nan-sa-wo, presumably a Lu-tzu name, the slopes and summit of which are covered with myriads of loose, flat rocks; a trail leads up this valley to the Ch'iu Chiang, or eastern branch of the Irrawadi. To the north of the village a shorter stream cuts deeply into the alluvial plain or small plateau, thus isolating the little place with its monastery still in ruins since 1905. It was burned to the ground by Chinese soldiers, who were sent to avenge the murder of the Catholic priest and the destruction of the Bahang Mission. The

[47] [illegible]

[48] Da-ra is the seat of a Chinese official who holds the title of Hsing-cheng wei-yüan 行政委員 (Deputy administrator). The district received recently the name of Kung-shan 貢山 (Tribute mountains). The Chinese deputy magistrate in principle administers also the valley of the Ch'iu Chiang 球江 which the Tibetans call Chhang-yul ཆང་ཡུལ (Land of beer). The names Chang-thang and Chang-ra are pronounced Chyong-tsong and Chyong-ra by the local people, hence the Chinese transcription.

1 [a Lu-tzu village -- Analyst]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung lamasery is situated in a grove of oak trees, beyond the first lateral stream which is crossed by a very handsome wooden bridge, roofed with slate. The lamasery (known to the Chinese as Fei-lai Ssu 飛來寺) was built in the 30th year of Ch'ien-lung (1765). From it a trail leads to the famous marble gorge (PLATES 194, 195); it first crosses the second lateral stream in its deep ravine and then descends to some 50 feet above the river. The almost white marble walls of the gorge rise several hundred feet vertically from the river-bed and are in places overhanging. Here and there on the steep face of the cliff grow a few fan palms of the genus Trachycarpus, whose slender trunks rise from crevices in the rock wall. The trail in the marble gorge is only a hand's breadth, if that, wide, at one place consisting of a single small log spanning a gap. On this one either balances like a tight-rope walker, or hugs the wall, while crossing over the chasm with the Salween roaring beneath. On a little terrace above the east (left) bank of the Salween, at the entrance to the marble gorge, is the tiny Lu-tzu hamlet called Chiam-bshel, as isloated as any place can be in this world.

8. MT. KE-NYI-CHUM-PO [49] OF THE SALWEEN—IRRAWADI DIVIDE

To reach the Ke-nyi-chum-po peak crowned with eternal snow, the highest point of the Salween—Irrawadi divide in this region, it is necessary to cross the stream north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung and follow it up where it nears the larger stream; these two streams separate the plateau from the rest of the terrain. Here the Ch'ang p'u-t'ung plain narrows into a long knife-edge ridge which forms the wall of the two valleys. After passing some Li-su huts among maize fields we ascend the ridge back of the marble gorge. The ridge which is covered with tall grass and pine trees becomes exceedingly steep and narrow, especially its northern slope which forms the deep gorge of Si-ki-t'ong (Ssu-chi-t'ung 思祇通) called in Lu-tzu, Ssö-chin-tung, and Nyin-wua-lo by the Li-su. Nyin-wua-lo is not the name of a village as marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map, but is the name of the whole valley, although a few huts are near its mouth. *Lo* both in Li-su and in Na-khi means valley. In it a tiny hamlet, also called Si-ki-t'ong, is situated; the vegetation is composed of deciduous and evergreen trees like Acer, Rhododendron, Tsuga, large Lyonia (Pieris), etc. We climb to a high knoll at 9,100 feet elevation, and here we behold the entire mountain mass of Ke-nyi-chum-po, called Dji-nyi chim-mbo by the Lu-tzu as well as Li-su, wrapped in virgin white, its crescent-shaped glacier covering it as with a mantle (PLATE 196). The Si-ki-t'ong gorge, deep and narrow with precipitous cliffs, extends from the foot of the glacier to the Salween valley. Dense forests, most difficult to penetrate, cover the rocky slopes. It is the home of the beautiful conifer *Taiwania cryptomerioides* a relative of the California Sequoias;

[49] The peak is often erroneously called the Gom-pa La (dGon-pa-la དགོན་པ་ལ་). The latter (*la*) is a pass further back and south of the peak. This peak with its glacier the Tibetans call Ke-nyi-chum-po, and the Lu-tzu and Li-su, Dji-nyi-chim-mbo. In Ting's New Chinese Atlas the pass is called Shu-wang Shan-k'ou 舒旺山口, but the snow peak is not marked.

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strange to say, it occurs here, in Burma, and on the island of Formosa, but nowhere else.

The main peak of Ke-nyi-chum-po is a blackish rock, probably porphyry which rests on limestone, and rises from about the center of the mountain pass, with a rampart-like crest extending from its northern flank, sheltering the glacier. To the south-east the rocks are cut into steps and grooves, the result of former glaciation, for the main glacier is now retreating. The spur from which the panorama is described, adjoins a high, forested mountain, the sides of which, facing the gorge, are cleft into deep, narrow canyons with rock pinnacles extending along their sides. In the distance to the north-east a snow-covered range is visible, while towards the south lies the beautiful Salween—Mekong divide with its southern peak, the Nam-la-shu-ga, about 16,000 feet in height.

A trail leads on the northern valley slopes of Si-ki-t'ong, below the glacier to the summit ridge and thence over the Gom-pa La and several other passes to the Ch'iu Chiang 抓江, or 球江, the Trun (spelled erroneously Taron on foreign maps) of the Ch'iu-tzu 抓子. At the foot of the Gom-pa La is a large lake in a wilderness of rock; altitude approximately 14,000 feet. The Trun is the easternmost branch of the Nmai Hka, transcribed En-mei-k'ai Chiang 恩梅開江, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi which at Tu-lung 海龍 flows at an elevation of 5,400 feet, there a rope-bridge spans it; it is the Du-dum of the Lu-tzu. This region is inhabited by Ch'iu-tzu, a tribe related to the Nu or Nu-tzu of the Salween.

Shang-p'a. — Below Tu-lung the Ch'iu Chiang is called Tu-lung Ho by the Chinese, and its eastern affluent, the Meh Hka the Lung-ku Ho 龍骨河 or Dragon bone River. Two terrible trails lead to P'u-t'ao 普計 (Fort Hertz) in Upper Burma, one from Lyu-ra-gang (the Yuragan of the maps) south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, and another trail via Si-ki-t'ong and the Gom-pa La to the north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

The main or western branch of the Irrawadi, called Nam-ch'iu or Mali Hka, transcribed Ma-li-k'ai 嗎里開 and Mai-li-k'ai Chiang 邁立開江, is not the Ch'iu Chiang of the Chinese but is called the I-lo-wa-ti Chiang 伊洛瓦底江, a transcription of the word Irrawadi.

Shang-p'a 上帕, or 上怕, the seat of a magistrate, whence the Li-su-inhabited part of the Salween is supposed to be governed, is situated at about the height of Li-chiang, on the eastern (left) bank of the Salween. A trail leads from Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 via La-chi-ming 喇鶏鳴 salt-wells and Tien-shang 甸上 to Ying-p'an-kai 营盤街 on the Mekong, thence to So-lo 找羅 via Chi-wei 吉比; from So-lo one trail leads west to Chih-tzu-lo 知子羅 via the So-lo La and another north to Shang-p'a on the Salween. To the south of Shang-p'a is the hamlet of O-ma-ti 俄馬底.

The mountain range to the east of Shang-p'a is called the Nu Shan 怒山 (Shan-mo 山脈).

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The Ch'iu-tzu tribe. — The Ch'iu-tzu (PLATE 197), according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 202, p. 19b, "dwell beyond the great snow range of the Mekong. They belong to the wild tribes of the western region of Ho-ch'ing

and Li-chiang.

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and Li-chiang. Their dwellings are made of braided grass and are covered with the bark of trees. The hair of the men is dishevelled. They wear short hemp cloth garments and trousers but no shoes. The women wear large copper ear-rings. Their garments are also of hemp cloth. They grow varieties of millet and collect *Huang-lien* for a living. Their disposition is weak [lacking backbone]. They pay no tribute. The majority of them live in caves in the mountains. They wear garments made of the leaves of trees. They eat hair and drink blood. They are like the people of extreme antiquity. The Ch'iu-tzu and Lu-tzu are neighbors, but the former are afraid of the latter and dare not cross their border. The Lu-tzu are akin to the Ch'iu-tzu, yet their language is not the same. In their ear lobes they wear seven heavy wooden ear-rings. Now they understand the ploughing and planting [of crops], and perform the work of the Lu-tzu by whom they are hired."

The Ch'iu-tzu, who call themselves Trun, are in the habit of putting resin from pine trees on the soles of their feet and then rubbing them in the dust. This is often repeated so that the soles of the feet become thickly encrusted and this prevents the penetrating of thorns, etc. The Lo-lo are also in the habit of doing the same thing.

9. ACROSS THE SALWEEN — MEKONG DIVIDE BY ZHI-DZOM LA (PASS)

Up Do-yon lung-pa from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung. — Returning from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Do-yon lung-pa we climb its steep slopes through pine forest, then mixed deciduous forest composed of Quercus, Castanopsis, Acer, Tsuga and Picea, winding in and out and finally descending zigzag the slopes which drop off steeply into the narrow valley of the Do-yon lung-pa. At 8,000 feet elevation we enter magnificent wild walnut forest with Quercus (oaks) and Acer (maples), the undergrowth consisting of ferns, nettles, Elatostema, Acanthaceæ, Corylopsis, and Hedychium. Descending to the stream we cross it at 7,800 feet over a shaky log, and enter groves of Alnus trees, which not far beyond give way to dense forest composed of stately walnuts, oaks, etc. Waterfalls descend around us, and on the moss-covered boulders in the stream-bed lovely begonias receive a constant spray.

The trail descends once more to the stream-bed to a camping place at 8,000 feet among tall nettles. From here it leads steeply up again zigzag through dense forest. The undergrowth was slender bamboo, the trees belonged to the genera Betula and Acer, whose place higher up, at 9,000 feet, was taken by huge spruces (Picea) over 100 feet in height with perfectly straight trunks. The trail continues in deciduous forest of many species, several Acer, Araliaceæ, *Rhododendron sinonuttallii*, *Rhododendrun sinogrande*, 35 feet tall, with trunks of one to two feet in diameter, huge leaves and large inflorescences of creamy-white, large flowers with crimson blotches at the base, also fragrant Lauraceæ, etc. The valley widens considerably and on the upper slopes on the western side, at about 12,000 feet elevation, the forests give way to alpine meadows with bare rock outcroppings. In this forest the undergrowth is mainly composed of a species belonging to the family Acanthaceæ, with here and there a clump of cane-brake. The soil supporting this vegetation is a yellow clay. The trees were moss-covered

1 [i.e., the Ch'iu-tzu people -- Analyst]

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and hosts to a varied array of epiphytes, especially ferns. The giant lily (*Lilium giganteum*) grew everywhere. It was then in the fruiting stage and the lightest touch sent the winged seeds like snow-flakes fluttering to the ground.

After having spent a peaceful night in the mossy bosom of this forest, where magnolias and rhododendrons grew to immense trees, we continue to a steep slope with two narrow ravines, where two small streams descend close to each other in cascades to the Do-yon lung-pa. Here we find larches, maples, Pyrus, Sorbus, etc. We ascend the steep slopes which are covered with Anaphalis and large-leaved Rubus. The trees are now smaller and birches are again common, forming more open forest with bamboo, gradually giving way to conifer forest of Abies and Larix, with many rhododendrons, Sorbus, and roses. Ascending the sharp ridge of a triangular spur, we finally emerge onto alpine meadows bordered by firs and *Rhododendron colletum*, while the mossy margins were lined with primulas.

Mt. Dra-chhen and the Zhi-dzom La (pass). — The trail leads east across the swampy meadows to the pass at the foot of the peak Dra-chhen.[80] (PLATE 198). This peak consists of banded crystalline limestone, while the valley below the pass is cut out of biotite-granite-porphyry, as well as schistose grits, such as are found on the Si La. This schist series continues as far as Lung-dre. At Lung-dre the schists are replaced by gneiss and foliated biotite-granite. This gneiss is succeeded eastward by green slate and hornstone. Lower down a white fine-grained quartzite is followed by purple sandstone, while the eastern end of the Lung-dre gorge gives a deep section through red sandstones with veins of quartz (GREGORY). From the pass, which is at 12,300 feet elevation, a fine view is obtainable north-eastward, where two high snow peaks of the Pai-mang Shan (the Mekong—Yangtze divide) pierce the clouds. Looking across the Salween a few snow-covered peaks were visible above a sea of clouds which filled the valley of that river. From the Zhi-dzom La, which the Lu-tzu call Long-bi La, we follow a narrow gap along a small brook through forest, the landscape being rather dreary. Passing a meadow called Tsa-sso-thang we continue our descent to 10,500 feet and thence through dead forest to another camping place called Lü-lo-thang. Here a valley opens out from the north; crossing the stream to the west where a small affluent joins it, we descend, entering again lovely forest. The trail leaves the stream-bed and climbs zigzag high above it through conifers, birches, maples, etc. (PLATE 199).

Our trail descends once more, the stream has become a mighty cascade roaring in its prison, lined by magnificent spruces (*Picea likiangensis*) of enormous size, associated with *Pinus Armandi* whose large cones littered the trail (elevation 8,950 feet). Crossing several brooks we ascend the slopes,

[80] HANDEL-MAZZETTI calls this mountain Maya. Maya is really the name of a rock to the north of the mountain further along on the pass. PÈRE GEORGES ANDRÉ of Bahang, who enquired repeatedly of different individuals as to the identity of Maya, was always pointed out a certain rock on the pass, while the name of the peak itself was given as Dra-chhen (Pra-chen in Lu-tzu), Brag-chhen being pronounced *Dra* or *Djra-chhen*, meaning "Great crag." This name was also given me for the peak in question by Tibetan porters, when we first spied it from below the Si La (PLATE 185), and again when we passed it crossing the Zhi-dzom La (bZhi-hdzom-la [illegible]) (PLATE 198).

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now drier, and emerge into tall *Pinus yunnanensis* forest with its inseparable associates *Rhododendron decorum* and *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Here the soil is gravelly, the rocks a soft granite with quartz veins. At a sharp turn to the east on the dry pine-covered ridge, we behold a most beautiful view. North-east three snow-capped peaks of Hung-p'o Shan, part of the Mekong—Yangtze divide, pierced the sky. From here we descend to the village of Lung-dre,[*] the Long-bi of the Lu-tzu, situated at the junction of two streams: the one we had followed, and the larger one which has its source in the glaciers of Drö-su-po and Do-kar La. Here on a small terrace stands this poor and lonely village.

Wild Thuja trees at Lung-dre. — From Lung-dre we descend through poplar forest and past a row of *mani* pyramids amidst some *Thuja orientalis* trees, which also cover the dry, rocky slopes of this valley, in company with *Cupressus Duclouxiana*. Crossing the torrent over a wooden bridge we enter a narrow gorge between high, steep walls of whitish limestone. These rocky walls are covered exclusively with gnarled and twisted *Thuja* trees which, in spite of the late E. H. Wilson's assertions that they do not occur wild because he had never seen them, grow here decidedly wild, and not only here but also in remote valleys of south-west Hsi-k'ang where he never penetrated. Higher up on the summit crest *Cupressus Duclouxiana* trees hold sway; one may as well assert that they also are escapes from cultivation. Crossing the stream once more the trail leads over tremendous rock avalanches and landslides, only to cross again the roaring torrent to the north side over a shaky bridge, and to continue in somber, dry forest at the foot of red sandstone cliffs. We finally climb steeply over the most appalling trail built zigzag against the overhanging wall of rock, a scaffolding suspended over a black chasm. It actually swings free, hundreds of feet above the torrent, which roared invisibly in the black abyss. A gale was howling; at every step the trail swayed, especially around sharp turns, where it projected into the void. This dreadful piece of trail, clings to the cliff and yet is not part of it; the fact that the cliff is overhanging makes it still more appalling, for below the trail the cliff recedes towards the bottom of the canyon.

Arrived at the top of the precipice we behold the Mekong deep below us. In descending to the Mekong it is necessary to follow upstream for a considerable distance. The river is here lined with beautiful cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*). We cross the mouth of the Do-kar La stream over strong wooden planks resting on a huge triangular boulder in the stream-bed. (PLATE 200). The Mekong is here very narrow and flows swiftly, a great contrast to the Salween valley south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, with its forests and abundant moisture. Here the river flows at 7,300 feet elevation (PLATE 201), and the air is warm in comparison to the icy, cold, wet Zhi-dzom La. Much more water appears to be descending from the Zhi-dzom La than from the Si La, for the former pass is a veritable bog through which it is difficult to pass in winter and still more so in the rainy season. The journey from Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung to the Mekong via the Zhi-dzom La takes about three days and the same length of time is required from Tz'u-chung to Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung via the Si La. A strenuous trip, to say the least, at any time of the year.

[*] In V. K. Ting's *Atlas* it is called Lung-tz'u-li 隆子里.

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CHAPTER IV

The South-Eastern Region of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu)

101 The region from Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu) to Ch'i-tsung, Tibetan Je-
*133 drong (rJe-grong)[1] comprises the Yangtze drainage basin which lies in latitude 28° 30′ — 27° 35′. The Yangtze flows throughout in an arid, narrow gorge, flanked on the east, especially in the neighborhood of Pen-tzu-lan, by high, treeless, barren mountains which appear to be sandstone, one even reaching a height of 18,000 feet. This range is in Hsi-k'ang 西康, and more particularly in Hsiang-ch'eng 鄉城 country, inhabited by wild, lawless Tibetans known as the Hsiang-ch'eng-wa, or Chha-threng, written Phyag-hphreng,[2] the terror not only of Chinese and tribespeople, but of other Tibetan clans as well, even of the fearless Gang-kar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling).[3]

Hsiang-ch'eng was established as a magistracy in the 34th year of Kuang-hsü (1908), and was called Ting-hsiang hsien 定鄉縣, but in name only, it is left severely alone by the Chinese, and the Tibetan outlaws do just as they please.

The territory here described includes the 20,000 feet snow range Pai-mang Shan, immediately south of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), and two other high passes further south: the Kar-ri and the Ponge La. The valley between the two passes is called Yon-dze-khà, its stream debouches near Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙) into the Yangtze. South of the Ponge La is a maze of mountains, forested with pines, etc., on the eastern slopes, and spruces and fir on the wetter western slopes.

The country north of Ch'i-tsung is mainly inhabited by Tibetans; those living near Ch'i-tsung are called the Mo-so Ku-tsung 麼些古宗 and those
[241] around Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'ou Ku-tsung 臭古宗 (Plate 202). They are all agriculturists, but as there is little arable land except such as is available on the river terraces of the Yangtze and Yon-dze-khà, they just manage to exist.

*133 The volume of water carried by the Yangtze is considerably larger than that of either the Salween or Mekong, and the current slower. Rapids occur below Chu-pa-lung 竹巴籠 (south of Ba-thang) where the river is reduced to a width of 100 yards. The barren valley slopes are composed of sandstone. The few hamlets in this arid gorge are situated on narrow shelves of alluvial detritus, with even occasional sand dunes. At Pen-tzu-lan the Yangtze is about 100 yards wide, and flows at an elevation of 7,100 feet. Here are rubble terraces covered with soil partly cultivated. Below Ch'i-tsung the character of the landscape changes completely. We have a broad valley floor with large fertile terraces, forested mountain slopes, and a quietly flowing river until Shih-ku is reached.

[1] *See:* p. 292.

[2] ཕྱག་འཕྲེང་ [3] གངས་དཀར་གླིང་

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I. PAI-MANG SHAN 白茫山, OR PE-MA LA

From Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu) we follow the main road south for a short distance, then turn south-east instead of west whither the main road leads to the Mekong, and climb zigzag steeply to a gap which leads to Pai-mang Shan.[1] The slopes of the mountain are partly forested but are fast becoming denuded because the Tibetans char the wood for the use of A-tun-tzu town. We met many yak coming from Pai-mang Shan, loaded with both charcoal and firewood, destined for A-tun-tzu. From the gap the trail descends to a deep valley with a stream joined by one from Pai-mang Shan pass, both flowing west to the Mekong. Our path skirts the eastern mountain slope and emerges into a broad valley, opening out towards the Mekong. From here the entire Kha-wa-kar-po range, the Mekong—Salween divide, is visible in all its glory (PLATE 203). Two glaciers descend into the valley of the Mekong, but the river, flowing about 12,000 feet below the summit peaks, remains invisible. After passing the small hamlet called Ra-shü (Mu-lung-shu 木龍樹) where potatoes are cultivated for the A-tun-tzu market, we come to a small meadow with an old tumble-down house, and thence ascend the valley with the stream roaring about 1,000 feet below the trail.

[1] The Tibetans speak of a Pe-ma La which has, however, nothing to do with the Chinese Pai-ma 白馬 (White horse). It is the Tibetan way of pronouncing Pad-ma (the Lotus), and Pe-ma La པད་མ་ལ་ means the Lotus Pass.

The region east of Pai-mang Shan is little known and is a blank on the Davies map. There is, however, a trail which leads over the Dru La north-east to the main Yangtze divide, here called the Mu-ting Shan 慕頂山 after a village situated on the Yangtze by that name. The range is also called Jung-liu Hsüeh-shan 戎柳雪山. What seems to be a continuation of it to the north is called the Nu-lu Hsüeh-shan 怒麓雪山 (Nu-lu Snow range). Over this range a pass leads to the Yangtze called Rün-tsi La. The height of this pass, the highest in this region, is said to be 16,500 feet. At Mu-ting there is a Tibetan T'u-ssu and a population of about 50 families, also a tiny lamasery; the village is about 1,000 feet above the Yangtze and about three li distant from the narrow and arid Yangtze gorge. The slopes on which Mu-ting is situated are terraced, and wheat, millet and buckwheat are grown. Of fruit trees, pomegranates, walnuts, and a small persimmon are cultivated (K. WARD).

On Mu-ting Shan grow lovely rhododendrons such as *Rhododendron Beesianum*, *Rhod. dryophyllum*, *Rhod. dumosulum*, *Rhod. schizopeplum*, etc. On the Rün-tsi La charming alpine plants abound such as *Saxifraga Wardii*, *Saxifraga flagellaris* subsp., *megistantha* *Paraquilegia microphylla*, *Dracocephalum Rockii*, *Saxifraga diapensia*, *Chionocharis* (*Myosotis*) *hookeri*, a forget-me-not cushion plant with tiny silvery leaves and sky-blue flowers, blue poppies such as *Meconopsis rudis* and *Meconopsis eximia*, and many others, too numerous to mention.

Beyond the Rün-tsi La to the north-east is a lower pass called the Chnü-ma La (probably the Chinese Nu-lu Shan 怒麓山), whence a trail leads to Mu-ting. Yün-nan territory extends a considerable distance along the west bank of the Yangtze, forming a narrow strip with Hsi-k'ang on both sides of the river. The last village on the main road north from A-tun-tzu is Lung-ya-li 龍牙里 (MAJOR DAVIES' Lung-xang-nang), below the Tsha-le (Tsa-li 咱里 or Ch'a-li 茶里) Pass.

The villages on the west slopes of the Yangtze valley are, from about the height of A-tun-tzu north, Sung-tiao 松刁, K'a-sa 卡洒, Sheng-kung 雀工, the lamasery Yüan-ko Ssu 充格寺 (this lamasery was built in the 11th year of Ch'ien-lung (1746), Kung-kung 共雀, Chi-sha-k'a 吉沙卡, Lou-lung 樓龍, Ch'a-kung 查工, then the village of Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 了拉), and a pass over the Yangtze—Tsha-le River divide, 16,300 feet in height, called the Da La 搭拉 (Ta La 搭拉), which is also the Yün-nan—Hsi-k'ang Border.

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#489 #433 #437 The mountain slopes are covered with dead trees, but *Quercus semicarpifolia* bushes were coming up everywhere; farther on the slopes were covered with large trees of the same species of oak festooned with the long, beard-like lichen *Usnea longissima*. The trail is lined with roses, *Caragana Franchettiana* and Berberis. At 13,000 feet we come to a stream which descends from the eastern mountain slopes while the trail leads to a fine meadow and good camping ground. Another stream flows from the pass, and this we follow, the rocky stream-bed (ice-covered, December) being the trail, up a narrow valley, which higher up broadens somewhat. To the east a small valley debouches into a meadow, another lovely camping place. The snow peaks of Pai-mang Shan are further south, for we have not as yet reached the first pass over the range. Abies trees abound here, but still more numerous are the arborescent, *Rhododendron flavorufum* and *Rhod. trififlorum* 15–20 feet tall, with thick, leathery leaves and brown tomentum beneath, which cover the hill-sides in company with *Rhod. aischropeplum*, *Rhod. globigerum* and *Rhod. dictyotum*.

From here the trail follows the stream, then zigzags to the top of the pass with low scrub (*Rhododendron tapetiforme*) covering the ground. An *obo* with prayer-flags crowns the pass; to the east massive crags of yellow, weathering rock, identified by Gregory as rhyolite, flank this upper valley, while to the west the gently sloping snow-covered declivities of the Pai-mang Shan become visible. The trail crosses a small plateau with stunted *Rhododendron tapetiforme* bushes (PLATE 204) and then arrives at a shallow ravine with Abies and Larix trees and rhododendron undergrowth. Following the east bank of the valley, which becomes broader as we advance, we finally reach a lateral ravine from the east with a stream descending it. The vegetation here is composed mainly of junipers, Larix, *Caragana jubata*, rhododendron and *Spiræa lævigata*, Rosa, and Berberis. The trail ascends the eastern mountain-side with the stream deep below in the valley; here a fine view of the main peak of Pai-mang Shan to the south-west gladdens the eye (PLATE 205). It is a rectangular peak, covered with snow and retreating glaciers. The range is composed of metamorphic rocks, granite and porphyry.[8]

Following the trail over a rounded ridge, we finally reach the southern pass of Pai-mang Shan, 13,600 feet elevation; thence we descend into a deep valley filled with junipers (*Juniperus Wallichiana*) some 40 feet tall. Larix (larches) grow scattered among them with undergrowth of Sorbus, Berberis and rhododendron. A long, sharp ridge extends from the steep wall of the main peak into the valley below.

Flanking the valley on the east are two bare clumsy-looking mountains, one of a greyish-ochre rock, with gravelly slopes, which has the appearance of grey-colored frosting having been poured over it; the other is a Sienna-red mountain mass with wavy strata near the summit.

From the pass, where a brownish biotite-granite-porphyry is to be found,

[8] The main central part of the range is composed of granite, while its eastern foot-hills are of slate and Minchia limestone. Farther east the ridges are of mica schist. The granite had been affected by intense earth movements due to pressure from the west, and this is shown by the inclusion of slabs of Devonian rock in the brecciated banded granite (GREGORY).

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we descend on to a plateau with small brooks, and thence down a broad valley with massive mountain walls on both sides, parts of Pai-mang Shan. The valley increases in depth and is densely wooded with conifers; to the west are visible the last of the snow-covered rocky peaks of Pai-mang Shan. The trail descends at an easy grade leading first through forest of Abies, Larix and Juniperus and then through the most beautiful stands of *Picea complanata* (PLATE 206), a spruce with trunks of more than 100 feet in height. The handsome, yellow-flowered *Rhododendron Wardii* forms here the undergrowth. The mountain slopes to both sides are a dark green, the forest extending high up the slopes which appear as if covered with dark velvet. At the margins are small meadows filled with lovely blue iris. Abruptly this forest gives way to one of a mixed type of *Quercus semicarpifolia*, Betula, and other deciduous trees, with *Pæonia lutea* (the yellow peony) growing on the outskirts. A few li beyond we reach the hamlet of I-chia-p'o 一家坡 (also called Ni-la-lung 泥拉隴) situated at an elevation of 11,500 feet; it stands beside the contact of hornblende-granite with the Devonian sediments. This point is two stages from A-tun-tzu, a distance of about 105 li.

From I-chia-p'o the trail descends over a rocky slope (green grits and slates) with a stream roaring deep below. Here the oak forest gives way to pines, *Pinus yünnanensis* and *Pinus Armandi*, with a few scattered oaks and *Rhododendron decorum*. The trail crosses the stream-bed, and follows on the western bank through scrub forest and bushes of Rosa and Berberis, only to ascend once more. On the east bank is situated a small Tibetan hamlet whose houses had been reduced to ashes. Only the charred walls remained near terraced fields. These ruins date back to 1905 when the Chinese troops set fire to this and other villages and lamaseries, after the Tibetan revolt against China. The rebellion was led by the lamas of Tung-chu-lin and other lamaseries, who brutally murdered two Catholic priests and burned their mission station on the Mekong.

2. TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY 東竹林喇嘛寺

The road to Tung-chu-lin 東竹林 lamasery leads over a gravelly limestone spur (Minchia limestone) with scattered *Thuja orientalis* (arbor-vitæ) trees, past an affluent of the stream which descends from Pai-mang Shan. Here the trail forks, one leads to a village situated at the foot of a hill, the other up the hill on which Tung-chu-lin, the Tibetan Dön-dru ling (Don-grub-gling) Lamasery has been rebuilt.*

The golden roofs of this lamasery are visible from afar, glistening brilliantly in the sunlight. The entire lamasery is surrounded by a low, white-washed wall, and resembles more a town than a monastery (PLATE 207). It consists of about 150 houses with flat, wooden slat-roofs weighted down by

* དོན་གྲུབ་ Doo-grub (Siddhârtha) means one who has reached his goal, and also one who has successfully performed his work.

It was in this lamasery that the founder of the Catholic mission (Mission du Thibet) Père Renou disguised as a merchant found shelter in 1850 and received lessons in the Tibetan language from the Living Buddha himself. It formed the center of resistance dur-

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346 rocks. Some of the buildings constructed of solid masonry are of three and four stories. The western part of the lamasery is a conglomeration of small houses, the homes of over 300 lamas.

792 We entered by the north gate and found ourselves in a deserted village — not a soul, not even a dog, was to be seen. Every house was locked and a rock placed over each brass lock. All the lamas were at prayer in the main chanting hall whose heavily gilded roof glittered in the bright sunlight. Winding through narrow lanes we reached the spacious court in front of the main temple, whose vestibule was hung with long, black yak-hair curtains. Around the court were galleries and here the lamas lounged about. A friendly monk who had been to Lhasa and Calcutta ushered us into his small but clean quarters, and there I found pictures of the Dalai Lama, and Papa Lama of Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多) and of the deceased Huo-fu of the Tung-chu-ling Lamasery; also color prints of the British King and Queen riding in state to Windsor Castle. The monks as well as the abbot, at first shy and cold, became quite friendly after I had distributed among them pictures of the Dalai, and of the Panchen Lama. The abbot was rather clean and almost white complexioned, a refined man, much superior to the rest of the monks.

262 It was noon, and as the trumpet sounded the lamas with their yellow hats sat down on the pavement in front of the temple. Suddenly they rose and, followed by men carrying huge wooden cylinders containing hot buttered tea, entered the chanting hall to have their noonday meal, consisting of *tsamba* (roasted barley flour) and buttered, salted tea. When all had disappeared in the dark recesses of the temple we took our leave.

*487 Leaving the monastery by the south gate we entered a deep ravine clothed
*433 with *Thuja orientalis* bushes. We follow in and out of deep, narrow valleys
*437 until we reach the village of Ndü-nda with its large red watch-towers. From here on, or rather from Tung-chu-lin, the arid region commences. Pai-mang Shan, like the other high snow ranges, acts as a rain screen, leaving little precipitation for the immediate neighborhood. The mountains and somber ravines were grey and bare, the sky a pale blue and hazy. The vegetation consisted only of *Thuja orientalis* and *Sophora viciifolia* bushes. To the east a deep ravine opens out, with a small stream which flows into the Yangtze. Here on the west bank of that river lies the hamlet of Pong-tse-ra (sPong-rtse-ra)[7] (Pen-tzu-lan 奔子闌) where two native officials reside: a Ch'ien-tsung and a Pa-tsung. In the following paragraph I give a short account of their history.

3. PEN-TZU-LAN 奔子闌

173 In former days Pen-tzu-lan belonged to Wei-hsi; to-day it is under the magistracy of Te-ch'in (A-tun-tzu), ruled directly, however, by the Ch'ien-tsung and the Pa-tsung. They guard Pen-tzu-lan, Ch'u-chiu 杵臼 and Mu-ting 总頂,[8] also Chio-pa 角壩, T'ung-ting 銅頂 and Liao-la-lang 了拉郎 villages.

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ing the revolt against China, and a troop of soldiers, which at first had been well received by the lamas, were cowardly assassinated under cover of darkness (GORÉ).

[7] [illegible]

[8] On the Yangtze north-east of A-tun-tzu and Mu-ting Shan.

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The T'u-ch'ien-tsung hereditarily resides at Pen-tzu-lan; his territory extends east to the Hsi-k'ang—Tibetan border and the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, 20 li; south to T'o-ting 拖頂 of the Wei-hsi border, 240 li; west to I-chia-p'eng 一家棚 of the Wei-hsi border, 150 li; north to Wei-hsi and the Ba-thang border, 500 li. His first ancestor's barbarian name was Shen-weng 神翁. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the native office was changed and naturalized, and the memorial for his appointment as hereditary native lieutenant was approved by the Throne. He guarded the important borders of Ssu-ch'uan (now Hsi-k'ang)—Tibet. The office was handed down to the son of San-chia-ch'i-li 三家七里 (his Tibetan name transcribed), whose name was changed to Wang Shih-ch'ang 王世昌. Shih-ch'ang died and his son Ch'en 臣 inherited the office. After the latter's death his son Wan-nien 萬年 assumed the position in the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834). The present ruler is Wang Chao-lin 王兆麟. 173

The T'u-pa-tsung, in co-operation with the native lieutenant, restrained the Man-i (barbarians). They governed and guarded the important frontiers. In the seventh year of Yung-cheng (1729), the hereditary rank of the T'u-pa-tsung was approved. His first ancestor was Pieh-ma 別馬, but afterwards his name was changed to Po 柏. The office was transmitted to Po-hui 柏輝. Hui died and Mou 茂 inherited the office. Mou died and his son Ch'ang-ch'ing 長青 inherited the office in the first year of Kuang-hsü (1875).

According to the *Wei-hsi Wen-Chien lu*, "Pen-tzu-lan is situated on the banks of the Yangtze; the territory is narrow and difficult and the mountains high. In the summer the heat is intense, while on the tops of the mountains there is much snow; in the winter the cold is severe.

"At Pen-tzu-lan are said to grow five trees called *Tsang-t'ao* 臧桃. The leaves are like those of willows, the flowers are deep red and the petals are like those of a peach. It flowers in the 12th moon, the flowers are large and long; in the third moon the flowers drop, and in the sixth moon the fruit is ripe, and red as a peach. The taste is astringent and the fruit not edible. If one wishes to eat it, it must be treated like the *Hu-t'ao* 胡桃.[9] The kernel is fragrant and sweet. Tradition relates that during the reign of K'ang-hsi the territory belonged to Ch'ing-hai 青海; the headman of that region came to Pen-tzu-lan and took the seeds back with him to Ch'ing-hai [Koko Nor], but they would not grow."

4. ACROSS KAR-RI LA (PASS) OR KENG-LI LA 更里拉

Continuing our journey we come to three converging gorges in the center of which is a large, massive, pyramidal mountain, clothed in its upper third 487* 133* 137*

[9] *Hu-t'ao* is the earliest designation in Chinese for the walnut and means the peach of the *Hu*. Hu was the Chinese name for the Iranians. The term *Ho-t'ao* 核桃 is a later one for the walnut and means seed peach, or the peach containing a kernel (LAUFER *Sino-Iranica*). The *Tsang-t'ao* is very possibly the almond (*Prunus amygdalus*) but the latter has not yet been found in China. What the Chinese call *Hsing-jen* 杏仁 is not the almond but the kernels of the apricot — although genuine almonds, because they resemble the seeds of the apricot, are also called *Hsing-jen*. The only almond occurring in China is a wild species known as *Prunus tangutica* and occurs in western Kan-su along the T'ao River as a thorny shrub, where I collected it in 1925 and 1926.

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*487 *133 *137 with scrub vegetation; beyond a high, bare range rises above it, with a black, sharply-pyramidal rock forming the highest point.

We reach a hamlet of a few houses constructed of red earth, built close together like a fortress, with the windows near the roof, the latter crowned by huge mounds of grass. Yak were grazing over the bare, dry fields. Below [361] in the ravine is the Tibetan village of Yo-nyi (Yo-i 約宜 in Yün-nan pro- [331] nounced Yo-ni) with its terraced fields, grey and dusty. We descend and follow at the bottom of a narrow, rocky valley, bare of vegetation with the exception of *Sophora viciifolia* bushes, till we reach the Tibetan hamlet of Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東). Here walnuts and willows grew along the fields. To the east is the trail to Pong-tse-ra, and to the west the trail which leads to the Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里) Pass. At Sha-dung we cross the stream which descends from the Kar-ri La and follow the valley on the south bank. Near the mouth of this lateral valley is a formidable dwelling with a golden spire, the compound is surrounded by a wall on which Tibetan mastiffs were racing wildly up and down. It is the residence of a Huo-fu (incarnation of the Tung-chu-lin lama).[19]

The trail enters an arid and weird, ravine with loose rocks and boulders scattered over the slopes to the very top. It is narrow and one li beyond its mouth it is blocked by an isolated, pyramidal hill crowned by a *Shan-shen Miao* 山神廟 (Shrine to a mountain spirit). Here the stream makes a detour to the left; to the right a barren valley opens out near the temple-crowned hill, covered with cactus (*Opuntia monacántha*). What little vegetation there is consists of Berberis, Sophora, and the small-leaved *Baukinia densiflora*, while deciduous willow trees line the banks of the stream. *Pteris longifolia* is also common. On the right hill-side is a conglomeration of houses resem- 342 bling watch-towers. It is the hamlet of Pe-shin. Dogs run around wildly on the flat roofs, barking viciously at the traveler in the deep and narrow ravine. *487 It would be easy to stop an army here by rolling down the loose rocks which *133 lie in myriads on the valley slopes. Beyond Pe-shin the slopes are composed *137 of disintegrated shale and fine grey dust resembling ashes.

Farther on, the valley divides, the right-hand branch being quite barren; the trail follows up the left branch and here, at the mouth of the valley in a specially constructed shed three large cylindrical prayer-wheels, eight feet long and one foot in diameter, dressed in red and white skirts, whirled around like mad, driven by the stream. Further up the valley was another set, but these were out of commission. For 10 li the trail leads through this rocky, ever-narrowing ravine, till we come to the fortress-like Tibetan hamlet of Sha-yi (Shou-i-ts'un 設義村), situated on a flat spur above the river. At one end of the village is a lama shrine or small temple, with a golden roof and spire, probably the private chapel of the Tibetan T'u-ssu who resides here.

Near Sha-yi the trail passes through *Pinus Armandi* forest which later gives place to *Quercus semicarpifolia* trees, with here and there a *Rhododendron decorum*, several deciduous trees, rose-bushes, Caragana, etc. The mountains rise steeply, the stream is ice-bound (December), and at an eleva-

[19] The Huo-fu is a member of the family of the T'u-ch'ien-tsung of Pong-tse-ra, who also resides here.

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tion of 10,000 feet we enter oak forest with *Pinus yünnanensis* and a few spruces. White-barked birches make their appearance where a deep lateral ravine opens to our right. The left valley, into which our trail leads, broadens, and red-barked birches and Piceas abound with several species of rhododendron. A beautiful meadow framed by mossy forest invites to a rest and lunch. The meadow was a mass of iris, while wild cherries and pears grew on the outskirts of the forest surrounding it. After climbing a central rocky spur we find ourselves in beautiful Picea forest with *Rhododendron levistratum* as undergrowth, all festooned with long strands of *Usnea longissima*. To our left is a deep, densely-forested valley, with the snow-covered summit of the Kar-ri written dKar-ri La,[11] White mountain Pass shaped like an amphitheater, towering high above us.

The trail, composed of black slate which is exposed beneath moraine drift, is now almost a road and leads zigzag to the flat summit of the Kar-ri La, with the usual *obo* and prayer-flags. The wind howled in fury at the top, which was covered with a low scrub rhododendron with indigo-blue flowers and bronze leaves; the altitude was 13,700 feet.

The northern slope which we had ascended was deep in snow, while the south-western slope which we began to descend was entirely free of it. The trail goes down zigzag to a meadow called Pun-tra 1,000 feet below the pass, with dense spruce or Picea forest to both sides, while the shrubs represented species of Sorbus, Rosa, Cotoneaster, etc. From the summit-pass the Yünnan—Hsi-k'ang border is visible. It is formed by a row of peculiar peaks, bleak and barren, to the east of the Yangtze, which flows at their foot. The entire landscape was hazy owing to fires on the hill-sides, started by Li-su tribespeople.

From the Pun-tra meadow below the Kar-ri Pass, we descend along the stream-bed; here the mountain-sides rise steeply several thousand feet, covered with Abies forest and crowned at their summit with alpine meadows. The ravine narrows, but to our left a broader valley opens; the stream we have been following is separated by a narrow comb of earth and loose rocks from the larger one which it joins. The walls are mainly of old limestone, the stream flowing between steep slopes which for a short distance are composed of loose soil and boulders, with trees and dead logs overhanging them; the trail crosses the stream many times. The vegetation changes, the forest is of a mixed type composed of spruces, maples, and oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), while the upper slopes of the broadening ravine are covered with pure stands of Picea. Many landslides have obliterated the trail, buried under boulders with tree trunks sticking out of them. The slightest vibration dislodges the loose mass.

Here we met with Li-su tribespeople and Tibetans armed with cross-bows, and a lama with red cloak and yellow hat, bound for Tung-chu-lin. Descending rapidly we pass into *Pinus Armandi* and oak forest with undergrowth of Rosa, Berberis and Corylus, etc. The valley broadens considerably and we enter the village of Kar-ri (Keng-li 更里), situated on a spur at an elevation of 9,000 feet.

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The houses of Kar-ri are of mud brick, but are unlike the Tibetan houses of the Mekong valley, which have flat dirt roofs. Here the roofs are of wooden slats weighted down by rocks, as is the Na-khi custom.

The Chinese map gives the village of T'o-ting between Sha-yi and Kar-ri. This village was said to have been the northern border of the Wei-hsi district, but we have not encountered such a place on the road from Pong-tse-ra to Kar-ri, neither is it marked on Davies' map.[13] South of Kar-ri the rocks are Devonian sediments which form also the hills to the south of the river.

To the east a small valley debouches into the one we have been descending; deciduous oak scrub covers the lower slopes, while the hill-sides above are clothed with *Pinus yunnanensis*. A deep valley extends diagonally across the mouth of the Kar-ri valley, the trail leading to the broad, rocky stream-bed which we cross to the south bank, where the hamlet of Tsho-khâ-thang, written mTsho-kha-thang is situated [14] (PLATE 208). The women of this region dress like the Na-khi or Mo-so women of La-pao, within the Yangtse loop, north of Li-chiang, wearing much-pleated hemp cloth skirts; they are unlike Tibetan women, and belong to the Mo-so Ku-tsung tribe (PLATE 209). The houses are very quaint and it seems that their domestic animals enjoy residence in the upper story of their houses, while the family lives on the ground-floor, as the accompanying picture would indicate (PLATE 208).

5. YON-DZE-KHÂ (CHU-PA-LUNG 竹巴籠)

We now reach the Yon-dze-khâ [15] which has its source on the southern slopes of Pai-mang Shan; it is spanned by a covered wooden bridge (PLATE 210). The trail follows the south bank downstream, through *Quercus semicarpifolia* forest, the stream thundering over huge boulders, a mass of foam. Up it leads again a forested spur and thence to the deep, rocky gorge of the Yon-dze-khâ, weird and dismal, with fantastic peaks to the east. We continue down the gorge, mainly composed of limestone, crowned by crags and odd pinnacles, the highest of which bear Picea trees which accentuate their loftiness. To the west a brook descends from a narrow zigzag valley, at the head of which black, rocky snow-crowned peaks rear their bleak summits into the sky. A long wooden plank-bridge spans the stream and leads us to the Tibetan hamlet of Na-ri (Na-li 呢里). Na-ri is situated on the east bank of the stream at the foot of a huge, grey limestone cliff with a deep ravine opening out behind the village; in the distant background a high, deep-blue, densely forested range closes the valley.

[13] HANDEL-MAZZETTI gives a village of To-tyü which may be identical with the Chinese T'o-ting, but this village is at the junction of the Yon-dze-khâ and the Yangtse, and on the western bank of the latter. As the Chinese map is not at all reliable, it is very likely that T'o-ting is identical with To-tyü, which may be the Na-khi pronunciation of it.

[14] ཚོ་ཁ་ཐང་།

[15] The lower part of this gorge is known as Cho-pa-rong written lChog-pa-rong ལྕོག་པ་རོང་། (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴籠; also Chou-pa-lo 舟巴洛): the stream is called Chu-pa Ho 竹巴河. The divide between this latter stream and the Mekong is known as Chou-pa-lo Hsüeh-shan (Snow mountain of Chou-pa-lo).

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From Na-ti we follow a narrow trail up and down, first high above the river, then in and out of ravines; the main road, however, leads on the west bank at an even grade. A few li bring us to the hamlet of Yun-gou where the ravine becomes very narrow and the stream enters a deep limestone gorge lined with Cupressus trees. Beyond the gorge on the east bank of the river is a huge limestone boulder which appears suspended over the stream, its lower surface being flat; hot water passes through the rock and flows from the flat under-surface as from a sieve. Limestone crags and mountains tower 2,000 feet above the river-bed, the slopes being covered with scrub oak and pines. The whole scenery is strange and dismal.

At the end of the day's stage is the hamlet of Dshü-dzong situated on the east bank of the river. From this village the trail follows the clear stream, crosses two lateral affluents and ascends a rocky bluff. The trees on the lower slopes are all walnuts, while oaks and *Pinus yünnanensis* clothe the upper. We come to a cantilever bridge at the village of Ndo-sung (To-sung 多松) on the east bank of the stream. The entire village consists of one large white house and a few log huts. We enter forest of pines and deciduous oaks in the broadening valley; mountains about 12,000 feet in height and composed of limestone rise to the east. The next village, called Sha-lon, in Chinese Sha-lung 沙壟, is situated on a hill in the valley. The Tibetan dialect spoken here is different from that of A-tun-tzu and Chung-tien. Three li beyond the village of Sha-lon, the trail leaves the main stream, enters a narrow valley and crosses the affluent which issues from it.

We follow on the top of the spur which separates it from the main stream to a small hamlet called Chao-to (Ch'ang-ta 長大); five li beyond we reach the village of To-gu-ti the Chinese T'o-ko-ti 鴕格底. Near the entrance to the village a gate was erected across the trail. It consisted of two pine trees connected by braided strands of bamboo from which wooden swords dipped in blood hung suspended. On inquiry I was informed that an epidemic was rampant among the horses in this village, and the swords, were to drive or keep out the demon which caused it. At the other end of the village was a similar gate, but from the bamboo rope swung the huge wooden penis of a horse. Not far from this village situated on the left bank, is the hamlet of Nin-yü, where another cantilever bridge spans the river. As the valley floors became broader and the land more suitable for agriculture, villages are also more frequent.

Two li bring us to the village of Ka-su, and a short distance beyond situated on a terrace is the village called Sa-gè-ti (Sheng-keng-ting 生耕丁); here are limestone and black shales both much contorted. Walnuts grow along the river bank, the Tibetans, similarly to the Na-khi, use the oil for cooking. The trail crosses a rather large, flat cultivated area to a village called Sha-shao 沙哨 situated under a huge limestone bluff. Here a valley opens out into the Yon-dze-khà, from the right, or west, bringing a stream of considerable size from the eastern slopes of the mountains, which form the Mekong—Yangtze divide in the neighborhood of Yeh-chih. A trail leads up this valley and over the divide to the Mekong a little north of Yeh-chih.

To the south of the valley is a high spur which Handel-Mazzetti on his map calls Ko-bu-dä — this is the Chinese Kuo-pu-ta 過不答 (Cannot be

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*487 *733 *739 crossed). Evidently when asking his guide about the name of the mountain he replied that it could not be crossed; Handel-Mazzetti, thinking it was the name, put it on his map. According to a Chinese map the name of the mountain is Hsiung-kung Shan 凶工山 but that name is locally unknown and seems to be an invention of the Chinese cartographer.

Opposite the bridge which here spans the stream is a small Tibetan hamlet. Another village is perched against the northern hill-side of the valley, while ancient watch-towers, built by the Tibetans centuries ago to keep out Mo-so soldiers, crown the ridge. As has already been remarked elsewhere, Major Davies' map is here wrong, for his stream has no outlet, while in fact the Yon-dze-khà flows into the Yangtze ten li from the hamlet of Rong-sha (Lo-sha 洛沙 or Lo-she 洛舍) which consists of about ten houses.

6. ACROSS PONGE LA (PASS)

From Sha-shao, two li of marching along the stream, which is here quite broad but shallow, brings us to the village of Ton-ri, Chinese T'an-lien 貪嗹, on its east bank among fields; this is by far the greatest expanse of flat territory encountered in this valley. Crossing another affluent (the rocks in its bed are gneiss and granite) coming from the south-west, called the Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 香多) after the village situated up the valley on its east bank, we enter a gorge with limestone rocks and crags. The district or region is here known as Du-bà-lo.[18] The trail ascends a rocky bluff high above the river which flows east-north-east, very placidly and clear as crystal. From the limestone bluff we look down on the village of Rong-sha situated at the mouth of a narrow valley above terraced fields. Mandarin oranges are grown here. At the head of the Rong-sha valley is the Ponge La (Pass) at a height of 12,150 feet.

At Rong-sha we turn directly south up the lateral valley along terraced fields, the slopes of the mountains being pine-covered. To the east of Rong-sha is visible a high, bare range at the foot of which the Yangtze flows. The trail leads steeply up the valley through *Pinus yünnanensis* forest, with deciduous oaks, *Quercus Griffithii*, as undergrowth, also the ubiquitous *Rhododendron decorum* and *Quercus semicarpifolia*. Further on the ravine divides into two branches, the trail following steeply the eastern branch on the east bank. Here we encounter clearings and wheat-fields. The valley slopes are inhabited by Li-su tribespeople who speak broken Tibetan. Above the fields we come to alpine meadows and rows of beautiful Picea trees, with here and there a *Pinus Armandi*, the five-needled *Pai-sung* 白松 or white pine.

The real climb to the Ponge La commences. The trail follows the narrowing meadow which gradually merges into Picea forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron heliolepis* and a silvery-leaved species, also found on the Kar-ri La, besides *Rhododendron irroratum* and *Rh. eritimum* both arborescent species and a few deciduous trees such as Betula and Pyrus. Looking up to the pass it seemed only a short distance away, but the climb is an arduous one, especially as the trail becomes the stream-bed, which on our

[18] It is the Tibetan Cho-pa-rong the name is often applied to the entire valley.

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visit was frozen and full of fallen trees and decayed logs. Near the head of the stream the narrow gulch is filled with fallen trees, and the trail leads in short and sharp zigzags to the pass, which resembles a trench, very different from the broad Kar-ri La. This pass, height 12,150 feet, is composed of green shale and shows no trace of glacial action. Abies tower to right and left, and a high, bare mountain range is visible in the distance, one black pyramidal peak being especially prominent.

Looking south from the pass we behold a deep ravine with steep walls and crags covered with snow. In the distance loom up range upon range, one flat, bowl-shaped mountain especially attracting our attention. We descend steeply in sharp zigzags, almost spirals, through Abies and Picea forest; the trail resembles a narrow trench, hardly one foot wide but much deeper. As the mountain slopes steeply and the trail is very bad, it is best to camp just below the pass on the grassy downs, or on the top where there are, or were, some roofless log cabins.

Continuing the descent we finally reach the village of Pa-sho-nyi-ra situated on the left or east valley slopes and inhabited by Tibetans, but of a different type from the Tibetans to the north. The people as well as their dogs seem to be of an inferior breed from those one is accustomed to meet on the Mekong and north of A-tun-tzu.

The forest through which we traverse is indeed stately, large oaks, an evergreen species but different from any previously met with, *Pyrus yünnanensis*, Piceas, pines, climbing roses, Ligustrum, etc., form the undergrowth. We pass several Li-su huts and then enter the common yellow pine forest *P. yünnanensis*, mixed with *Quercus semicarpifolia* and *Rhododendron decorum*, with an occasional Tsuga. We continue in the deep ravine among stunted trees, past an enormous black limestone bluff, and emerge into a large valley into which the ravine from the Ponge La debouches at right angles. At the mouth of the ravine is situated the village of Shyon-gung among terraced fields.

The trail does not descend to the valley floor but leads around a bluff, and along the foot of a limestone range covered with a species of Castanopsis. The valley is considerably broad with fields lining both banks of the stream. Its southern wall is formed by a high range densely forested and apparently of a different rock formation to the northern one which is composed of limestone boulders, buried in red shale. Following at the foot of the limestone range we come to the hamlet of T'a-ch'eng 塔城 (T'a-dza in Na-khi) inhabited by Na-khi and Tibetans, who also speak Li-su. This is the Shang 上 (Upper) T'a-ch'eng while the Hsia 下 (Lower) T'a-ch'eng is south of Ch'i-tsung and the T'a-ch'eng Kuan.

7. LA-P'U AND CH'I-TSUNG 拉普北宗

The next village is Yon-dron-ko, also called Yon-dron-wan, the Chinese Yin-to-wan 因多灣. Here the valley is still broader, we pass many villages, most of which were then in ashes, having been burnt by Tibetan robbers who came within 60 li of Li-chiang. To the north, towers the bare limestone range, while the southern one is densely forested; the valley floor is here an alluvial

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lan, extending in fertile terraced fields to the stream-bed. We cross the latter over a wooden-covered bridge to a village, follow the hill-side past many other villages of which the largest is La-p'u 拉普 (called La-p'o by the Na-khi), famous in Mo-so annals. It was like the other villages, entirely in ashes. The inhabitants are a mixture of Na-khi and Tibetan. The women wear the Mo-so pleated skirt and large ear-rings. The trail leads along the hill-side, the valley narrows again, and fields cease; we follow immediately above the stream-bed, whose slopes are forested with the common pine, while a scrub oak, Cornus, and *Rhododendron racemosum* grow along the trail.

The ravine becomes narrower and deeper, the stream flowing between steep, forested walls of crystalline limestones and schists. These limestones form also the precipices above the Yangtze at Ch'i-tsung, where that river flows at an altitude of 6,800 feet. The La-p'u Lamasery, called the Lai-yüan Ssu 來遠寺, built in the sixth year of Ch'ien-lung (1741) is visible high up on the nothern mountain-side. In Tibetan the lamasery is called hBreng-khung-dgon [16] while La-p'u is known to them as gLu-hphe [17] (pronounced Lu-phe). Further west, not far from this lamasery, is said to be another called Ta-mo Ssu 達摩寺. It was built four years earlier than the Lai-yüan Ssu, namely in the second year of Ch'ien-lung (1737). It is called bsTan-hphel-gling [18] in Tibetan. The Chinese Ta-mo is equivalent to the Sanskrit Dharma or Bodhidarma, the twenty-eighth Indian and first Chinese patriarch, who arrived in China A.D. 520, the reputed founder of the Ch'an or Intuitional School in China. The trail descends and passing a rocky bluff we emerge into the Yangtze valley at Ch'i-tsung, a journey of nearly nine days from A-tun-tzu, and a distance of approximately 450 li.

[16] [illegible] [17] [illegible] [18] [illegible]

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PART V

YUNG-NING TERRITORY: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

History and Boundaries of Yung-ning 永寧

1. The Native Chieftaincy

Unlike the Li-chiang district which has been under direct Chinese control since 1723, when the native prefecture was abolished, and the Na-khi chiefs lost their power and were demoted, the Yung-ning chiefs, relatives of the former Na-khi chiefs of Li-chiang, have retained to this day their semi-independence. They are only nominally under Chinese rule, being subject to the prefectural city of Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), 450 li to the south of Yung-ning. 101 173

Before the coming of Khublai Khan (Hu-pi-lieh) to Yung-ning in 1253, Hli-dü (Yung-ning) was a wild country. A group of families would live together on a hill top, at feud with similar groups on other hills. Whichever was the stronger lorded it over the rest. This condition is said to have continued even after Khublai Khan had conquered the territory and established his officers to rule it. People went ploughing with bows and arrows fastened to their loins.

There were originally eight Hli-khin (Na-khi) [1] family names, of which five remain to this day. Three have become extinct and forgotten. The ancient Na-khi name of the T'u-ssu (native chief) family was Ngoa. The family names existing to-day are Hsi, Ho, Bbu and Ya. The Li-chiang Na-khi had only two family names, Mu and Ho. The former was the name of the ruling family, the latter that of the peasants. The present family name of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu is A 阿 and is said to have originated in the following manner: During the period of Ming Yung-lo 永樂 (A.D. 1403–1424) one of the ruling Yung-ning chiefs went to the capital in audience. He had inherited his commission to rule from the days of the Mongol dynasty, but had never been appointed by proper Imperial letters patent; these he was anxious to obtain. As he was kneeling before the Imperial presence he was asked his name; not understanding the question, he replied, with folded hands, "A," which in the Hli-khin language is as much as to say "I do not understand." Thereupon the Emperor conferred on him the family name A. [355]

In ancient days, according to the records of its chiefs, Yung-ning territory was considerably larger, and extended to within two stages of Li-hua 麗化 (Li-t'ang 麗塘), in the north, and included nearly all the land now known

[1] The name *Hli-khin* is derived from *Hli:* the name of the Yung-ning plain and *khin:* man or people. The final n is very nasal, as is the foregoing vowel; it is the Na-khi, *khi*. The Hli-khin are a clan of the Na-khi, as are the Zhêr-khin.

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101 113 as Mu-li 木里 (or Mi-li, as the aboriginal inhabitants call it), as well as the present Ch'ien-so 前所, and Tso-so 左所 territory now partly in Hsi-k'ang and partly in Ssu-ch'uan. The T'u-ssu of the two latter districts are relatives of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The disintegration of the once large Yung-ning territory came about in the following manner: Brothers or other close male relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were sent to rule the smaller districts in the Yung-ning territory, while female relatives were given in marriage to the La family 喇氏 which had settled in Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan; their husbands were thereupon appointed to rule that district as sub-magistrates under the Yung-ning chiefs.

Then there appeared a Living Buddha, a Tibetan from Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 沙木多; Chhab-mdo)[2] in Tibet who belonged to the Yellow Lama sect (Gelug-pa དགེ་ལུགས་པ).[3] He settled amongst the Hsi-fan in Yung-ning territory with the idea of converting the Yung-ning chiefs and their subjects to the Yellow Church, for they were adherents of the Black Bön sect, or Shamanists. All of them were converted to the Yellow sect through the influence of the Huo-fu 活佛 (Incarnation) from Chha-mdo, except the Tso-so people who to this day are adherents of the Bön or Black Lama sect. His mission accomplished, the Buddha wanted to return to Chha-mdo, but the people of Yung-ning said: "Now you have taught us and we have become enlightened. Before you came we were ignorant as cattle. Do not leave us but stay in our midst and continue your good work." The then ruling chief of Yung-ning addressed the Huo-fu saying: "If you will remain among us we will give you the territory to the north of Yung-ning [the present day Mu-li] in perpetuity." The Huo-fu consented and his title became Mu-li sPrul-sku-dang-po[4] (The first Mu-li T'ul-ku or Higher incarnation of Mu-li).

In the 40th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so sub-chiefs went to pay tribute to the court in Peking and were thereupon appointed as independent (of Yung-ning) T'u-pai-hu 土百戶 and T'u-ch'ien-hu 土千戶 respectively, and were given a seal. Thus the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so lands were lost to Yung-ning. It is however recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* that the Tso-so and Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu had been appointed to their positions as early as the Wan-li period (1573–1620).

2. FORMER EXTENT AND LATER DIVISIONS

In the seventh year of the period Yung-cheng (1729), the successor of the incarnation who had settled in the land presented to him by the Yung-ning chief, went to Peking in audience with the emperor who according to precedent wished to give him a seal and appoint him hereditary An-fu-ssu 安撫司 of Mu-li. The Buddha however declined saying:

[2] ཆབ་མདོ

[3] His name was rJe-blo-gros-chhos-skyong རྗེ་བློ་གྲོས་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་

[4] སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་མདའ་དམར་པོ

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"I am a lama and my affairs are not of this world, but if His Majesty approves he would suggest his steward who was of Mongol origin, and who lived at Pa-erh 巴爾 or 八耳 in the south-east of Mu-li, to be appointed as the hereditary chief." [5] His name was Liu-tsang-t'u-tu 六藏禿都 a Chinese transcription of bLo-bzang-mthu-stobs བློ་བཟང་མཐུ་སྟོབས, pronounced Lo-zang Thu-tob.

Thereupon the Emperor appointed the latter, and gave him the title of An-fu-ssu (Pacification commissioner) and the name Hang 珙.[6] (PLATE

[5] The Chinese Pa-erh is a transcription of the Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me) Pa-ĕr, the Na-khi Mbĕr. The Tibetans call it Bar-ri written hBar-ri འབར་རི; it is really the name of a mountain which surrounds the little plain on which stands the palace of the lay-brother of the Mu-li King. Originally only a small house stood there with three families living around it. It was the homestead of the Mongol ancestors of the Mu-li King and is known as hBar-ri-ldan (འབར་རི་ལྡན). The last word is Ch'ra-me and is pronounced *dān* or *den*; its final n is nasal. The meaning of the word is "place," or the place of Bar-ri. It is east of K'u-lu 結魯 or K'ung-vu 康噶 (in Tibetan, Khe-'ong ཁེ་འོང). The former is the Chinese name, the latter the Hsi-fan — Mu-li name of the place where the lamasery called bDe-wa-chan-bood-nam-dar-rgyas-gling བདེ་བ་ཅན་བོད་རྣམས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་ is situated.

[6] The name Hang does not, however, appear in the Genealogy until the year 1781. It was only later that his successors were given the title of Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 which is also the equivalent of Pacification commissioner with the slight difference that the office is a rather temporary one. *Hsüan* simply means the proclaiming of a policy by the Government — in this case the policy of *wei*, that is, pacifying or comforting (the tribes). His Tibetan title was rgyal-po (king). The last Mu-li T'u-ssu (Lama King) was treacherously murdered in cold blood on September 10th, 1934, by a Ssu-ch'uan militarist by the name of Li Chang-yu 李章裕 whose title is Tsung-chien 總監 (Inspector-general) and who holds his appointment by the former self-appointed governor of Ssu-ch'uan Liu Wen-hui 劉文輝 now Governor of Hsi-k'ang.

The late Mu-li King's complete name and titles were: 任命自在佛位吉呼圖克圖一等 宣慰使兼領四川邊務教會及防革中將銜世襲本藏宣慰司阿旺貴爾布 "Hang Tz'u-cheng-cha-pa 珙慈圖扎巴, by appointment a self-existent Buddha, Min-chi Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u; first grade of the order of the Striped Tiger, former leader of the Buddhist Church in the office of the Occupation commissioner; actual Investigation officer in matters relating to the affairs of the uncivilized tribes. Honorary Major-General of the army and hereditary Pacification Commissioner of Mu-li. Honorific: Opening of mercy; Yen-yüan [the district magistracy in Ssu-ch'uan to which Mu-li belongs]." The present title of the Mu-li ruler is: Mu-li Hsüan-wei-ssu chien i wu chih-hui chung-yang chiao fei chün ti-erh lu chün liang Yen Chiu-lung fang Ssu-ling-pu 木寧宣慰司並受務指揮中央勦匪軍第二路軍兩旅九龍防司令部.

At Min-chi 敏吉 a small place two days south of Li-t'ang in the Mo-la-shog country inhabited by Tibetans called Mo-la-shog-pa མོ་ལ་ཤོག་པ, is a Sakya (Sa-skya) lamasery (White Lama sect) of which the late Mu-li King was abbot, and a minor incarnation called hJam-dbyangs mam-sprul འཇམ་དབྱངས་མཁྱེན་སྤྲུལ. (The new Min-chi Huo-fu is a nephew of Chang Ta-chi 張大吉 the commander of the Mu-li forces and brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King, he is 8 years old and like his uncle a Mo-la-shog Tibetan.) He was called from Min-chi to rule Mu-li in 1923 after the death of his brother who was the Lama King of Mu-li. The late king ruled Mu-li during the minority of his nephew Hang Tz'u-ch'eng-sung-tien 項此稱松典 (in Tibetan, Grags-pa-bsam-gtan གྲགས་པ་བསམ་གཏན), the then heir to the Lama kingship of Mu-li. The boy, now about 30 years of age, was kidnapped by the murderer of the late king, but was released in the winter of 1935 without paying ransom, and has returned to Mu-li (the captor having fled). Hang Sung-tien who became King of Mu-li has now re-

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101/173 211). Thus came about the division of the once rich territory of Yung-ning, for Mu-li is rich in gold. The Londa Stream (Lung-ta Ho 隆打河), an affluent of the Zho-Chhu, is a gold-bearing stream, and all the territory to the north and west of it is especially rich in placer gold, while there is none in Yung-ning territory, a rather poor country.

3. NATIVE AND CHINESE NAMES

Yung-ning is mainly inhabited by a branch of the Na-khi tribe. They call themselves Hli-khin (people of Hli), after the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü. The Na-khi of Li-chiang call them Lü-khi people of Lü or Lü-dü, *i.e.*, the land of Lü; the ancient Chinese name of this territory, Lou-t'ou 樓頭 may be a phonetic rendering of the former. They call the Na-khi of Li-chiang, Yu-gv-khin (people of Yu-gv, the ancient name of Li-chiang in the Hli-dü or Yung-ning language). The Li-chiang Na-khi, however, call Li-chiang Yi-gv dü or Yi-gv, this has reference to the river-surrounded tract of land on which Li-chiang is situated; *yi* stands for the name of the Yang-tze, *gu* is a box in Na-khi, and *dü* means land; thus the name would signify a parcel of land similar to a box surrounded by the Yi or Yi-bi (Yangtze). (*See also* Geography of the district of Li-chiang.)

The Chinese are called Si-li-a-ha by the Yung-ning people, and the Tibetans, Pu-lu-wu-dzu. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Na-khi Nya-me as well as Zho-gu or Shu-gu, and the Tibetans Ká-me or Gá-me, and themselves they call Ch'ra-me (pronounced P'ron-mö in Mu-li and Pshen-mi in Ku-lu) which the Chinese render Chia-mi 嘓覓; the Na-khi call the Mu-li Hsi-fan, Boa; the term Hsi-fan may be regarded a generic one comprising several tribes, and simply means Barbarians of the West.[1]

The Mu-li Hsi-fan call the Chinese Shöh and the Hli-khin, Lä-mö or Le-meh, the Lo-lo Lu-lu, and the Li-su Mi-nòh.

4. YUNG-PEI SUB-PREFECTURAL RECORDS, CH. 7

173 The *Yung-pei Chih-li-t'ing chih* 永北直隸廳志 (Independent sub-prefectural records), ch. 7, pp. 32b–34b, has the following to say about Yung-ning: "The Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu 永寧土知府 (Yung-ning native prefecture) is situated north of the governing city of Yung-pei a distance of 450 li, and is a

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signed and as the lay male line of the Hang family has died out, the son of the sister of the late Mu-li King by name Hang Sung-tien-ch'un-p'in 項松典倫品 whose father is a Mo-la-shog Tibetan and the commander-in-chief of the late Mu-li King's forces has now been selected as ruler of Mu-li.

[1] The *Hsi-ning fu . . . -chih* 西寧府新志, ch. [illegible] 1a, states that the Hsi-fan are synonymous with the Hsi-ch'iang 西羌 tribes and that they are very numerous, extending from Kan-su to Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan. This statement would indicate that the Hsi-ch'iang are the ancestors of the Hsi-fan, similar to the Mao-niu Yüeh-sui Ch'iang who are probably the ancestors of the Mo-so or Na-khi. It would appear that most of the tribes whose language classes them as belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock, as the Lo-lo, Hsi-fan, Na-khi etc., are really descendants of the great Ch'iang 羌 race which became widely scattered and split into several clans or tribes, each adopting the name of their leader for the name of the tribe, thus, losing their identity as Ch'iang.

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frontier district of Yün-nan, adjoining Ssu-ch'uan and the land of the T'u-fan. Its ancient name was Lou-t'ou t'an 樓頭談 and is also known as Ta-lan Mo-hsieh 答藍麼麼.[8] At the close of the Han 漢 dynasty [about A.D. 24] the Yung-ning A T'u-ssu's ancestor — Ni-yüeh-wu 泥月烏 — pacified the T'u-fan and settled in their land."[9] (The *Tien-hsi* Vol. 2, fol. 10a calls him Tsu (祖)-ni-yüeh-wu and states that he was a chief of the Mo-so man). "In the T'ang dynasty it belonged to the Nan-chao Kingdom under the rule of the Meng family (649–902). After that it was occupied by the Mo-so man [Na-khi] but later again recovered. In the Sung dynasty it belonged to the Ta-li 大理 dynasty under the rule of the Tuan family (937–1094).

"In the Yüan dynasty, Hu-pi-lieh 忽必烈 sojourned [with his troops] at Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和" (PLATE 212). This place is called in Hli-khin, La-pa-ddü; it is a meadow about one and a half li west of the Yung-ning Lamasery; the Hli gyi (Hli River) crosses the meadow in the center. The southern part of the meadow is called Jih (Sun) and the northern part of the meadow Yüeh (Moon) and collectively Jih-yüeh-ho (Union of the sun and moon). The late Tsung-kuan 總管 of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan 阿雲山 or A To-ch'i 阿奪奇 (PLATE 213), often told me that Kublai Khan camped there with his army. The Tsung-kuan and his relatives used always to escort me as far as this place when I left Yung-ning for Li-chiang. He said that from time immemorial, when anyone started on a voyage from Yung-ning, the first place to camp would be at Jih-yüeh-ho. He himself was proud of his Mongol origin, for he was a descendant of one of the Mongol officers left by Kublai Khan in Yung-ning to govern that territory.

"In the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253) it was annexed to the

[8] This is apparently in imitation of the Tibetan name of Yung-ning which is Thar-lam, meaning the "road to Nirvana," which also the Chinese name Yung-ning (Eternal peace) indicates. The Mu-li Hsi-fan call it Ta-long. The Yung-pei Records write it 廣 instead of 藍 or 盤, which is the correct character meaning the Thar-lam of the Mo-so or Mo-hsieh tribe.

[9] We have here the first record of the settlement of the Mo-so and their chief Ni-yüeh-wu who must have been accompanied by a horde of his tribe, otherwise he could not have dislodged the Tibetans and settled in their land which bore the name of Thar-lam, the Tibetan name of Yung-ning to this day. This was said to have taken place about A.D. 24. We further learn from the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史, as well as from the *Yüan Shih* 元史 (Mongol History) that the first chief of the Mo-so to settle south-west of the Yangtse, that is within the Yangtze loop, came from the present Yung-ning, then called Lou-t'ou; he himself was called Po-ch'ung 波衝. He settled in what was afterwards called the district of Pao-shan, 寶山 the present La-pao, 245 li north of Li-chiang and 150 li south-west of Yung-ning. He founded the Mo-so Kingdom (Yüeh-hsi chao) during the T'ang dynasty in the early part of the eighth century and called his kingdom Mo-so chao and also Hua-ma Kuo, 花馬國. We learn from the Li-chiang Records that he was murdered in the 26th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (A.D. 738). According to the Nan-chao Records he dwelled at Sui chou 嶲州, which was the name of Li-chiang during the T'ang dynasty, changed later to K'un-ming hsien. He may have been one of the seven Mo-so brothers who established themselves at La-pao during the Eastern T'ang (Tung T'ang 東唐) dynasty.

We thus learn that the Mo-so reached the region of Yung-ning — Li-chiang, or the present north-west of Yün-nan, at the close of the Han dynasty about A.D. 24. It is possible that the Mo-so man afterwards went south of Yung-ning, and that Po-ch'ung founded the Mo-so Kingdom only after Mo-so had long been settled among the P'u and Hsieh tribes and in what is now the Li-chiang district.

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173 empire. [The old *Tien-hsi* says that Ho-tzu 和字, who was the 31st generation after Ni-yüeh-wu, submitted in that year to the empire; but the new edition of the *Tien-hsi* omits this.] The *Yüan Shih* ch. 61, fol. 9a states the same, adding that in the 16th year of Chih-yüan (1279) it was changed to a chou 州.

"In the 14th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1277), the office of Ch'a-yen-kuan 茶運使 [the Yung-pei Record says Ch'a-lan-kuan 茶藍管 and the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih*: 'Ta-lan kuan-min-kuan 荅藍管民管', or the civil official of Ta-lan which is correct] was established. In the 16th year the office was abolished and the department of Yung-ning in the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng 北勝府 was established. In the Ming dynasty during the period of Hung-wu (1368–1398) it became subject to the fu-magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) it was changed and made subject to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) 蘭滄衛; in the fourth year of Yung-lo (1406) it was changed again to Yung-ning fu, to which belonged the Ssu-ch'uan Chang-kuan-ssu 四川長官司. The native official received the title of prefect and a seal of office, also a letter ordering him to restrain his tribal people. Thereupon the Ssu-ch'uan Tso-so T'u-ssu, by name La-ma-fei 喇馬非,[10] occupied the territory and killed Pu-sa 卜撒 the father and his son [the Yung-ning T'u-ssu and his son]. His wife then accused him before the Chen-shou 鎮守 (Defense commissioner). Thereupon La-ma-fei was arrested and was ordered to be sent to the capital but he died on the road. The territory was again delimitated. Pu-sa's younger brother, Nan-pa 南八, then took charge of the Tso-so T'u-ssu's affairs.

"During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449), all the wild tribes of Yen-ching [east of Yung-ning in Ssu-ch'uan] advanced to attack him. The native [prefect] official could not prevent them from doing so, and thus he petitioned that a prefect and sub-prefect be established and a yamen built in the Lan-ts'ang wei-ch'eng 蘭滄衛城 (walled town of the military station of Lan-ts'ang). The latter then held the district and governed it from a distance.

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (1698), Pei-sheng chou was changed and raised to the fu-city of Yung-pei; the sub-prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning was changed to the sub-prefect of fu-city of Yung-pei and the native prefect of Yung-ning (Yung-ning T'u-chih-fu) was made subject to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The T'u-ssu was delegated to rule in the

[10] The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng chih* 雲南備徵志, ch. 15, fol. 20a, says Ma-la-fei instead of La-ma-fei. This is a mistake. There is a 馬喇 (vice-headman or Fu-chang-kuan-ssu) by the name A, but he is not to be confused with the Tso-so T'u-ssu called La-ma-fei. The A T'u-ssu or T'u-kuan of Ma-la was a Pa-i 擺夷 tribesman and not a Mo-so or Na-khi. The Ma-la territory adjoined the land of the Yün-nan Pei-sheng T'u-ssu Chang 章土司. The same work (ch. 9, fols. 70b–71a) states further that "in the fourth year of Hsüan-te (1429) Shih-pu-la-fei 失不剌非 of the barbarian village of Yung-ning, conspired with Ma-la-fei the native official of the Ssu-ch'uan Salt-well military station, to kill Ko-chi-pa-ho. They were then pacified by the Imperial army. Thereupon Pu-sa was ordered to succeed to the title of prefect of Yung-ning. Later, he (Pu-sa), was also killed by Shih-pu-la-fei. After his death, his younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position. In the second year of Cheng-t'ung (1437) Ma-la-fei was attacked by Nan-pa, who recovered Wu-chieh 烏結 [this is probably Wu-chio 烏角 near Yung-ning in Mu-li Hsi-k'ang] and other stockaded villages. It is said that Nan-pa was also killed by Ma-la-fei."

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Yüan dynasty but without documentary evidence, and only when Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉 came on to the scene in the Ming dynasty was there conferred upon him by letters patent the office of Yung-ning T'u-chih-chou 永寧土知州 (Native Department magistrate of Yung-ning). In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) when high officials came to Yün-nan fu, the T'u-ssu led his people to confer with them, whereupon he was appointed to the position of T'u-chih-fu 土知府, which until this day remains a hereditary post without change." 173

THE FOUR CHANG-KUAN-SSU DISTRICTS

As regards the four districts ruled by the four Chang-kuan-ssu (native headmen) under the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning, the *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 497, fol. 5b, states that they were established in the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo; (the personal records of the A family, chiefs of Yung-ning, state the 24th day of the fourth moon and 4th year of Yung-lo (May 25th, 1402). Later they belonged to the Yün-nan Yung-ning wei 雲南永寧衛. The four Chang-kuan-ssu were all Hsi-fan officials, by name A 阿. After the reign of Cheng-t'ung 正統, about 1450, the Yen-ching native chiefs seized the territory by force. The four native officials then ceased to exist (were abolished). Apparently the entire region was a lawless one, and the Yung-ning chiefs, being unable to rule it, later turned the land over as a gift to the Incarnation of Chha-mdo, as related elsewhere. It appears that the lawless Wu-so (Five So), especially the Tso-so who made inroads into Yung-ning, and killed the son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, possessed themselves of the four territories, the Yung-ning chiefs retaining only a nominal control. Thus it became part of Ssu-ch'uan. The Chha-mdo Incarnation later by converting the inhabitants to the Yellow Lama Church subdued them, and succeeded in establishing his steward, a man of Mongol origin, as the temporal ruler of what is now Mu-li. It is significant that the Tso-so, who were apparently the ringleaders in the seizing of the territory, and did not look with favor on the establishing of the Yellow Church, refused to be converted, and remained to this day adherents of the Shamanist Bön sect, the pre-Buddhistic religion of Tibet.

5. YUNG-PEI RECORDS, CH. 2

In another volume (ch. 2, fol. 12a–5a) of the Yung-pei Records much of the foregoing is repeated regarding Yung-ning and adjacent territory with the exception of the following, which is of historic interest: "The Yung-pei district was between the borders of Yün-nan and the State of Shu [western Ssu-ch'uan] and in ancient times was between Yüeh-sui and I chou. In those days it had many names which cannot now be determined nor what part of the country they represented.

"It is stated that Tien-sheng 滇省 [Yün-nan] was in the realm of Yü-kung 禹貢 (2200 B.C.) called Liang chou. Ch'eng-wang 成王 of the Chou dynasty (1115–1079 B.C.) united Liang 梁 with the State of Yung and called it Yung chou 雍州 or the department of Yung. Yung-pei was subject to Yung chou; it was west of the province of Tien 滇.

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"In the period of the Contending States 戰國 (Commenced 480? or 468?–247 B.C.) it belonged to the land of Pai-kuo 白國地 (Land of the White Kingdom).

"In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 25) the land northwest of the T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 (Iron bridge; *see* p. 25) was occupied by the Shih-man 施蠻 (Shih barbarians).[12]

"In the T'ang dynasty (618–906) in the 11th year of Cheng-yüan 貞元 (795),[13] I-mou-hsün of the Nan-chao Kingdom took by force the land of the Man, called Pei-fang t'an 北方賧 [the present-day Yung-sheng]. He deported the P'o-jen 婆人 of the K'un-mi Ho 昆彌河,[14] [they are the Shan or Pa-i, who dwelled in the Pai-kuo 白國 or Pai-tzu Kuo 白子國, established during Han Wu Ti 漢武帝 about 121 B.C., the founder of which was Jen-kuo], the Lo-lo 裸羅, and the Li-(su)hsieh 勃芝[14] to people that territory, and called it Chien-ch'iang 劍羌 and also Ch'eng-chieh t'an (district of Ch'eng-chieh); later he changed the name to Shan-chü Chün 善巨郡 (Commandery of Shan-chü).

"During the Five Dynasties 五代 (907–960) Cheng Mai-ssu 鄭買嗣 rebelled against the house of Meng 蒙氏; Chao Shan-cheng 趙善政, Yang Kan-cheng 楊干貞 and Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 succeeded one another by force and murder, so that there was not a peaceful day.

"In the Sung dynasty (960–1127) the house of Tuan 段氏 occupied Ta-li, and changed the name Shan-chü Chün to Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡, and placed Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 to keep it in order. The Kao family 高氏 thus dwelled there for many generations.[15]

In the Yüan dynasty, in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253), Kao Chün 高俊[16] submitted to the Imperial rule. In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) the territory of Shih shou 施州 was established. In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Pei-sheng shou 北勝州. In the 24th year (1287) it was raised to the fu-magistracy of Pei-sheng fu, and Yung-ning

[12] The Shih-man inhabited the third of the six *Chao* which comprised the Nan-chao (Southern Kingdom). Their territory was the Shih-lang chao 施浪詔, of which Shih-wang-ch'ien 施望欠 was the founder; it was situated on the Mi-ts'u Ho 彌苴河 and the mountains of Meng-ts'u-ho Shan 蒙次和山 in Lang-kung (ch'iung) 浪穹縣 (north of Ta-li).

[13] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* gives the 15th year (799) instead of the 11th (795). Ch. 7, fol. 30 of the Yung-pei Records gives also the 15th year. The same record also states that later the Ch'eng-chieh t'an 成賧註 was created. In the time of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (712–755) [this is wrong, it should read the second year of T'ien-fu 天福 (937)] Tuan Ssu-p'ing 段思平 (he ruled from 937–944 and was the founder of the Ta-li Kuo 大理國 of the Nan-chao Kingdom) conquered Nan-chao, changed the name of Ch'eng-chieh t'an and created the Ch'eng-chi Chün 成紀郡. (In the *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih*, Vol. 10, fol. 16b, it says that in the Sung dynasty the Ta-li Tuan family created the Ch'eng-chi-chen and Kao Hui-ch'iu 高惠求 was placed to govern it or keep it in order and subjection.)

[14] The word 勃 is written 賛 in the *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* 南詔野史.

[14] The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* says the Mo-so 摩些 instead of Li-su. This latter name is usually written 力些 or 僳僳.

[15] The Kao family succeeded the Tuan family on the throne of Ta-li under the name of the Ta-chung Kuo 大中國 (1094–1096).

[16] Kao Chün according to the Mongol history, ch. 61, fol. 6a, was the chief of Pei-sheng.

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(Courtesy Rat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 185. — FIRS AND RHODODENDRONS BELOW THE SI LA

At an elevation of 12,000 feet, at the foot of the Si La we meet with pure stands of *Abies Delavayi* with undergrowth of *Rhododendron keysii*. The snowy pyramid in center is Mt. Dra-chben which flanks the Zhi-dzom La. Eastern slopes of Mekong — Salween divide.

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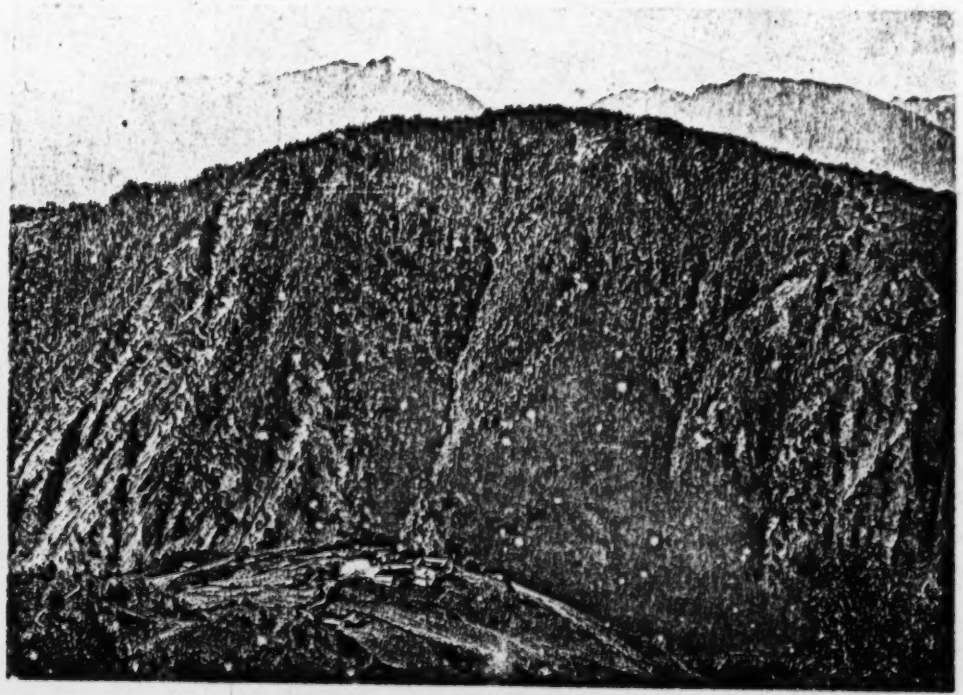
PLATE 186. — THE VALLEY OF THE SALWEEN (Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

Looking west from the Nying-ser La, elevation 13,400 feet, into the Salween valley. The central spur (lower right) is A-la-la-shan; the snow-covered range is the Salween — Irrawadi (Ch'iu Chiang) divide. Abies (fir) and Rhododendrons in foreground.

[p.362 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 187. — THE LU-TZU VILLAGE OF BAHANG

白汗洛村天主教會

The village is situated at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking the Doyon lung-pa, a tributary of the Salween. The central range is A-lo-la-kha and separates the Doyon lung-pa from the Salween. A Catholic Mission occupies the central part of the bluff; it is one of the loneliest Mission outposts imaginable.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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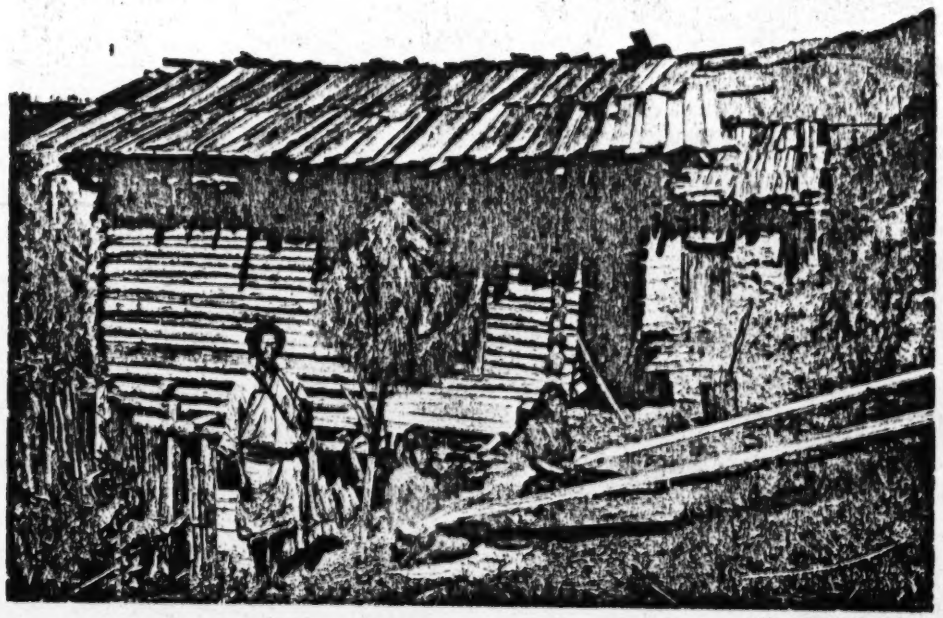
PLATE 188. — A NU-TZU (LU-TZU) FAMILY FROM PAI-HAN-LO (BAHANG)

白汗洛瑟子

Through continuous intermarriage many of them are cretins and nearly all are afflicted with goitre.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 189.—LU-TZU HUTS AT BAHANG

白汗洛懸子住房

All Lu-tzu huts are alike and the price is three silver taels each. Lu-tzu women can be seen weaving hemp cloth.

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[p.362 F]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 190. — THE SALWEEN RIVER AS SEEN FROM A-LO-LA-KHA

怒江，葛蒲楊之南

The river, flowing south in its narrow trench; seen from an elevation of 8,000 ft. on the western slopes of A-lo-la-kha above Chang-ra (Cho-la) and south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 191. — LU-TZU VILLAGE HEADMAN OF CHANG-RA

怒江卓拉怒子黑目

The Lu-tzu are confined to the Salween valley between Lyu-ra-gang and Sang-tha. To the north of them are Tibetans and to the south the Black Li-su.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border A E3

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[p. 362 H]

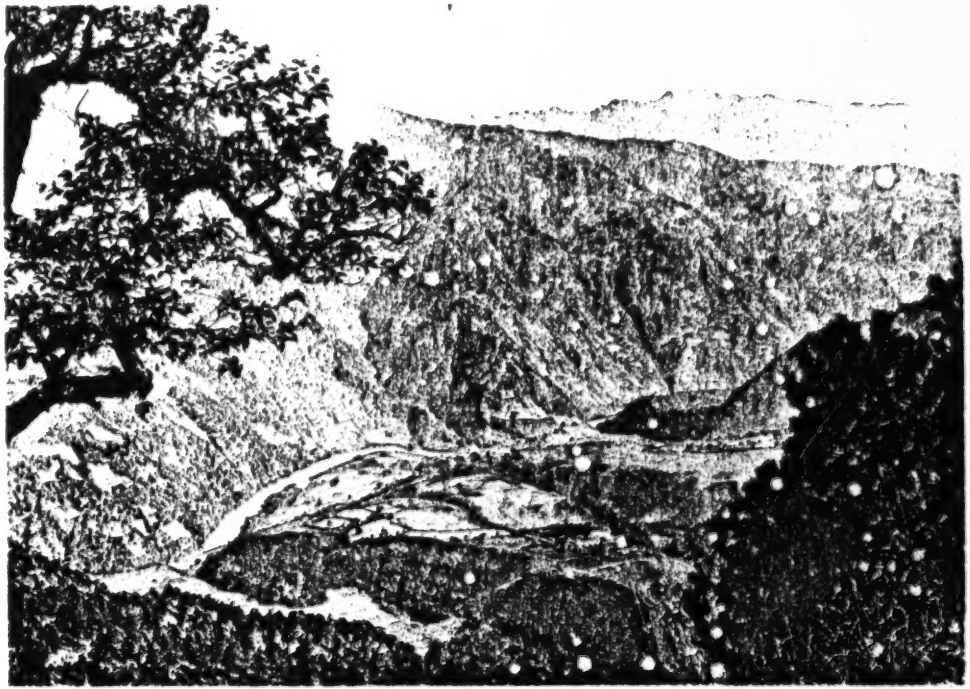
(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 192. — THE SALWEEN AT CHANG-RA

怒江章拉渡

In the winter the crossing of the Salween is accomplished by dug-out canoes paddled by Lu-tzu; in the summer a single rope stretched across the river serves as a bridge. The Salween flows here at 5,800 feet.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 193. — CH'ANG-P'U-T'UNG IN THE SALWEEN VALLEY

菖蒲桶瘲江溝

The village is situated on a wedge-shaped terrace, at an elevation of 6.000 feet. Photographed looking south-east toward the Mekong — Salween divide.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 194. — THE MARBLE GORGE OF THE SALWEEN

[illegible]

North of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung the Salween flows through a beautiful marble gorge, it is the gateway to South-eastern Tibet or Tsha-rong. Pines in foreground.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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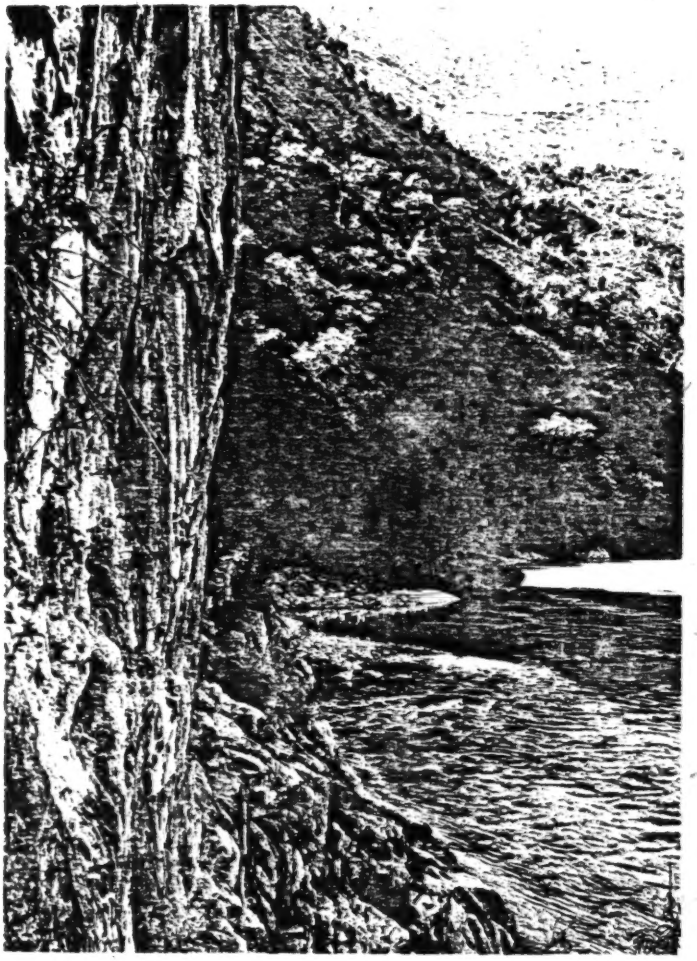

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 195. — WITHIN THE SALWEEN MARBLE GORGE

高 灣 極 窓 江 映 峯

The trail through the gorge is on the left and consists of a few sticks visible in the picture. The Salween valley is here densely forested with tropical, evergreen trees and palms, which higher up give way to pines, spruces, firs and finally alpine meadows studded with gorgeous flowers. The bright stream of light on the Salween is the mouth of the Ssu-chi-t'ung.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 196. — MOUNT KE-NYI-CHUM-PO OF THE SALWEEN — IRRAWADI DIVIDE

嘉 蒲 種 高 黎 貢 山

This snowpeak is a little north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung at about latitude 28° 2'. A pass called the Gom-pa La leads to the Ch'iu Chiang or Trun, still in Yün-nan. The tremendous gorge at the foot of the mountain mass is Ssu-chi-t'ung. This is the home of *Taiwania cryptomerioides*.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 197. — A CH'IU-TZU FROM THE TRUN VALLEY

祁 比 祁 子

The Ch'iu-tzu are closely related to the Lu-tzu of the Salween but their language is not the same. They live in the valley of the Trun, an affluent of the Nmai Hka, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi: They are a very friendly and peaceful people.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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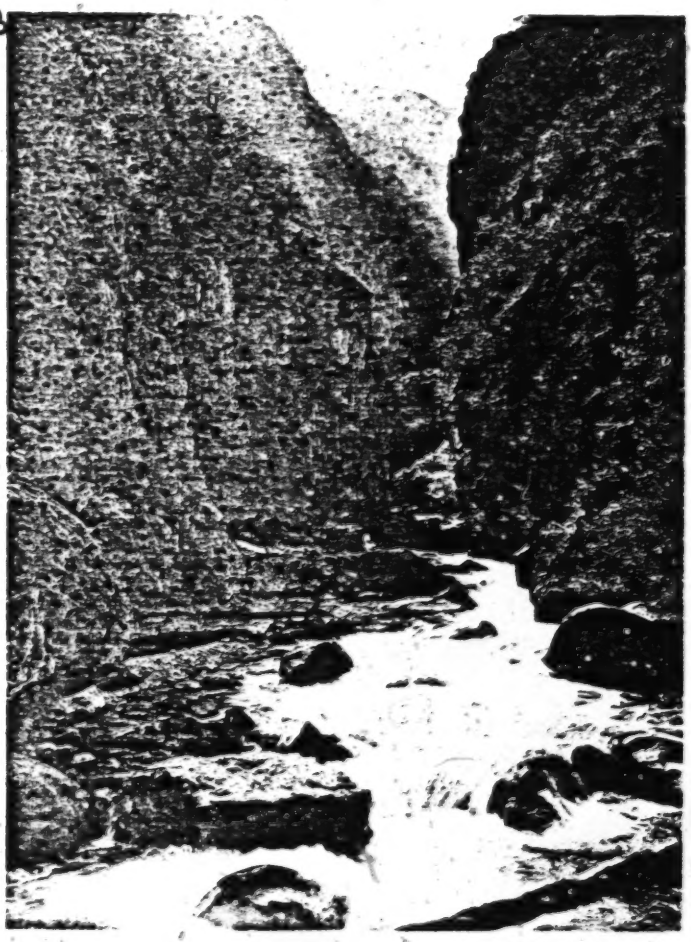

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 200. — THE DO-KAR LA STREAM AT ITS CONFLUENCE WITH THE MEKONG

多卡拉河口

The Do-kar La Stream is joined by the Lung-dre Stream below Lung-dre and united they enter the Mekong at an elevation of 7,300 feet.

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173 chou was made subject to the military and civil Hsüan-fu-ssu of the Li-chiang Circuit 麗江路軍民宣撫司 and to be governed by him.

"In the Ming dynasty, the 15th year of Hung-wu (1382), Kao Ts'e 高策 [17] led his people to submit to the empire. In the 17th year (1384) a Pei-sheng chou liu-kuan chih-chou 北勝州流官知州 (Pei-sheng transferable Department magistrate) was established and Kao Ts'e was appointed native Department magistrate. He was to govern the I-min 夷民 (wild tribes) and his Pei-sheng chou was made subject to the military and civil magistracy of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year (1396) the Lan-ts'ang wei military and civil tribal chieftaincy was established and was ordered to take charge of the district 州, which became joined to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei).[18]

"In the sixth year of Cheng-t'ung (1441) this was changed, and the Yün-nan pu-cheng-shih-ssu 雲南布政使司 (Yün-nan provincial governor) together with the Wei (military station) was to govern it. Again Lang-ch'ü chou 浪穹州 (Lang-ch'ü district) subject to the Wei, was made dependent on the Yün-nan-tu Chih-hui-shih-ssu 雲南都指揮使司 (Yün-nan capital Tribal government).

"In the Ch'ing dynasty, the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), there was established the Pei-sheng ying (cantonment). In the fifth year of K'ang-hsi (1666), Pei-sheng chou was placed under Ta-li fu, and there was added to it and established the Yung-pei chen 永北鎮 (Yung-pei brigades)."

In the 22nd year (1683) it was changed to Yung-pei hsieh 協 territorial regiment. In the 26th year (1687) Lan-ts'ang wei was abolished and all the collected taxes were taken and brought into the chou (district). In the 31st year (1692) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy, Fan Ch'eng-hsün 范承勳, examined the frontier and reported to the Emperor that it was an important and strategic land, and Pei-sheng chou was made the Chih-li chou 直隸州 (Independent department) reporting direct to the provincial government. Later it was changed back to Yung-pei chen. In the 37th year (1698) the Pei-sheng chih-li chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei (Yung-pei fu 永北府) and the Yung-ning t'ung chih 同知 (sub-prefect) was changed to the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect under whose rule the hereditary Yung-ning native prefect was placed. In the 38th year (1699) Shun chou 順州 subject to Ho-ch'ing fu was also placed under the rule of the sub-prefect.

"In the 32nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1767) the fu-magistracy was changed and was made an independent sub-prefecture or chih-li-t'ing 直隸廳 subject to I-hsi tao 迤西道.[19]

"In the 35th year (1770) the Chen 鎮 or brigade was changed into a Ying or battalion, governed by a Ts'an-chiang 參將 (Colonel), subject to the Ho-li chen 鶴麗鎮 (Ho-ch'ing–Li-chiang brigades).

[17] Kao Ts'e was the son of Kao Pin-hsiang 高賓祥, native prefect of Pei-sheng during the Yüan dynasty, who, when he made his submission to the Ming dynasty, was reduced to a superintendent or prefect of the second class.

[18] The ancient military station of Lan-ts'ang (wei) is the present city of Yung-sheng (Yung-pei) according to the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fol. 6b.

[19] I-hsi is a circuit in the west of Yün-nan comprising Ta-li, Ch'u-hsiung, Yung-ch'ang, Yung-pei, Li-chiang, and Meng-hua, but in reality it comprises the entire west of Yün-nan beginning west of K'un-ming.

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173 "In the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802) a memorial was presented to the Throne to transfer the right wing of the army under a second captain and to divide it to be stationed at the Chang T'u-chou 章土州 [20] and Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪 [21] subject to it.

"In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821), the barbarian robbers made trouble. Afterwards the Viceroy Ch'ing Pao's 慶保 petition being approved he transferred the city Ching-li 經歷 (Chief Yamen secretary) to reside in, and guard Chiu-ya-p'ing.

"In the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890) the sub-prefect Chiang Jui-hung 姜瑞鴻 made a report to his superior that the sub-prefect of Pei-sheng, Chang T'ien-hsi 章天錫,[22] had repeatedly broken the law and besought that soldiers be sent to inflict extermination [that is to exterminate him and his entire family]. The Viceroy believed him, and so abolished the hereditary official title, subjugated the district, and placed a new Ching-li (Secretary) of Hua-jung-chuang 華榮庄 in office."

It further states in the Yung-pei Records, ch. 2, fols. 3b–4a, under the heading "Yung-ning native magistracy" (永寧土府): "In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438) after the native magistrate Pu-sa had been murdered by the Tso-so T'u-ssu, and his brother who took charge could not withstand the attacks of the T'u-ssu of the military station of Yen-ching [*i.e.*, the Tso-so], he requested that a transferable official be established. In the same year a sub-prefect was sent to guard the seal and reside at Pei-sheng. Afterwards Pei-sheng chou was changed to the fu-magistracy of Yung-pei and the Yung-ning fu sub-prefect was made the Yung-pei fu sub-prefect."

6. PRESENT BOUNDARIES

101 Yung-ning borders in the east on Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 (the Yung-ning Lake), Lo-shui 喇水 and She-k'ua 奢跨 60 li to the border of the Tso-so T'u-ssu of the native territory of Tso-so in Ssu-ch'uan. In the south to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡,[23] 220 li, adjoining to the territory of Lang-ch'ü chou which is subject to Yung-pei. In the west to Pu-chio-ts'un 卜脚村 [24] [the Na-khi Law-k'a-khi-llü and P'u-dyü of the Hli-khin] 80 li to the Li-chiang district border. In the north to Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴, 60 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Huang lama 四川黃喇嘛 (Yellow lama district) border at Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺, the monastery of Wu-chio the Tibetan Rin-jom gom-pa (Rin-hjom dgon-pa) [25] of Mu-li, now in Hsi-k'ang.

[20] Chang T'u-chou was the hereditary native sub-magistrate of Pei-sheng. The family name was Chang 章.

[21] The present Hua-p'ing 華坪, east of Yung-pei or Yung-sheng 永勝.

[22] He was the joint o. sub-prefect. After having been accused of repeatedly breaking the law, he was executed with his entire family, so that there remained no one to offer to his spirit. The execution or extermination of his entire family was ordered by the Yün-nan Viceroy, Wang Wen-shao 王文韶, in 1890. Chang T'ien-hsi was the son of Chang Ling-kao 章鈴高, who was prefect of Pei-sheng and retired on account of illness.

[23] On the Chinese Yün-nan military map it is given as 卡洗坡, situated east of the Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山 (Prolonged [continuous] or Extended Mountain) which is north of the town of Lang-ch'ü, now called Ning-lang 寧蒗.

[24] In the genealogical records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is written P'u-chio 普角.

[25] རྫོགས་ཆེན་གོན་པ།

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CHAPTER II

Family Chronicles of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu

In the possession of the family of the present Yung-ning chiefs there are two brief chronicles written in Chinese and in manuscript form. One of these chronicles begins with the first ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi, who makes his appearance in local history in the year 1381, when he submitted to the Ming dynasty with all his subjects; it ends with A Heng-fang of the 19th generation, born on May 7th, 1830. The second chronicle is an abridged account of the first and ends with the present T'u-ssu, A Min-han 阿民漢, great-grandson of A Heng-fang. 173

The late Yung-ning Tsung-kuan (Governor) (Plate 213), a close relative of the T'u-ssu, claimed, like the rest of the A family of Yung-ning (Plate 214), to be of Mongol origin and descendant of a Mongol officer or officers left by Kublai Khan to rule Yung-ning, when on his conquest of Yün-nan in 1253. The A family has always told me that they considered themselves Mongols, and their build and physiognomy bear out their statement. The first ancestor who appears in their biographical history at the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1381, does not bear a Mongol but a genuine Na-khi name. The name P'u-dtu is distinctly Na-khi, and is the term for a closely braided basket which does not leak. It is also perhaps a clan name, for the Na-khi of Li-chiang are divided into the P'u-dtu, Gv-hö, Gv-ndza and other clans. Each clan performs its special propitiation of Heaven (Muan-bpö) (Plate 65) on specified days in the first moon, the date varying for each clan. The origin of the names or their real meaning is now no more ascertainable.

1. Chronicle according to the 19th descendant, A Heng-fang

"An official family record of the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Heng-fang.

Pu-tu-ko-chi, the first ancestor: "My Personal Deposition:

"I, the local prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan 雲南永寧府, named A Heng-fang 阿恒芳, aged fifty-eight, having a purple-colored face with a small beard, being a subordinate official of the magistracy of the directly ruled t'ing-city of Yung-pei 永北廳, state in my evidence that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉. In the 14th year of the period of Ming Hung-wu (1381), this ancestor submitted to the Imperial rule with all his subjects of the chou-city of Yung-ning. The application of his submission was duly sent to the Emperor, who reappointed Pu-tu-ko-chi as prefect of the city of Yung-ning to govern all his tribespeople, and to defend his whole territory in the same way as he had done before. Meanwhile, this ancestor died of illness in his official residence, and the case was duly reported to the Imperial court.

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173 *The second generation:* My ancestor of the second generation was named Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八介 and, as the son of the previous prefect, succeeded to his father's position, and pacified all the land to his southern boundaries. In the 12th moon of the third year of Ming Yung-lo (December, 1405–January, 1406) he led the Huo-t'ou 火頭 (Fire-heads) of the four villages of Hsiang-lo 香羅,[1] Ko-tien 革甸, Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之 and La-tz'u-ho 剌次和, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a 板必他, Tz'u-lang 次郎, Pu-chi-fen 卜吉分 and A-chih-chü 可只苴, to the Imperial capital to have audience with the Emperor.

On the 24th of the fourth moon of the 4th year of Yung-lo (May 12th, 1406) Ko-chi-pa-ho received an Imperial despatch, which ordered his chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, conferred on him the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu 中順大夫 (Functionary of the third class honor), and appointed him also as the local prefect of Yung-ning. In the territory of the four villages Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu 長官司 (Senior village officials) were established, and they were all put under his rule.

"To his subordinates, that is Pan-pi-t'a and the other three fire-heads, the Emperor gave four letters patent and five official seals, conferring on each of them the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fifth rank); he appointed each of them also as the vice-senior officials of their respective villages. The Emperor again appointed Ko-chih-pa-ho as prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning, and gave him a golden belt, inlaid with flowers befitting his official rank, and engraved in its center, with the four Chinese characters *K'o Tu Chung Cheng* 克篤忠貞 (Capable of continued loyalty and uprightness). All these Imperial letters patent and appointments were duly received and read with expressions of thanks for the grace of the Emperor. This ancestor Ko-chih-pa-ho died in office on account of old age and a certain illness.

Third generation: "On the 15th of the ninth moon of the 12th year of Yung-lo (1414),[2] my ancestor of the third generation, named Pu-sa 卜撒, succeeded to his father's position, and assumed his official duties in due time. On a certain night of the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October, 1417) his territory was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei 剌馬非, rebel chief and tribal official of the Tso-so Salt-well garrison, Yen-ching wei Tso-so 鹽井衛左所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan, who killed Pu-sa. On the 24th of the sixth moon of the 21st year of Yung-lo (July 31st, 1423), Nan-pa 南八, second son of Ko-chi-pa-ho, succeeded to his brother Pu-sa's position as the local prefect. He assumed his official duties in due time; meanwhile, a part of his territory was again boldly invaded and occupied by a tribal chief of the Salt-well garrison Wu-so 鹽井衛五所 of the province of Ssu-ch'uan.[3]

[1] Hsiang-lo, according to the *Tu-shih Fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 117, pp. 23–24, was 150 li north of Yung-ning, Ko-tien 120 li north-west, Wa-lu-chih 280 li north, and La-tz'u-ho 240 li north-east of Yung-ning. At the latter place a senior official whose name was A, resided in the third year of Yung-lo (1405).

[2] That year had two ninth moons, so he could have assumed his position either on September 28th, 1414, or October 28th of that year.

[3] The Wu-so (Five So) are five semi-independent chieftains, who rule to this day their

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This case was accordingly reported to the Brigade-General and the two Provincial Commissioners, who duly attended to the matter. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), an application was made on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and established two transferable officials, namely a sub-prefect and a chief secretary, in the prefect's yamen. Their official residences were built in the city of Lan-ts'ang wei. They took charge of the official seals and defended their territory. 173

Fourth to tenth generation: "Ancestor Nan-pa died in office of illness, and thereupon A-chü 阿直, of the fourth generation, succeeded to his father's position as the local prefect on the 18th of the sixth moon of the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (July 28th, 1458). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Ch'eng-hua (September 12th, 1484), A-ch'o 阿綽, blood-brother of A-chü, succeeded to his brother's position as the local prefect. He died of illness. On the 9th of the second moon of the 9th year of Hung-chih 弘治 (February 22nd, 1496), A-kuei 阿[illegible], of the fifth generation, succeeded to his father A-cho's position as local prefect. He died in office of illness, and on the 14th of the sixth moon of the 10th year of Cheng-te (July 24th, 1515), A-hui 阿暉, of the sixth generation, succeeded to his father A-kuei's position as local prefect. There were born A-ho 阿和 and A-che 阿哲, of the seventh generation. On the 16th of the sixth moon of the 9th year of Chia-ching (July 10th, 1530), A-hui died of illness, and on the 24th of the fourth moon of the 19th year of Chia-ching (May 29th, 1540), A-ho succeeded to his father A-hui's position as local prefect. While in office he begot A-ying 阿英 and A-hsiung 阿雄. A-ho died of illness, and A-ying, his elder son and ancestor of the eighth generation, succeeded to his fa her's position as local prefect on the 5th day of the ninth moon, the 36th year of Chia-ching (September 27th, 1557). He died in office of illness, and left no heir. On the 5th of the ninth moon of the 2nd year of Wan-li (September 19th, 1574), A-hsiung, second son of A-ho, succeeded to his brother A-ying's position as local prefect. A-hsiung left no heir, and A-pu 阿卜, elder son of A-ho's blood-brother A-che, should have succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect, but on account of his ill-health he was unable to do so. In the 14th year of Wan-li (1586), A-hsiung died of illness and A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠, elder son of A-pu, had the right to succeed to his position. On the 9th of the third moon of the 19th year of Wan-li (1591),[4] A Ch'eng-chung, ancestor of the ninth generation, succeeded to A-hsiung's position as local prefect. During his tenure of office there was born to him A-ch'üan 阿銓. In the 38th year of Wan-li (1610), A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, succeeded to his father's position as local prefect. On the 5th of the sixth moon of the 42nd year of Wan-li (July 11th, 1614), he assumed his official duties. In the 8th year of Ch'ung-cheng 崇禎 (1635), he begot A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒. A-ch'üan, ancestor of the 10th generation, died of illness in his official residence, and A Chen-ch'i, of the 11th generation, succeeded to his father A-ch'üan's position as local prefect.

various territories in the south-west corner of Ssu-ch'uan; two of them, the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so, adjoin Yung-ning on the east.

[4] In that year there were two third moons. The date for the first third moon is April 2nd, 1591, and for the second, May 1st, 1591.

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173 *Eleventh and twelfth generation:* "In the fourth moon of the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih (May–June, 1659), when the Imperial troops came to Yün-nan, A Chen-ch'i sent messengers to them, and returned to allegiance. He was then permitted to rule his district as usual. In the meantime he received an Imperial note, informing him that all the tribal chiefs of the province of Yün-nan had followed his example by returning to allegiance. On account of the merit he had thus acquired the Board of Civil Office issued him special instructions, stating that he had been definitely appointed local prefect. The appointment was duly received and he assumed his official duties accordingly. In the 17th year of Shun-chih (1660), he begot A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕. He died of illness on the 2nd of the eighth moon of the 8th year of K'ang-hsi (August 27th, 1669). In the third moon of the 9th year of K'ang-hsi (April–May, 1670), the Provincial Governor sent an application on behalf of A T'ing-k'un to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and permitted him to succeed his father A Chen-ch'i in the position of local prefect.

Wu San-kuei's Revolt: "In the eleventh moon of the 12th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1673), when the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government, A T'ing-k'un was forced to hand over his Imperial appointment, and an illegal appointment was then issued by Wu, compelling him to rule his district as before and to restrain the Fan 番 and I 夷 (Tibetans and Lo-lo). On the the 19th of the fourth moon of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi (May 13th, 1675), during his tenure of office he begot A Chin-hui 阿錦輝. In the eighth moon of the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680), A T'ing-k'un, hearing that the troops of the present Imperial court had restored the province of Ssu-ch'uan, sent special messengers to the town of Chien-ch'ang chen 建昌鎮 and first offered to return to allegiance by putting himself under the command of the Yung-lüeh General 勇畧將軍, to whom accordingly he handed the illegal appointment. In the seventh moon of the 21st year of K'ang-hsi (August, 1682), Viceroy Ts'ai 督部堂蔡 holding the additional title of Sui-yüan General 綏遠將軍, issued him an official dispatch, ordering him to assume his official duties, to restrain all his aborigines, and to rule his district. In the first moon of the 24th year of K'ang-hsi (February, 1685), Viceroy Ts'ai sent a nomination on his behalf to the Emperor, who duly sanctioned it and issued him official letters patent. In the same moon of the same year, A T'ing-k'un received his official appointment, and obeyed the Imperial order by assuming his official duties in due time. In the eleventh moon of the 37th year of K'ang-hsi (December, 1698), he received instructions from the Board of Civil Office, ordering the chou-city of Yung-ning to be changed to a fu-city, and to be under the control of the fu-city of Yung-pei; he was bidden to do his official duties as usual, in restraining the aborigines and paying his land taxes to the government.

Thirteenth generation: "In the sixth moon of the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (July–August, 1705), A T'ing-k'un, on account of his suffering from chronic rheumatism, was unable to perform his official duties. He therefore applied for permission to resign, and A Chin-hui 阿錦輝, ancestor of the 13th generation and elder son of A T'ing-k'un, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the fourth moon of the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (May, 1706),

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through the courtesy of the Provincial Treasurer his case was reported in detail to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who put their joint signatures to an application on his behalf which they forwarded to the Board. On the 20th of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1797) the Board favoured A Chin-hui by issuing him letters patent as local prefect, which he duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. In the eighth moon of the 50th year of K'ang-hsi (September–October, 1711), he suffered from a paralytic stroke, which was found incurable. On the 20th of the eleventh moon of the same year (December 29th, 1711), he died of illness while still in office.

"A Hsi-yüan 阿錫遠, elder son of A Chin-hui, became thus the rightful heir to his father's position. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated his blood-uncle, A Chin-hsien 阿錦先, to comfort and support the orphan, and to assist in managing local affairs. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720), A Hsi-yüan came of age. On the 13th of the ninth moon of the 1st year of Yung-cheng (October 11th, 1723) while the application requesting his right of inheritance was being prepared, he died suddenly of illness. His death was due to a natural cause, and the news was reported clearly to the court. He left neither an heir nor any blood-brothers. The case was investigated and it was proved that the local official secretary, A Chin-hsien, was in truth the blood-brother of A Chin-hui. Now, A Hsi-yüan was dead, therefore A Chin-hsien, ancestor of the 13th generation, was the rightful successor to his brother's position as ruler of this district. There were no corrupt practices at all in this matter. In the fourth year of Yung-cheng (1726) applications were sent to the Provincial Government, requesting that he be permitted to succeed his brother, A Chin-hui, in the position of local prefect. On the 26th of the third intercalary moon of the 5th year of Yung-cheng (May 16th, 1727), the Viceroy sent his nomination to the Board of Civil Office, which then issued him letters patent, appointing him local prefect, and authorizing him to assume his official duties. On the 2nd of the first moon of the same year (January 23rd, 1727) he suffered from heart trouble and gout, which was found to be incurable, and on the 4th of the fourth moon of the same year (May 24th, 1727) he died as the result of his illness.

Fourteenth generation: "A Yu-wei 阿有威, ancestor of the 14th generation and elder son of A Chin-hsien, was examined by the Provincial Treasurer, and found to be the rightful heir and successor to his father's position. The case was duly reported on his behalf to both Viceroy and Provincial Governor, who then joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Board, which issued official letters patent in his favor appointing him local prefect. This was on the 20th of the third moon of the 6th year of Yung-cheng (April 28th, 1728). The appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties.

"In the sixth moon of the same year (July), the Nung tribe 獞人 rebelled against the government. A Yu-wei was instructed by Defence Commissioner Liu 柳 of Yung-pei to send his local militiamen to exterminate the rebels. A Yu-wei selected 300 men to join the government troops, and advanced with them to La-ju-wo 腊汝窩, where they assisted each other in carrying on a

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173 campaign against the robbers. Pursuing the rebels to Tso-so territory, they captured the leader of the brigands alive. In the twelfth moon of the 11th year of Yung-cheng (January, 1734), the Emperor rewarded the headman of the militia with 16 taels of silver, and each of the 299 militiamen with one tael and two candareens of silver. In receiving this reward, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor. In the fifth moon of the 10th year of Yung-cheng (June–July, 1732), on account of a certain massacre caused through mutual enmity among the tribespeople, Defence Commissioner Liu of Yung-pei instructed A Yu-wei to send his local militiamen to assist the government troops in their campaign to exterminate those robbers. He accordingly selected 500 local volunteers, and advanced with them to the place of fighting. Owing to his careful planning and cooperating with the government troops, the leader of the Hsi-fan robbers, named Cha-shih-teng 乍實等, was captured alive. After withdrawing his own troops, he received instructions from the Emperor, who rewarded Ch'i-k'o-ch'u 啓可初, headman of the militia, with 26⅔ taels of silver, and each of the 499 militiamen with a silver medal. In the tenth moon of the 1st year of Ch'ien-lung (November, 1736), he respectfully received a gracious Imperial mandate, stating that all those chiefs and local prefects governing the tribespeople of Yün-nan province who wished to apply for hereditary rank, were requested to do so by sending a careful report, together with their nominations to the Emperor. Ancestor A Yu-wei reported in conformity with the usual regulations to the Imperial court, which then issued him two Imperial mandates, one conferring on him the honorary title of Chung-hsien ta-fu 忠憲大夫 (Functionary of the fourth class honor) and the other appointing him local prefect. While in office there were born to him two sons named A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌 and A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌 respectively.

Fifteenth generation: "In the fourth moon of the 5th year of Ch'ien-lung (April 26th–May 24th, 1740), A Yu-wei died of illness; therefore in accordance with the usual custom A Shih-ch'ang, his elder son, became the rightful heir to his father's position. In the tenth moon of the 6th year of Ch'ien-lung (November 8th–December 7th, 1741) the Provincial Treasurer reported on A Shih-ch'ang's behalf to both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor, who again joined their signatures in his favor to nominate him to the Emperor. In the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747), official letters patent were issued to him, appointing him local [native] prefect. The latter were duly received, and authorized him to assume his official duties. On the 23rd of the second moon of the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (March 30, 1769), A Shih-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-pi 阿良弼, his elder son and ancestor of the 16th generation, became the rightful heir and successor. However, on account of his immature age, elders of the clan publicly nominated Chang-shih 章氏, mother of A Liang-pi, to comfort and support him [the minor]. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) he died of illness without having succeeded to his father's position and left no heir. The Provincial Treasurer 布政司 Ch'ien 錢 investigated this matter carefully in his favor and reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy 督部堂 Chang 彰 and the Provincial Governor 撫部院 Na 納, asking them to permit A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌, blood-uncle of A

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Liang-pi, to inherit the office. It was known that A Ch'i-ch'ang was the second son of the late native prefect A Yu-wei by his first wife Chang-shih, therefore it was found in order for A Ch'i-ch'ang to succeed to his brother's position. Meanwhile, nominations were sent in his favor to the Emperor, who issued him official letters patent, appointing him local prefect. On the 9th of the ninth moon of the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (October 16th, 1771), the appointment was duly received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties, to rule over his district, and to restrain the aborigines.

Sixteenth generation: "On the 20th of the second moon of the 1st year of Chia-ch'ing (March 28th, 1796), A Ch'i-ch'ang died of illness, and A Liang-fu 阿良輔, ancestor of the 16th generation and elder son of A ch'i-ch'ang by his first wife A-shih 阿氏, became the rightful heir to the position. On the 29th of the third moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing (April 25th, 1797), the Provincial Treasurer Ch'en 陳 reported on his behalf to both the Viceroy Lo 勒 and the Provincial Governor Chiang 江, who, favoring him, sent his nomination to the Emperor, and asked permission for him to assume his hereditary post. Official letters patent were then issued to him, appointing him native prefect. On the 12th of the third moon of the 3rd year of Chia-ch'ing (April 27th, 1798), the said appointment was received and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. Sometime before this, in the 1st year of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796), the wild Lo-lo robbers of Wei-yüan 威遠 created trouble.

The Provincial Governor sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating those wild tribes. A Liang-fu 阿良輔 selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a captain to lead them. They were to join the government troops, and advanced to the place of trouble in order to assist in this campaign. On account of the excellent service rendered by the militiamen in putting the Lo-los to the sword, both the captain and the men were rewarded by all the high authorities of the military headquarters with silver medals, cows and wine. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor again relieved the relatives of the killed and wounded militiamen in the war, by granting them an indemnity of 80 taels of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks to the Emperor.

"In the sixth intercalary moon of the second year of Chia-ch'ing, (July 24th-August 21, 1797), the Chung Miao 狆苗[8] of Nan-lung 南龍 committed unlawful acts, and the Viceroy Lo 勒 sent dispatches to all chiefs, ordering them to send the militiamen under their command to join the government troops, in order to reduce those tribes to submission. A Liang-fu selected 50 men of his militia, and appointed a headman to command them, and advanced with them to assist in attacking the enemy. Meanwhile he was again instructed to send his militia to assist in the attack. This time he selected 30 men and appointed a headman to command them and to accompany the government troops and assist in conquering the tribes. On account of this meritorious service, both the headman and the militia were rewarded with

[8] Either the Hei-chung-miao 黑狆苗 or the Chung-chia 狆家 and Miao-tzu 苗子 tribes are meant, all of which live in the province of Kuei-chou where Nan-lung is situated.

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173 silver medals, silver ingots, cows and wine, which gifts were duly received and distributed to them all. This time, each of the headman of the militia was rewarded with six taels of silver, and three taels of silver to repair their clothing. Before they started on their journey, each of them was paid two taels of silver for the support of his home. After the troops were withdrawn, the Emperor relieved relatives of the killed and wounded in the war by granting them an indemnity of a considerable amount of silver. In receiving this, they all knelt down to express their thanks. Meanwhile, A Liang-fu was instructed by the government to attend to certain military affairs at Wei-hsi 維西; this task he accomplished without the slightest fault or delay. On the 20th of the ninth moon of the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (October 22nd, 1815), A Liang-fu, ancestor of the 16th generation, suffered from a cold which was then found to be incurable. On the 29th of the same moon of the same year, (October 31st), he succumbed to his illness.

Seventeenth generation: "A Hui-yüan 阿會元, ancestor of the 17th generation and elder son of A Liang-fu by his first wife Chang-shih 章氏, had reached maturity, and was, therefore, found to be the rightful heir to his father's position. In the first moon of the 21st year of Chia-ch'ing, (February, 1816), the Provincial Treasurer Han 韓 reported in his favor to both the Viceroy Po 伯 and the Provincial Governor Ch'en 陳, who again joined their signatures and sent his nomination to the Emperor, who then issued him an official dispatch, appointing him as the native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. On the 25th of the first moon of the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (March 12th, 1817), letters patent were duly received which authorized him to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes to the government.

"In the first year of the period of Tao-kuang (1821), Lo-lo robbers created trouble in the district of Chiu-ya-p'ing 舊衙坪,[6] in the territory ruled over by two aboriginal chiefs named Kao 高 and Chang 章 respectively. A Hui-yüan received instructions from the Viceroy, stating that the Emperor had approved his report, and that government troops of the two provinces Ssu-ch'uan and Yün-nan would shortly be dispatched to capture or exterminate those robbers. No sooner had he received this information, than the Superintendent of Military Affairs and Intendant of the Circuit of West Yün-nan 迤西道 named Hsieh 謝, and the Sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to send his militiamen to guard all important passes and prevent the robbers crossing them. A Hui-yüan accordingly selected 300 volunteers and appointed a headman to command them to meet the enemy. He was again instructed to transport rations for the soldiers and to furnish provisions to the chair-coolies and horses. These services he performed without the slightest delay.

"In the 25th year of the period of Tao-kuang (1845), when the Mohammedan robbers of Mi-tu 彌渡[7] and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble, he

[6] Chiu-ya-p'ing is the present day Hua-p'ing 華坪 and is east of Yung-sheng on the Yung-sheng–K'un-ming highway.

[7] Mi-tu is 30 li south of Hung-ngai and two and a half days south-east of Ta-li Yung-

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was instructed by Sub-prefect Liu 劉 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen to escort the soldiers' rations. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them in order to escort the transport of the soldiers' rations to the Military Commissariat of the city of Ta-li. The rations were delivered safely to that bureau and without delay.

In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), Yao Shan 藥山,[8] a region under the rule of the chief of Lang-ch'ü was made unsafe by bands of highway robbers. A Hui-yüan was therefore instructed by sub-prefect Hsiung 熊 of the city of Yung-pei to mobilize his militiamen and attack the brigands. He selected 300 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order that they might advance and join the government troops to ward off the brigands. Again, he was instructed to superintend the transporting of the soldiers' rations, and to find chair-coolies and horses. He performed these services without delinquency or delay. While in office, there was born his first son, A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, who was duly reported to the government for registration.

"Now, when A Yü-hsing had reached maturity, he was found to be the rightful successor to his father's position. However, owing to pressing affairs and bad communications, he was prevented from sending his report to the government and could not apply for his right of inheritance. In the sixth moon of the eighth year of Hsien-feng (July 11th-August 8th, 1858), hairy rebels created trouble at Tali.[9] The Provincial Commander-in-Chief 提督軍門 Ch'u 褚 sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to assist the government troops in exterminating the rebels. A Hui-yüan imme liately selected 100 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to ward off the enemy. He was again instructed to raise funds to pay the soldiers, and he duly delivered the same safely to the General Military Commissariat of the city of Yung-pei 永北軍需總局. In the first moon of the 11th year of Hsien-feng, (February 10th-March 10th, 1861) the hairy rebels came to Yung-pei. Sub-prefect Hu 胡 of Yung-pei sent him an order to mobilize his troops to exterminate the robbers. He then selected 300 militia and a headman and sent them against the rebels. He was also ordered to send funds for the pay of soldiers. In the seventh

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ch'ang (Pao-shan 保山) is in the south-west of Yün-nan four stages north-east of T'eng-yüeh on the highway between Ta-li and T'eng-yüeh (T'eng-ch'ung 騰衝).

[8] Yao Shan (Medicine Mountain) is a high range which extends from north to south, west and south of Yung-hing. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze valley.

[9] The so-called hairy rebels here mentioned are none other than the Mohammedans of Ta-li. The *Yung-pei chih-li t'ing chih* ch. 3, fol. 59b relates that in the sixth year and eighth moon of Hsien-feng (August 30th-September 28th, 1856), the Mohammedans of Ta-li rebelled. In the battle with the rebels, magistrate Mao Yü-ch'eng 毛玉成, who led the native troops, was killed. The Moslem robbers of the western district thereupon captured Ta-li and also Yung-ch'ang where they established themselves. The Moslem native, by name Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀, was made their chief and took the title of Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. They allowed their hair to grow long, cast a false seal, appointed illegal officials, and hoisted their own flag, white in color. They also changed their type of garments and headgear, and established a false calendar.

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173 month of the same year, the city of Yung-pei was captured by the hairy rebels. Sub-prefect Wu 吳 of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen to join the government troops, in order to attack the enemy. He was again instructed to secure military rice. A Hui-yüan immediately selected 500 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in attacking and exterminating the robbers. He performed these services without delay. In the tenth moon of the 2nd year of T'ung-chih (November 11th–December 10th, 1863), he again attacked the lair of the robbers at Yung-ch'eng 永城.[10] He also received an urgent dispatch from sub-prefect Chang 張 of the city of Yung-pei, instructing him to mobilize his militia and to secure military rice. He accordingly selected 200 volunteers, and appointed a headman to command them, in order to assist in exterminating the robbers. In the 4th year of T'ung-chih (1865), on account of the robbers attacking the city of Yung-ch'ang, sub-prefect Ts'ao 曹 of the city of Yung-pei sent him an urgent dispatch, instructing him to order his militiamen to assault the city of Yung-ch'ang. Ancestor A Hui-yüan selected 300 volunteers to assist in this campaign. He was then instructed to raise 2,000 taels for military purposes; this amount he paid without delay. On the 10th of the first moon of the 6th year of T'ung-chih (February 14th, 1867), being advanced in years, he became ill. From this illness he never recovered. On the 28th of the same moon (March 4th) he died in office. The date of his death was carefully reported to sub-prefect Na 納 of the city of Yung-pei, who forwarded the same on his behalf to the government for registration.

Eighteenth generation: "After certain investigations, it was found that A Yü-hsing 阿毓興, ancestor of the 18th generation, was the elder son of native prefect A Hui-yüan of the fu-city of Yung-ning by his first wife, A-shih 阿氏. He was born on the 16th of the second moon of the 16th year of Chia-ch'ing (March 10th, 1811), therefore A Yü-hsing was the rightful heir to his father's position. Since he did not formally apply for his right of inheritance, he was given only an ordinary appointment. He received the same in due time, and was thus authorized to assume his official duties, rule over his district, restrain the tribespeople, and pay the land taxes. In the eleventh moon of the 8th year of T'ung-chih (December 3rd, 1869–January 1st, 1870), while the city of Yung-ch'ang was being attacked, he received an urgent dispatch from each of the high authorities, ordering him to mobilize his militiamen and assist in exterminating the robbers. He was also instructed to secure chair-coolies and military rice, etc. My father, A Yü-hsing, personally led his militiamen to render assistance in exterminating the robbers. As he travelled through many humid regions, his limbs became afflicted with gout.

"At that time he was already 60 years of age, and, since he was unable to perform his official duties, he applied for permission to resign, and requested that his elder son A Heng-fang 阿恆芳 be allowed to succeed him. This was duly reported to sub-prefect Kuo 郭 of the city of Yung-pei. While documents were being drawn up on his behalf by sub-prefect Kuo asking each of

[10] That is Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng 永勝, four stages east of Li-chiang.

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the high authorities to consent to his right of inheritance, on account of his father's old age, ill-health, and retirement, this sub-prefect died in office of illness, hence the documents could not be forwarded to the government. 173

Nineteenth generation: "In truth, my name is A Heng-fang, and I was born by A-shih 阿氏, my mother and the first wife of my father, A Yü-hsing, on the 15th of the fourth moon of the 10th year of Tao-kuang (May 6th, 1830). I am the elder son of my father, therefore I am the rightful heir and successor to his position. This had not been reported to the government, although I had reached majority and am eligible to inherit my father's position. Therefore I sent on the eighth moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (September 18th–October 16th, 1876), my personal depositions to sub-prefect Wu 吳 of the city of Yung-pei, containing a careful description of my physical features, ancestral history, official seal-print, the geographic maps of my territory, and other evidences, in the form of a statistical table. I had hoped that he would report on my behalf to Intendant Hsiung 熊 of the Circuit of West Yün-nan, who would in turn report on my behalf to the Provincial Treasurer, who would report to both the Viceroy Liu 劉, and the Provincial Governor Tu 杜. The latter were to nominate me to the Emperor, requesting him to grant me the right to assume my ancestors' hereditary position. I also sent most respectfully my report to the Emperor. On the 3rd of the intercalary third moon of the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (April 23rd, 1879) I received from sub-prefect Hu 胡 of the city of Yung-pei an official diploma together with an official dispatch, informing me that letters patent had been issued on behalf of the native prefect A Heng-fang of the fu-city of Yung-ning on the 13th of the second moon of the 4th year of Kuang-hsü (March 16th, 1878) by the Board of Civil Office, but it was delivered through the Board of War and Viceroy Liu. I immediately wrote a reply acknowledging the receipt of these letters patent authorizing me to assume my official duties, rule over my district, restrain the tribal people, and pay the land taxes. I am now still holding this position. My first wife was named Ch'eng-shih 程氏, and gave birth to my elder son, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, on the 26th of the first moon of the 2nd year of Kuang-hsü (February 20th, 1876). On account of his minority, he is now unable to rule over this district, but he has already been registered to succeed me in the future.[11] This is here added simply for the purpose of rendering a clear and complete statement." [12]

2. ACCORDING TO THE 22ND DESCENDANT, A MIN-HAN

"An official family record of the Native prefects of the fu-city of Yung-ning, Yün-nan, according to the personal deposition of a descendant named A Min-han.

"On account of services rendered in supplying military rice in the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th,

[11] This was the late retired T'u-ssu (Chief) of Yung-ning. He died in the summer of 1938.

[12] Here follows a statement regarding the four boundaries of Yung-ning, which are practically the same as described on p. 364.

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173 1930), Colonel Kao Yin-huai 高蔭槐 did me the favour of requesting the Provincial Government to grant me the right of inheritance. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931), Provincial Chairman Lung 龍主席 sent me a dispatch approving the said request, and I, A Min-han, descendant of the 22nd generation of my clan, am thus authorized to succeed to my ancestral position. I have two brothers named A Min-chu 阿民柱 and A Min-fan 阿民藩 respectively.

"My Personal Deposition:

"I, the native prefect A Min-han 阿民漢 of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the hsien-city of Yung-pei, state that I am now 22 years of age,[13] of middle stature, white-faced and beardless, and that my ancestor of the first generation was named Pu-tu-ko-chi. In the reign of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398), this ancestor submitted himself and the people of his chou-city of Yung-ning to the Imperial rule, and the Emperor approved his request and appointed him native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning, in order that he could rule over the Fan-i 番夷 (barbarous tribes) and defend his territory. Ko-chi-pa-ho, my ancestor of the second generation, conquered the southern frontier of our district. On account of this service, he was promoted to the position of native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning. Thenceforth, one generation succeeded the other till A Chen-ch'i 阿鎮麒, my ancestor of the eleventh generation, who, submitting to the Imperial rule in the reign of Shun-chih of the Ch'ing 清 dynasty (1644–1661), was then appointed to rule over his district and permitted to assume his hereditary position as native prefect of the fu-city of Yung-ning.

Twentieth generation: "This position was inherited by many generations till the time of A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who is of the 20th generation, and who is my grandfather. In the 20th year of Kuang-hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty (1894), he succeeded to his father's position. At that time he sent a statement to the provincial authorities, petitioning them to permit his elder son A Chan-k'o 阿占科 to be his rightful successor. On the 26th of the eighth moon of the 12th year of the Chinese Republic (October 6th, 1923),[14] my father A Chan-k'o unfortunately died of illness. Since I was the elder son of A Chan-k'o and the grandson of A Ying-jui, a report was sent to the magistrate of the hsien-city of Yung-pei, asking that my right of inheritance be confirmed.

Twenty-second generation: "In the third moon of the 19th year of the Chinese Republic (March 30th–April 28th, 1930), Colonel Kao of the 3rd regiment reported in my favour to Lung Yün 龍雲, Chairman of the Provin-

[13] This is not correct, for he was born in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung 宣統 (1910). Even reckoning the Chinese way, he would be only 21 and not 22 years of age.

[14] This is incorrect, as A Chan-k'o was alive on February 5th, 1924, the Chinese New Year of the 13th year of the Republic, when he received me at the yamen of Yung-ning with his father A Ying-jui who was then still living.

In the family tree of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu it gives the date of the demise of A Chan-k'o as the eighth moon of the 16th year of the Republic, and if he died on the 26th of the eighth moon of that year this would be equivalent to the 21st of September, 1927, which is probably correct.

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cial Government, requesting him to grant me the right of inheritance and to issue me an official appointment. On the 30th of the eleventh moon of the same year (January 18th, 1931) I received the appointment. As my grandfather A Ying-jui is old and feeble, he applied for permission to resign, which was duly approved and registered. On the first of the twelfth moon of the same year (January 19th, 1931), after receiving my appointment, I succeeded to his position and assumed my official duties. All that I have stated in my deposition is true and without mistake. I hope you will fully acquaint yourself with the foregoing. 173

"My Official Title:

"My official title is 'The Hereditary Native Prefect A Min-han of the fu-city of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the hsien-city of Yung-pei.' "

3. ACCORDING TO THE YUNG-PEI CHIH-LI T'ING CHIH

The *Yung-pei Chih-li t'ing chih* gives in ch. 3, pp. 36b–41a, a brief account of the family history of the ruling T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. There are certain discrepancies between the personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs and those published in the Yung-pei Records, and a translation of the latter is here given, for comparison. The first personal records are in manuscript form and are in the possession of the Yung-ning chiefs, who kindly permitted me to have them copied. The second, printed in the official gazetteer of Yung-pei, under whose jurisdiction Yung-ning comes, is long out of print and only one copy is available in K'un-ming, and not accessible to every one. [Two copies of this work, besides the very rare *Yung-pei fu chih*, are in my private library.] A translation of the records pertaining to Yung-ning and the other Na-khi T'u-ssu and their territory, is here appended.

In the Ming dynasty:

Pu-tu-ko-chi 卜都各吉: He held the position of native prefect of the chou-city of Yung-ning. In the 14th year of the period of Hung-wu (1381), he and all his subjects submitted to the government, which appointed him native prefect of Yung-ning, subordinate to the magistracy of the fu-city of Ho-ch'ing. In the 29th year of the same period (1396), his district became subordinate to the military station of Lan-ts'ang (Lan-ts'ang wei 瀾滄衛).

Ko-chi-pa-ho 各吉八合: Son of the former, succeeded to his father's position as prefect of their chou-city. In the third year of Yung-lo (1401), he governed the four places called Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho. In the twelfth moon of the same year (December 22nd 1405–January 19th, 1406), his fire-heads (headmen) of the Hsi-fan tribe, by the names of Pan-pi-t'a, Pu-lang 布郎,[15] Pu-chi-fen and A-chih-chü, went to the capital to have audience with the Emperor, who was so pleased with them that in the fourth year of the same reign (1402), he sent Imperial letters patent to Ko-chi-pa-ho, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city

[15] In the personal family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the name is given as Tz'u-lang 夫郎. The territory of these former four officials belongs now to Mu-li.

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173 of Yung-ning. He also conferred on him the additional honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu (Functionary of the third class honor). In his four subordinate villages, namely Hsiang-lo, Ko-tien, Wa-lu-chih, and La-tz'u-ho, four Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior officials) were established, while on each of the fire-heads, Pan-pi-t'a, etc., was conferred the honorary title of Chung-hsien-chiao-wei 忠顯校尉 (Military officer of the fourth rank), by five Imperial mandates and six official seals.[16] He was also given a golden belt inlaid with silver flowers, and carved with four Chinese characters: *K'o Tu Chung Ch'eng* 克篤忠誠[17] (Capable of continued loyalty and honesty), by a separate Imperial mandate. In the eighth moon of the same year (September 12th–October 11th, 1406), he obeyed the Imperial order by changing his chou-city to a fu-city, and assumed his official duties in due time, governing the four senior officials of the four places, Hsiang-lo, etc., as his subordinates. In the 10th year of the same reign (1412), the Emperor conferred on his father Pu-tu-ko-chi the honorary title of Chung-shun ta-fu, and on both his mother A-ta 阿大 and his wife Chia-shih 甲失 the honorary title of Kung-jen 恭人.

Pu-sa 卜撒: In the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413)[18] he succeeded to his father's position as prefect of the fu-city. In the ninth moon of the 15th year of Yung-lo (October 10th–November 8th, 1417), on a certain night, his district was invaded and occupied by La-ma-fei, the native official of the Tso-so Salt-well military station in the province of Ssu-ch'uan, and Pu-sa was murdered. His younger brother Nan-pa succeeded to his position.

Nan-pa 南八: In the 21st year of Yung-lo (1423), after he had succeeded to his brother's position, his district was again boldly invaded and occupied by the local Wu-so chiefs of Ssu-ch'uan. Both the Viceroy and the Provincial Governor sent men to investigate this matter on his behalf. In the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438), reports were submitted to the Emperor, who duly granted his requests by appointing two additional officials, a transferable sub-prefect, and a transferable secretary of records at the military station of Lan-ts'ang. An official yamen was then built for their use within that city. These two officials took charge of the seals and defended their territory.

A-chü 阿苴: Son of Nan-pa. In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), he succeeded to the position of prefect of the fu-city. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-ch'o 阿綽: Younger brother of A-chü, succeeded him in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466).[19]

[16] The manuscript family records of the Yung-ning chiefs mention only four credentials and five seals.

[17] In the Yung-ning family records of the T'u-ssu the last character is *cheng* 貞.

[18] In the private family records of the Yung-ning chiefs the date is given as the 12th year (1414).

[19] The personal records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the date as the 23rd of the eighth moon of the 20th year of Cheng-hua (September 12th, 1484).

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A-kuei 阿貴: Son of A-ch'o, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hung-chih (1496). 193

A-hui 阿暉: Son of A-kuei, succeeded the latter in the 10th year of Cheng-te (1515).

A-ho 阿和: Son of A-hui, succeeded him in the 10th year of Chia-ching (1531).[20]

A-ying 阿英: Son of A-ho, succeeded him in the 36th year of Chia-ching (1557). He left no heir.

A-hsiung 阿雄: Younger brother of A-ying. In the second year of Wan-li (1574), he assumed office. He died of illness and left no heir.

A-pu 阿卜: Elder son of his younger brother A-che 阿哲, of the same mother, succeeded him. Meanwhile, on account of A-pu's ill-health, A Ch'eng-chung, his elder son, assumed office.

A Ch'eng-chung 阿承忠: He succeeded to the official position in the 19th year of Wan-li (1591).

A-ch'üan 阿銓: Son of A Ch'eng-chung, succeeded to his position in the 42nd year of the reign of Wan-li (1614).

In the Ch'ing dynasty:

A Chen-ling 阿鎮麟:[21] Son of A-ch'üan. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659) as the Imperial troops reached Yün-nan, he and his subordinates submitted to the Imperial rule. He was then ordered to rule over his district. Meanwhile, the Board of Civil Office issued him official letters patent, appointing him as native prefect of the fu-city.

A T'ing-k'un 阿庭錕: Son of A Chen-ling, assumed office in the ninth year of K'ang-hsi (1670). In the 12th year of the same reign (1673) the rebel Wu 吳 rose against the government. In the 19th year (1680), when the Imperial troops recovered Yün-nan, he went with his subordinates to Ssu-ch'uan, and there made his submission to the Imperial rule. In the 24th year (1685) he received an official dispatch ordering him to assume his official duties. In the 37th year (1698), instructions were received ordering the chou-city of Pei-sheng to be changed to the fu-city of Yung-pei. The fu-city of Yung-ning was then made subordinate to the fu-city of Yung-pei. A T'ing-k'un was also instructed to rule over his district and to restrain the tribespeople as heretofore.

A Chin-hui 阿錦暉: Elder son of A T'ing-k'un, succeeded to the latter's position in the 45th year of K'ang-hsi (1706). He died of illness and left no heir.

A Chin-hsien 阿錦先: Younger brother of A Chin-hui, succeeded him in the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727).

[20] The private records give the 19th year (1540).

[21] In the private records the name is given as ch'i 麒 instead of ling 麟.

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173 *A Yu-wei* 阿有威: Son of A Chin-hsien, succeeded him in the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728). In the sixth moon (July) of the same year, owing to the rebellion of the Nung 獞 tribe he was instructed by Brigade-General 總鎮 Liu 柳 to send his militia to the lair at La-ju to exterminate the robbers. He was then rewarded with certain gifts. In the 10th year of the same reign (1732), murders took place among Hsi-fan tribespeople who had rebelled; he was instructed by Brigade-General Liu to order his militiamen to join the government troops, and assist in exterminating the rebels. Meanwhile, he succeeded in capturing the Hsi-fan (leader) Cha-shih-teng 乍實等 of Liao-tu 料度. He was then rewarded by the Emperor for his military services. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung (1736), two Imperial dispatches of grace were sent to him, conferring on him certain honorary titles.

A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌: Son of A Yu-wei, who died when his son was only seven years old. His mother, Chang-shih, supported and comforted the orphan A Shih-ch'ang, and assisted in managing the affairs of their district. In the 15th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1750)[22] he had reached majority and applied for permission to succeed to his father's position.

A Ch'i-ch'ang 阿啓昌: Second son of A Yu-wei, succeeded his brother in the 36th year of the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1771).

A Liang-fu 阿良輔: Elder son of A Ch'i-ch'ang, succeeded him in the 3rd year of the period Chia-ch'ing (1798). In the first year of the same period (1796), before he succeeded to his father's position, certain tribal brigands created trouble at the city of Wei-yüan 威遠,[23] whereupon he was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in exterminating the brigands. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service. Again, in the 2nd year of the same reign (1797), some Chung-miao (tribespeople), of the city of Nan-lung 南龍[24] of the province of Kuei-chou, rebelled against the government; he was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating the rebels. He was then rewarded with certain gifts for his military service.

A Hui-yüan 阿會元: Son of A Liang-fu, succeeded him in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817). In the first year of the reign of Tao-kuang (1821) some tribal brigands created trouble. He was instructed to send his militiamen to assist in guarding them. In the 25th year of the same reign (1845) certain Mohammedan brigands of Mi-tu 彌渡 and Yung-ch'ang 永昌 created trouble. He was instructed to despatch his militiamen to assist in exterminating them. In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853) highway robbers made Yao Shan 藥山, a mountain range under the jurisdiction of the T'u-ssu of Lang-ch'ü, unsafe. He was instructed to send his militiamen to guard against

[22] The private records of the Yung-ning chiefs give the 12th year of Ch'ien-lung (1747).

[23] Wei-yüan is in Yün-nan and 340 li north-west of P'u-erh 普洱, latitude 23° 29′, longitude 100° 55′. It came under P'u-erh fu in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

[24] Nan-lung is the ancient name of the present An-lung 安龍 formerly also called Hsing-i fu 興義府. It received the latter name in the second year of Chia-ch'ing (1797). Latitude 25° 15′, longitude 106°.

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them. He was also ordered to secure chair-coolies and horses and to supply military provisions. Meanwhile, during the rebellion of the brigand Tu 杜,[25] he was repeatedly instructed to send his militiamen to render help in exterminating the rebels, and to supply military rice and other provisions in order to assist in carrying on this campaign. 113

A Yü-hsing 阿毓興: Elder son of A Hui-yüan. During his tenure of office his district was much disturbed, and therefore he found no opportunity to apply for the right of inheritance. He was given only an ordinary certificate of appointment to office which authorized him to command his militiamen and to assist in exterminating brigands. Meanwhile, he suffered from gout, and thereupon applied for retirement.

A Heng-fang 阿恆芳: Elder son of A Yühsing. Owing to his father's old age, illness, and his having resigned from office he applied for the right to succeed him. In the 5th year of Kuang-hsü (1879) an official diploma was delivered to him, and he was thus authorized to assume his official duties. In the 19th year of the same reign (1893) he retired from office.

A Ying-jui 阿應瑞: Elder son of A Heng-fang (PLATE 214). Owing to his father's resignation, he applied for the right of inheritance. In the 22nd year of the same reign (1896) his request was duly approved by the Emperor, who then issued him an official diploma and authorized him to assume his official duties. [He died in 1938 and his grandson, A Min-han 阿民漢, has succeeded him as native prefect of Yung-ning.]

[25] His name was Tu Wen-hsiu 杜文秀. He was a Mohammedan headman (shou 首). Later he called himself Tsung-t'ung ping-ma ta-yüan-shuai 總統兵馬大元帥. He was a leader of the Mohammedan rebellion.

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CHAPTER III

The Mountains of Yung-ning

*133 The *Yung-pei Chi-li t'ing chih* ch. 1, fol. 16b, gives the following mountains as belonging to the Yung-ning territory:

La-pu Shan 剌不山: North of the Yung-ning Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu 永寧瓦魯長官司. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* amplifies this brief information by stating that the mountain is 280 li north of Yung-ning fu and 35 li north-east of the ancient (舊) Wa-lu Chang-kuan-ssu.

As already remarked in the introduction to the chapter on Yung-ning, the territory to the north, which is now Mu-li, belonged once to Yung-ning. The chiefs were given jurisdiction over it by Imperial decree in the fourth year of Yung-lo, the 24th of the fourth month (May 12th, 1406). The particular Yung-ning chief was called Ko-chi-pa-ho and was of the second generation. Wa-lu, or Wa-lu-chih 瓦魯之, is the Wa-erh-chai 窪耳寨 of to-day, called Wa-chin by the Hsi-fan of Mu-li.[1] It is the oldest of the three larger monasteries in Mu-li and claims to be over 500 years old. The rDo-rje (Thunderbolt) is the protecting symbol of Wa-chin. A high mountain range over which a pass leads into the Li-t'ang River valley 25 to 30 li north-east of Wa-chin, is considered the embodiment of the rDo-rje and protective spirit of Wa-chin.[2] The pass, the highest in the neighborhood (elevation 15,420 feet) is called rDo-rje ran in Hsi-fan. It is the La-pu Shan of the Chinese mentioned as situated in Yung-ning which then had jurisdiction over Wa-chin (Wa-lu-chih). The mountain is also called Lieh-pu Shan 列卜山. The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that it is 730 li north of Yung-pei, that it is also called Lieh-pu Shan, and that Lieh-pu and La-pu are interchangeable. This mountain is of course no longer in Yung-ning or Yün-nan territory but in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's domain in Hsi-k'ang.

Kan-mu Shan 干木山 (Plate 216): This mountain, according to the Yung-pei Records, is 15 li east of Yung-ning and is said to be over 80 *chang* (a *chang* 丈 is 10 Chinese feet) in height. Its circumference at the base is 100 li. Another name for it is Shih-t'ou Shan 獅頭山 (Lion-head Mountain). It is also called Ku Shan 孤山 (Solitary Mountain).

Kan-mu Shan is the most prominent feature of the Yung-ning landscape; the Chinese apply different names to various parts of the mountain. It is the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山), called Seng-ge ga-mu by the Hli-khin people and Seng-ge dKar-mo, or White lioness, by the Tibetans,

[1] In Tibetan the place is called Lha-khang-steng ལྷ་ཁང་སྟེང་ or Terrace of the house of the gods. Here is a large lamasery called dGah-ldan-dar-rgyas gling དགའ་ལྡན་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་, named after the great lamasery of Ga-den in Tibet.

[2] The name of the mountain god and protective deity of Wa-chin is Lha-steng-gzhi-bdag-kha-drag-rdo-rje ལྷ་སྟེང་གཞི་བདག་ཁ་དྲག་རྡོ་རྗེ, shortened to Kha-dra (Mighty *dorje* or thunderbolt).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

and represents the mountain goddess (dKar-mo).[3] The southern part or broad head of the mountain which faces the Yung-ning Lake is called Lion-head Mountain, while its broadside which forms the eastern border of the Yung-ning plain, or Hli-dü, is looked upon as the Lion Mountain (Shih-tzu Shan); that part is also called Chia-mu Shan 甲母山 (First mother Mountain). Another name is Ku Shan, because it stands alone unconnected with any other range, being separated from the mountain to the east of it, Wua-zhu Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu, by a ravine and pass. Kan-mu Shan is 13,100 feet in height, and rises 3,600 feet above the lake and 3,700 feet above the Yung-ning plain. It is of limestone with superimposed volcanic rock in its northern lower end. There is a distinct crater-like depression in the broad central part of the mountain, and a peculiar crater is attached to its north-western end. On account of these depressions it is considered a female rather than a male mountain deity. This is also expressed in the Chinese name Chia-mu Shan (First mother Mountain). 133*

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 27, fol. 2b, states [in addition to the remarks in the Yung-pei Records], that the mountain is 398 li north-west of Yung-pei and 10 li south-east of Yung-ning. Its color is a hoary purplish green, its summit penetrates the clouds, and its base is over 100 li in circumference. Careful records note that the sound complexes Kan-mu and Chia-mu are interchangeable. At its foot is the Lu-ku Hu (Yung-ning Lake), erroneously given in the *Ming I-t'ung-chih* 明一統志 as Lu-k'u Hai-tzu 魯窟海子; this is identical with Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 the correct rendering.

Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain): The Gko-mun Ngyu of the Li-chiang Na-khi and Seng-ge ga-mu of the Hli-khin is, as has already been remarked, the dominant feature of the landscape. It is a beautifully proportioned mountain and is well named, extending along the Yung-ning plain like a reposing lion, its head facing the lake and its paws, the lateral spurs, resting in the blue waters of the lake. It is no wonder that a mountain with such outstanding features and individuality should have been selected as the mountain goddess of the district. The name Yung-ning, meaning Eternal Repose or Tranquility, must have been derived from the majestic pose and serenity of this mountain.[4] It is most easily ascended from lake or south side, for at any other place the sheer cliffs of its upper part bar the way.

Back of Hsiao-lo-shui 小曬水 (Law-zhěr) a trail leads steeply zigzag up a narrow valley, or rather ravine, through oak forest, *Quercus semicarpifolia*; it is the same trail which leads to the territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. From this path we turn west, up a steep pine-covered spur to the rim of a crater-like depression at 12,500 feet, situated on the northern flanks of Seng-ge ga-mu. This depression is overgrown with cane-brake, so common at the higher altitudes; spruces, rhododendrons and peonies, are also present. 487* 133* 137*

[3] སེང་ཧེ་དཀར་མོ She is said to dwell in Shih-tzu Shan. Kan-mu, is the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan dKar-mo and the Hli-khin Ga-mu. The goddess is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245).

[4] The name Yung-ning is in all probability a translation of its ancient Tibetan name Thar-lam, which means the way or road to emancipation (Nirvana).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

From this side-crater we climb steeply to the broad limestone crest of the mountain. The top of the mountain is fairly broad, and here again is a circular depression. The highest part on the broad summit is a limestone knoll to the west, overlooking the plain of Yung-ning, and is exactly 13,100 feet in height.

The view from the top of this mountain is magnificent: deep below at its foot, lies the placid lake with its islets, which appeared like tiny boats floating on the surface of the waters (PLATE 217). To the west extends the plain of Yung-ning with its villages, and beyond, the long mountain range called Shwua-gu which separates the Sä gyi, or Sä dji as the Hli-khin people pronounce it, from the Shu gyi or Zho Chhu, Iron river. This river is an affluent of the Wu-liang Ho 無量河,[6] and it forms the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan as

[6] The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 27, fol. 15, has the following to say about this river:

"The Wu-liang Ho is also called Wu-lang Ho 五郎河. It has two sources. One is called To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 and has its beginning in Ni-t'i Shan 泥替山 in the Ba-thang T'u-ssu territory of Ssu-ch'uan. The stream is also called Sha-lu-ch'u-po 沙魯楚泊; its ancient name was Sha-li-ch'u-no-erh 沙里楚諾爾. The source is a lake or pond, whence it flows more than 600 li to the Yün-nan border. The other source of the Wu-liang Ho is called Li-ch'u Ho 里楚河 and comes from the Lin-k'a-shih T'u-ssu territory 臨卡石土司 from the foot of the eastern slopes of Li-mu Shan 里穆山. It flows south-east to the territory of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. Where the two sources unite is at the Sha-lu-ch'i Shan 沙魯賽山 and they become the Cha-mu-ch'u Ho 札穆楚河; united they flow 1,400 li outside the Yün-nan border, and thence south-east 70 li within the Yün-nan border and there the stream is called the Wu-liang Ho. Flowing south it passes the Yung-ning territory for 200 li. Its western bank is the Li-chiang — Chung-tien border. It receives small affluents, flows east and again south-east and is called the Wu-lang Ho. On the left it receives the Liu-ho Shui 六河水." [The Wu-liang Ho did flow past (west) Yung-ning territory for 200 li before Mu-li became separated from it and was still under Yung-ning jurisdiction. Now the river flows west of Yung-ning, only for about 25 li. Its western bank is the border of Li-chiang — Chung-tien but only for a very short distance.]

Here ends the description in the *T'ung-chih*. The latter is seriously wrong when it states in the next paragraph that the Liu Ho has its source south-east of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's territory, for if that were the case it could not flow into the Wu-liang Ho, for all the waters of Yung-ning and those of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu form the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 and flow into the Li-t'ang River, while the Wu-liang Ho flows into the Yangtze.

The Yung-pei Records continue where the *T'ung-chih* leaves off and say: "Flowing south-west [after it has received the Liu Ho] it receives a stream from the left called Kuan-yin Ho 觀音河 and flows then south-west into the Chin-sha Chiang [Yangtze]."

On examining the map of the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao*, ch. 71, fol. 2b, I find that the entire map is wrong.

There is, however, a second Wu-liang Ho, also a tributary of the Yangtze, but a considerable distance removed from the first. This second one has its source south-west of Yen-yüan 鹽源 in Ssu-ch'uan, flows from east to west, north of Yung-pei, and debouches into the Yangtze near Tzu-li-chiang 梓里江, south-east of Li-chiang. The map in the *Hsü Yün-nan T'ung-chih-kao* makes one river of these two, by taking the stretch of the Yangtze between their mouths and calling it part of the Wu-liang Ho. Yet the Yangtze is drawn, in addition, describing a short, very shallow loop, a little distance north of the town of Li-chiang

As to the first Wu-liang Ho great confusion exists, and V. K. Ting's New Atlas of the Chinese Republic has only added to this confusion. The real Wu-liang Ho consists of two distinct branches, both these branches have their source in about the same latitude, near the 29th degree. The To-k'o-ch'u Ho 多克楚河 is the westernmost, it is in fact an

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well as the Yung-ning — Chung-tien border. As this eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho has no Chinese name and none is given on V. K. Ting's map (35) I baptize it the T'ieh Ho 鐵河 or Iron River which is the meaning of all three tribal names of that River, viz. Tibetan, Hsi-fan and Na-khi. On the limestone cliffs immediately below the crest of Shih-tzu Shan grow tall juniper trees. To the north is visible the entire mountain system of Ki-bo Shan, a much crenellated limestone mass, which hems in Mu-li to the south, and which must be crossed to reach Mu-li Monastery on the Li-t'ang River. The distant peaks of the Gangkar-ling[6] system tower above the entire landscape far to the north.

In the rock wall which forms the summit crest of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing the lake, is a huge cave, high and roomy, but with an entrance so small that a man has to lie down flat in order to crawl in. Somewhere on this mountain lie hidden a bejewelled golden girdle and other treasures given to one of the early T'u-ssu, probably the second generation Ko-chi-pa-ho during the reign of Yung-lo (1403–1424). That T'u-ssu hated his second son who succeeded him after his first son had been murdered, and so he buried the jewels somewhere on that mountain. On his deathbed he gave vague directions where they were to be found, but they have as yet not been located. All the other treasures possessed by the ancient chiefs have been

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affluent of the western branch of the Wu-liang Ho. It has its source south of the Lha-mo-long La (pass) the Chinese La-mu-lung 拉木隆. On the east bank of this stream is situated the Gangkar-ling Lamasery (Kun-ka-ling 貢噶嶺). The source of the western branch is to the north of the Lha-mo-long La, it flows first north and then east as the Tao-pa 稻壩 River, Tao-ch'eng hsien 稻城縣 being situated on its north bank. The Tao-pa Ho receives several small affluents from the north and turns south and south-west as the Wu-liang Ho. V. K. Ting, however, leaves the Tao-pa Ho suspended, flowing nowhere, and makes the Li-t'ang River which flows west of Li-t'ang join a stream which has its source near Na-pu 那布 (Na-bu); this stream with its source at Na-pu is the eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho.

Davies has this stream flowing [he presumed so, as the course of the river is dotted only] into the Li-t'ang River. In fact this stream is the Zho Chhu and flows directly south parallel to the Li-t'ang River into the Yangtze at the very apex of the loop in which Li-chiang is situated. This eastern branch of the Wu-liang Ho, is the Cha Chhu (lchags-chhu ལྕགས་ཆུ་) of the Tibetans, the Zho Chhu of the Mu-li Hsi-fan, and the Shu gyi of the Na-khi. It receives several affluents, the largest coming from the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) mountains, such as the Gangs-kha Chhu which has its source on the eastern slopes of Mt. Chhana-dorje (Phyag-na-rdo-rje), the easternmost peak of the system. Another affluent is the Tong Chhu, which has its source west of the Gangkar-ling peaks, on the western slopes of Mt. Jambyang (hJam-dbyangs). While exploring the Gangkar-ling mountain system for the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., in 1928 [See J. F. Rock, Konka Risumgongba, Holy mountain of the outlaws in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX, No. 1, July 1931, p. 7], I saw to the north-west of Mt. Chenrezig, a tremendous gorge extending from north to south; this apparently is the western and main branch of the Wu-liang Ho, the Zho Chhu flowing parallel to it. They unite about 30 li north of the apex of the Yangtze loop (*see* page 241).

[6] The proper name of the range is Gangs-dkar-gling (White Snow Monastery) and not gangs-ka-ling as Kingdon Ward writes it and which he translates as the Snowy place (in *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 64: 3, 229; The Snow Mountains of Yün-nan). If that were the name it should be transcribed gans-kha and not gangs-ka. A monastery is situated to the north or north-west of the peaks from which the mountain range derives its name or vice versa.

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#133 stolen by their wild neighbors, the Tibetans, who to this day still make incursions into the impoverished country of Yung-ning.

The northern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is open, and thus the mountain has really the shape of a horseshoe. A ravine leads east of the mountain separating it from a terrific limestone cliff with a huge cavern. The limestone is grey and cinnabar-red, as is the soil which discolors the stream. The north-eastern wall of the mountain is pierced by several small ravines, their slopes being forested with pines and the golden oak. The ravine to the east of the mountain becomes narrow higher up, and terminates in cliffs of limestone which form the summit of Mt. Wua-zhu Pu-nà, the mountain god of the Ch'ien-so people in Ssu-ch'uan. The mountain can also be compared to a hand, the open palm being the crater-like depression with an outlet to the north, through which a stream flows into the Hli gyi or Hli dji. Here, near the cave in the grey and red limestone cliff called Shih-tzu wan 獅子灣 (Lion's cove), is a small village occupied by Chinese squatters from Ssu-ch'uan. The ravine itself is the divide between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan (PLATE 219).

Liu-nieh Shan 六捏山: West of La-tz'u-ho in Yung-ning. According to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 127, fol. 1b, the mountain is 240 li north-east of Yung-ning and was in the ancient La-tz'u-ho of the Chang-kuan-ssu. The mountain extends several 10 li and is in the best part of the realm of the senior official (Chang-kuan-ssu). La-tz'u-ho is now in Mu-li and probably north of K'u-lu or south-east of Wa-erh-chai. The exact location of this mountain is not known to me as the Mu-li Hsi-fan have their own names for their mountains. There is one conspicuous limestone mountain in what seems to have been the ancient La-tz'u-ho; that mountain is called Dza-mpe-she ran in Hsi-fan, and rDzong-spe-bzhag-ring [1] in Tibetan. It is east of Wa-erh-chai.

Pu-wu Shan 卜兀山: It belonged once to Yung-ning and is 150 li north of it. It is south-west of the ancient Hsiang-lo tien 香羅甸 of the Chang-kuan-ssu. This cannot be any other place than Mu-li and the mountain is probably the limestone range to the east of and parallel to Mt. Ki-bo of the Hsi-fan, which is two stages from Yung-ning. Mu-li district must have been the ancient Hsiang-lo tien, for there is no other place between Mu-li and Wa-lu-chih or Wa-erh-chai, 250 li north of Yung-ning. The distance given for Hsiang-lo tien can only have reference to the present-day Mu-li district in which the Mu-li Monastery is situated. The Hsiang-lo is undoubtedly the Hsi-fan Hsien-lo, now a small village to the south-east of Mu-li Monastery, among the spurs of Pu-wu Shan.

Kan-ju Shan 幹如山: It is 120 li west of Yung-ning village, and north of the ancient Ko-tien 革甸 of the Chang-kuan-ssu. It is considered a perilous place (to approach). This is the Gonschiga of Handel-Mazzetti which he makes 4,900 meters, or 16,000 feet, in height. The Chinese Yün-nan military map gives Ko-tien on the Yün-nan — Hsi-k'ang border but within

[1] རྫོང་སྤེ་བཞག་རིང་, pronounced Dzong-pe-zha-ring.

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Yung-ning territory. The mountain is, however, in Mu-li territory south-west of Mu-li Gom-pa (Mu-li Monastery). The latter is called dGah-ldan-bshad-sgrubs-rnam-par-rgyal-bai-gling 133*

དགའ་ལྡན་བཤད་སྒྲུབས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང

Chin-ting Shan 金鼎山: Is two li north-west of Yung-ning.

K'a-hsi p'o 卡洗坡: Is 280 li north of Yung-pei, 170 li south of Yung-ning town, and 120 li north of Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü chou); it is the border of Yung-ning and Lang-ch'ü territories. (K'a-hsi p'o is also marked as a village on the Chinese map.)

A-la Shan 阿剌山: Said to be 300 li east of Yung-pei and forms the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan border. A stream called Chan Ho 詀河 has its source on the north-western slope. (It is east of Lang-ch'ü chou.)

Tso-so Shan 左所山: Over 400 li north of Yung-pei, and east of Yung-ning. The source of the Lu-ku Hu is at its southern foot. The waters of the lake flow south then east through Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. This mountain is east of Wua-zhu Pu-nà, which in turn is east of Lion Mountain and separated from the latter by a gap or pass.

Pai-chio Shan 白角山: 80 li north of Yung-pei in the ancient Lang-ch'ü chou and Pai-chio hsiang 白角鄉, whence the mountain derived its name or vice versa.

Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山: North of Yung-pei and north-west of Lang-ch'ü chou. (This is the Alo-shan of Handel-Mazetti.)

Yao Shan 藥山 (Medicine Mountain): Extends north-east to the Hsi-k'ang border. It is the Wua-ha of the Yung-ning people with the Dzoan-p'u peaks at its southern end. It forms the eastern wall of the Yangtze gorge; a branch or spur of the mountain joins Mien-mien Shan. It is called Yao Shan on account of the many medicinal plants growing on it. Its height is approximately 15,500 feet.

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CHAPTER IV

WESTERN AND NORTH-WESTERN YUNG-NING

1. AGRICULTURE, ACCESS AND INHABITANTS

S ST 311 [161] S ST [24] [312]

Yung-ning 永寧

The most important part of Yung-ning from an agricultural standpoint, is of course its plain (PLATE 220), which to-day supports 300 families, although 1,000 families could subsist there if rice were cultivated, and all arable land were utilized. Only one half of the plain is now under cultivation, and rice is prohibited from being grown for political reasons. Maize, barley, buckwheat and round peas are the main crops. The plain has a plentiful water supply, as the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho 開基河 [also called Lo-chi Ho 勒吱河 pronounced Le-chi Ho in Yung-ning] winds through it, receiving several affluents in its course over the plain. The latter is at an elevation of 9,500 feet, is perfectly flat, and extends east to the foot of Lion Mountain (Seng-ge ga-mu). In the remote past the Yung-ning plain was undoubtedly a lake, similar to the Lu-ku Lake, which lies 100 feet higher. The plain is surrounded by mountains with many valleys debouching into it; the only outlet is the valley which leads into the Ch'ien-so country in Ssu-ch'uan. The eastern and north-eastern end of the plain is still marshy.

The next place of importance is the long Tsui-yi valley called Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅 in Chinese, which extends south of Wua-ha Shan, west into the Yangtze. This is a very fertile valley and rice is planted in the middle upper half; the lower part is a dry, arid canyon with steep walls; the head of the valley is wooded.

To the west of Yung-ning is another long valley called Luë-dzu law-k'aw, which also extends into the Yangtze, with another valley joining it called Hĕr-dü, the Har-lĕr-dü of the Na-khi. These valleys unite a short distance before debouching west into the Yangtze, south of San-chiang-k'ou 三江口. The remaining arable land is along the Yangtze, especially at Pu-chio 卜脚 or Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-dyü]; then along the Zho Chhu on the Hsi-k'ang border in the west of Yung-ning, and at Pa-erh-ch'iao 壩耳橋, south of Yung-ning; and finally the few fields along the shore of the Lu-ku Hu or Yung-ning Lake.

The rest of the country is exceedingly mountainous. The highest peaks are on Wua-ha Shan, which is the northern part of the Yao Shan to the east of Yung-ning. These reach 15,500 feet or more in height.

S ST 131

Access. — The main approaches to Yung-ning from the south are from Yung-pei, north via Lang-ch'ü chou, the present Ning-lang 寧浪; then from Li-chiang via the Yangtze at either T'o-lä-tsu or Chiang-wai 江外, up the Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai which is the shortest route. The northern route is via Feng-k'o 俸可 or Shang-feng-k'o 上俸可.

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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dū (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

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ST 795 of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162 The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 771

S ST 346 778 *The Yung-ning Lamasery.* — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཀུན་བཞུགས་པོ།

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mā-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mā*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mā-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘛佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. ROCK, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

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Hli-dü language the place is known as La-pa-ddü (pronounced La-pa-tri) and consists of a meadow traversed by the Hli gyi. Here on the banks of this stream, Kublai Khan camped; his army camped on the broad flat plateau above the stream to the east. He sojourned here ere he pushed on south, crossing the Yangtze near Feng-k'o, and storming the first Na-khi settlement at La-pao. At the present T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關 or Hsüeh-shan shih-men Kuan 雪山石門關 (Snow mountain gate Pass) he fought his first battle with the Mo-so. (PLATE 103).

The historic Mongol camp was not far from the wooden bridge which spans the Hli gyi at the village of Ba-chü. One crosses it on the way to the summit of Mt. Yo-wa-bu and to Feng-k'o on the Yangtze. The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 30b, state:

"After the Sung and at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, in the 2nd year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1252) the T'ai Ti 太弟 (Royal brother) Hu-pi-lieh received orders to attack Nan-chao. He sojourned [camped] at Jih-yüeh-ho."

The Tuan 段氏 family sent Kao T'ai-hsiang 高泰祥[5] to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. The Mongol generals Wan-yen 完顏 (elsewhere called Po 伯 yen),[6] Pu-hua hu-erh 不花虎兒 and others watched (the two river banks).

Hu-pi-lieh supplied them with skin bags on which they crossed the river. The soldiers of Kao T'ai-hsiang fled and he was captured. He refused to be humiliated and was therefore executed. He was decapitated in front of the Wu-hua lou 五華樓 [South gate tower] of Ta-li fu. About the crossing of the Yangtze by Hu-pi-lieh and his army, the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*, 上 ch. 4, fol. 35, has the following to say under the heading *Chiu yen-tang Lu* 舊宴當路 (Circuit of the ancient Yen-tang): "It was situated west of Li-chiang outside the frontier. In the beginning of Pao-yu 寶祐 of the Southern Sung dynasty (1252) the Mongols came to attack Ta-li. T'e-lieh 忒烈[7] was in the T'u-fan country and there the army divided. One went by the west road which was the Yen-tang road, one went by the east road into the Pai-man country (land of the white barbarians), which is the present Yao-an hsien 姚安縣. General Hu-pi-lieh led the cavalry by the middle

[5] Kao T'ai-hsiang was appointed prime minister of the Ho-li Kuo 赫哩國 dynasty by the Nan-chao King Tuan Chih-hsiang 段智祥 in 1237.

The *Nan-chao Yeh-shih* states that Kao T'ai-hsiang was sent to guard the Chin-sha Chiang. Opposite them the Mongol generals Po-yen 伯顏, Pu-hua-hu-erh-tun 不花虎兒敦 and others, fearlessly observed the two sides of the river. Hu-pi-lieh ordered them to cross the river and to attack the T'u-fan and advanced on the Mo-ti 摩荻 (Mo-so).

SAINSON, *Nan-tchao Ye-che*, p. 109, translates this passage wrongly thus: "Battant les T'ou-fan a Tche-ma-ti, il déboucha à Che-men et passa" (to attack the T'u-fan at Tse-ma-ti, etc.); the Chinese text reads: 破吐番睒摩荻出石門. The word *chih* 睒 means to advance, to go forward, and Mo-ti is a name given the Na-khi or Mo-so. The *Fang-yü chi-yao* 方輿紀要, ch. 32, fol. 28, states that the Mongols (under) Hu-pi-lieh brought to submission the Mo-ti (Mo-so), emerged from the Shih-men 石門 (Rock gate) (PLATE 103) and passed on.

[6] He is the Bayan of Marco Polo and was Kublai Khan's most famous lieutenant. *See* GILES *Biographical Dictionary* 1663.

[7] The Mongol History writes T'a-la 塔拉 and T'e-la 忒剌.

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road from Yüeh-sui 越嶲 to cross the Chin-sha Chiang which is in Pei-sheng chou.[8] The army divided before it reached the Ta-tu Ho 大渡河, considerably to the north of the Yangtze and north-east of Li-chiang. Wu-liang-ho-tai 兀良合帶 led by the west road from Yen-tang Lu, Prince Ch'ao-ho-yeh-chih-lieh 抄合也只烈 led his army by the east road and the land of the Pai-man.[9] Hu-pi-lieh, leading his cavalry by the middle road, arrived at Man-t'o ch'eng 滿陀城 on the day *i-ssu* 乙巳 the 29th day of the ninth moon, the 3rd year of Hsien Tsung (October 23rd, 1253; Sainson translates 乙巳 as "Les uns et les autres" and does not give the date). They left their heavy baggage behind and in the tenth moon they crossed the Ta-to Ho. In the eleventh moon they arrived at Ta-kuo-chai 打郭砦 (*see* Mu Chronicle, A-tsung A-liang 阿宗阿良).

Ta-yao Shan. — Leaving Jih-yüeh-ho, the trail follows the Hli gyi or K'ai-chi Ho for a short distance, then winds up and down over the pine-covered foot-hills of the range which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze. Climbing the steep, densely forested mountain-side through spruces, firs, rhododendrons, etc., we reach the summit pass called Yo-wa-bu, 12,500 feet elevation (PLATE 230). Here on this pass, a flat expanse covered with a wonderful forest of Abies, Picea, Tsuga, with canebrake undergrowth, is a log cabin inhabited by Li-su guards armed with cross-bows (PLATE 231). They are always on the look-out for roving bandits and run to Yung-ning to notify the chief of the approach of robbers or report their movements. The entire mountain is called Ta-yao Shan 大藥山 (Great medicine Mountain). It extends east of the Yangtze to the Tsui-yi valley, its south-eastern part is controlled by the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu. In the second year of Hsien-feng (1852) this latter part of the mountain was the stronghold of a bandit horde. The distance from Yung-ning to the summit pass is 27 li. From the pass we descend steeply over a rocky trail through majestic forest of spruce and hemlock, some 100 feet or more in height, associated with fir, oak, maple, red birch, wild cherry and undergrowth of rhododendrons, Berberis, Ribes, Spiræa, willows, Ligustrum, Lonicera and cane-brake; the best preserved part of this forest is at 11,000 feet elevation.

Lower down, the forest gives way to pine, till we emerge in a valley by a little hamlet and fields called Ggŏ-wùa 22.5 li from the Yo-wa-bu Pass, or a total of 51.5 li from Yung-ning.

Ggŏ-wùa and the Dji lo (valley). — Gwŏ-wùa (Upper dwelling) is situated at the head of a fairly broad valley at an elevation of 9,500 feet, exactly the height of Yung-ning. The valley is called the Gyi or Dji lo (Water valley). Its slopes are pine-covered. The trail descends to the stream which we cross over a wooden bridge, then climbs along the northern valley wall composed of loose schist which moves at the gentlest step. The trail is

[8] Pei-sheng chou is the district of Yung-pei, the present day Yung-sheng; the Yangtze separates the two hsien, Li-chiang and Yung-sheng. Yung-ning is under the latter's jurisdiction.

[9] This is the present Yao-an hsien, north of Ch'u-hsiung 楚雄 and half-way between Ta-li and K'un-ming, (according to the Li-chiang Records).

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obliterated in many places, making the passage of a loaded mule very dangerous. This valley becomes a canyon lower down to where it debouches into the Yangtze.

We arrive at a bluff where a beautiful vista opens towards the Yangtze and the terrific rock gate, the Gv-ho-gu gorge. This part of the valley resembles an amphitheater, on whose gentle terraced slopes a tiny hamlet also called Ggŏ-wùa is situated. Above the village under immense maple trees, one of seven feet in diameter, is a lovely clear crystal spring. The peasants are all Lü-khi or Hli-khin, save one family which is Chinese. They migrated to this place from Chiang-hsi (Kiangsi) five generations ago.

Following the Yangtze to Feng-k'o. — From the lower Ggŏ-wùa we ascend an arid, scrub-covered terrain to a pass, and then descend over a most terrible trail of only a hand's width. Some ten years ago the entire, almost vertical mountain-side, several hundred feet in height, slid down into the valley carrying with it a small hamlet situated on a terrace high above the old trail. Man and beast perished, only one or two houses remained standing. The entire mountain-side in this valley is loose gravel, broken shale and schist. The trail is indeed a dangerous one and difficult to negotiate on account of constant landslides. After skirting this perilous place, we ascend gradually to another tiny hamlet of a few huts, called A-shi-wua-lo. The trail now leads to a pass and a circular depression, the bed of an old pond at an elevation of 8,800 feet (PLATE 232) whence we can overlook the entire Yangtze valley. The mountains, whose slopes are covered with *Heteropogon contortus* grass, are here dissected into many deep gorges, which debouch into the terrific canyon along which our trail leads. The walls drop almost vertically to the narrow valley floor, which sends foaming torrents into the Yangtze; the whole scenery is of indescribable magnificence.

Steeply we descend over the grassy spur along a narrow ravine, one trail leading down into it, while another leads along its crest. To the right (north) on a little terrace nestled against the steep mountains is the hamlet of Ba-a at 6,500 feet elevation. This trail is a terror to the muleteers; in wet weather it is as slippery as ice, on account of the yellow clay of which the hills are here composed. The heat is intense in the middle of the day, there is no shade as the hills are devoid of trees and only covered with the reddish-brown Heteropogon grass.

We come to the hamlet of Law-k'a-khi-llü [also called P'u-djü or Pu-chio 卜脚 or 卜喲]. The hamlet is divided into two parts by the valley called Bu-k'o and its torrent, which descends from Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan), Yo-wa-bu and Ggŏ-wùa valley. A small hamlet called Wùa-sha-lo is situated in the ravine. Here the peasants speak both Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so or Hli-dü. Below Law-k'a-khi-llü there is a fierce rapid in the Yangtze which here makes a bend in its narrow canyon. The trail leads down to the torrent of the Bu-k'o dji which must be forded, an impossible feat in the rainy season. From here it is 10 li over the grassy slopes to the Feng-k'o ferry. A Tibetan (mchhod-rten མཆོད་རྟེན) chhorten [the equiva-

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PLATE 201. — THE MEKONG NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE DO-KAR LA STREAM (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

瀾滄江近多卡拉河口

The Mekong in its arid gorge, looking up stream (north) from its west bank. The trees lining the river bank in the immediate foreground are Cypresses (*Cupressus Duclouxiana*).

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 202. — CH'OU KU-TSUNG (TIBETANS) FROM NEAR PEN-TZU-LAN

弄子關吳古宗男人

They wear a single garment and use cross bows, the arrows are stuck into the hair.

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PLATE 203.—THE KHA-WA-KAR-PO RANGE AS SEEN FROM PAI-MANG SHAN (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

四 鰣 大 雪 山 全 景 山 白 鑑 山 望 見

Next to Me-tse-mo, the central peak Kha-wa-kar-po, whence the range derives its name, is the most beautiful. Me-tse-mo is not visible, it is to the south of the range here pictured. The last peak (right) is Si-go-dum.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 204. — THE HIGHEST PASS ACROSS THE PAI-MANG SHAN

白 埡 (白 馬) 拉

The pass is 15,800 feet above sea-level; to the west facing this view are the snow and glacier-crowned peaks of Pai-mang Shan, to the east (in background) bare yellow massive crags of rhyolite. The low bushes in foreground are *Rhododendron tapetiforme*.

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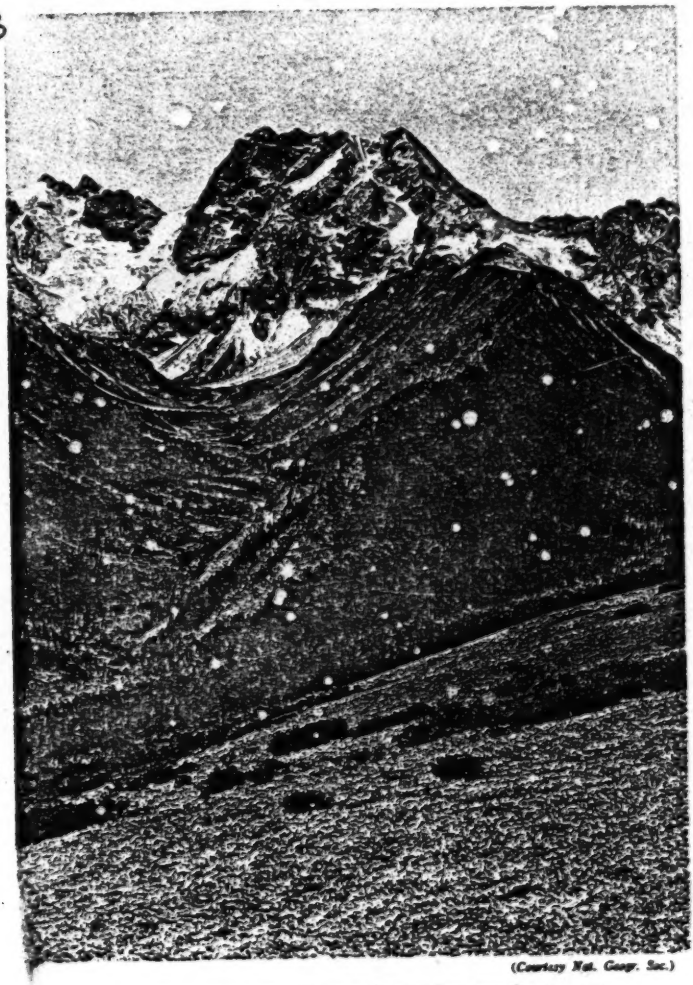

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 305. — THE HIGHEST PEAK OF PAI-MANG SHAN

白 茫 山

The peak is 20,000 feet in height and mainly composed of granite. Photographed with front lens removed, looking west from an elevation of 15,000 feet.

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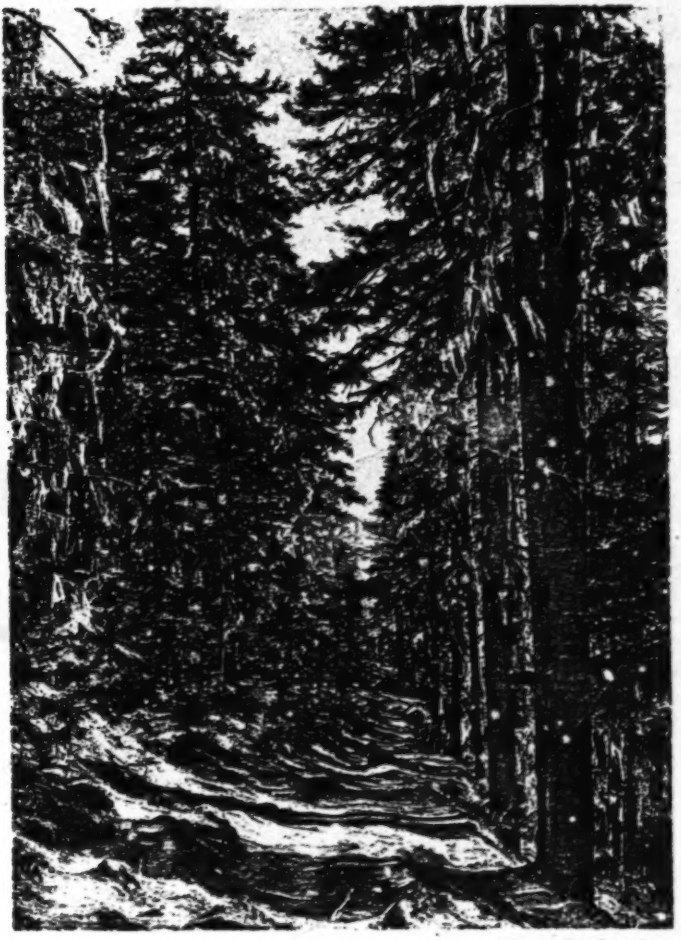

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 206. — THE ROAD TO TUNG-CHU-LIN THROUGH MAGNIFICENT SPRUCE FOREST

東竹林路虎尾濃林

Picea complanata with *Rhododendron Wardii* as undergrowth forms pure stands at 12,000 feet, north of Tung-chu-lin Lamasery. *Usnea longissima* festoons the trees.

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PLATE 107. — TUNG-CHU-LIN LAMASERY

東竹林寺

It belongs to the Yellow Sect and shelters about 300 monks. A nunnery is on the hill to the rear. The bushes on the hillside (foreground) are *Thuja orientalis*. Spruces and firs on the spur behind the lamasery.

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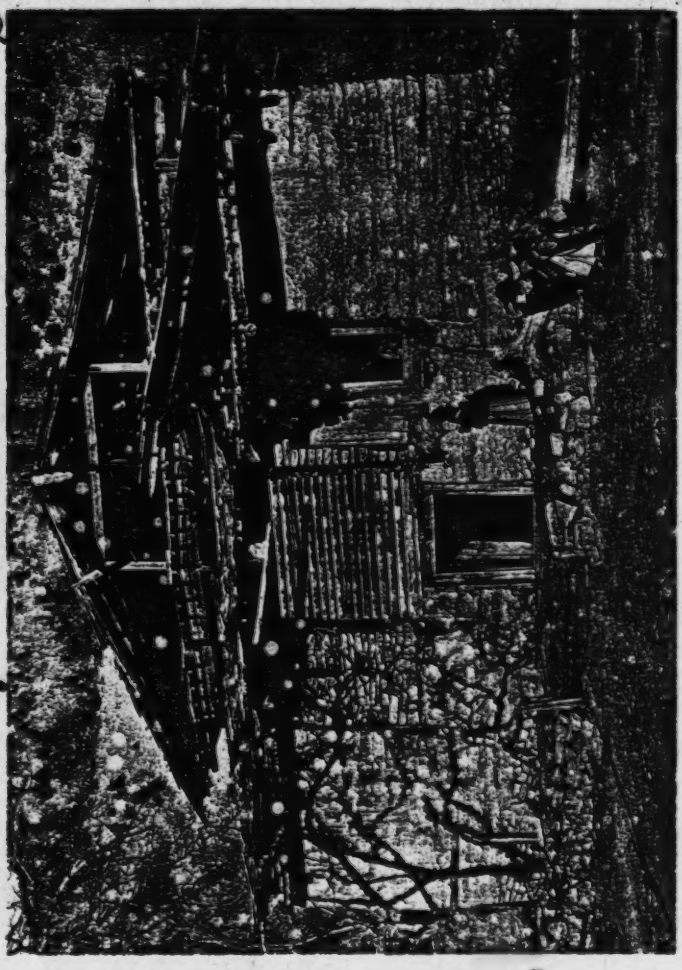

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 208. — A MO-SO — TIBETAN HOMESTEAD NEAR KAR-ER

The architecture in this region is very different from that of the houses in the Mekong Valley. Instead of being flat (covered with tamped, rolled earth), the roofs are of wooden boards weighted down with rocks. The stables are in the second storey.

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lent of a stupa] stands on the terrace above the Yangtze a few li from the ferry, announcing that here is lama land.

From P'u-djü (Law-k'a-khi-llü) south to opposite the mouth of the Lv-ts'o lo valley, the district is called Tso-lo-wu and is Yung-ning territory. Here the mountain-side is extremely steep. Half-way up the mountain there used to be a small lake which was called Tang-tsung Ch'ih 當宗池. It has, however, been drained, a tiny hamlet has been established, and the bottom of the former pond converted into fields.

Wua-ha Mountain (Ta-yao Shan 大藥山, also written 大葯山) hems in the Yangtze which flows several thousand feet beneath its summit. Opposite the gorge of Lv-ts'o lo, which is on the Li-chiang side, is a deep, narrow, hanging defile called Ba-cha-dji-ki; on a terrace above the division of the torrent which descends into the Yangtze is the hamlet of Mi-ndu-wùa (pronounced Mindwua).

The torrent mentioned above is joined by another, coming from a similar defile in the mountain wall further to the north, the stream flowing behind a promontory range. South of Ba-cha-dji-ki is another ravine with a village called Nda-shi. Beyond is the terrific rock gate through which a narrow foot-path, if such it can be called, leads along the cliff above the Yangtze to La-pao. The traveller must be immune from vertigo or else he will land in the Yangtze; there is really no path in the proper sense of the word, he has to make sure of his footing on the rocks as he goes sideways embracing the cliff with both hands. Beyond the defile the Yangtze makes a curve to the east, to the mouth of Tsui-yi valley opposite Chiang-wai (also called Chiang-wa 江阿) where there is a ferry. From Tsui-yi a trail leads to Yung-ning which is shorter than the Feng-k'o road. This region is described in the next chapter. For description of the Yangtze gorge from Lv-ts'o lo south to La-pao see page 258.

3. FROM YUNG-NING TO CHIANG-WAI 江外 ON THE YANGTZE

The shortest way from Li-chiang to Yung-ning or vice versa is by way of Chiang-wai and the Tsui-yi valley over a southern pass of the Great medicine Mountain called Wua-ha in the Hli-dü language. The route is, however, not as safe as the Feng-k'o one, for Lo-lo robbers are often met with on the summit and on the alpine meadows near there; many a lonely traveler has been murdered in cold blood by these highwaymen, who are as cruel, if not more so, than Chinese bandits. With a proper well armed escort, there is, however, nothing to fear. The route is a far lonelier one, but perhaps also more interesting and wilder, than the Feng k'o one and is more frequented by Yung-ning people than any other route to Li-chiang.

From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads to K'ai-chi 開基, then crosses the wooden bridge [10] over the Hli dji or Hli gyi (K'ai-chi Ho) to the village of Ba-chü. Thence we follow the road which leads to the Yung-ning T'u-ssu's yamen and to the lake shore of the Lu-ku Hu, as far as the ancient and now dilapidated Ch'eng-huang Miao 城隍廟. Here a trail leads

[10] A stone-arch bridge once spanned this river a little further up-stream from the present bridge, but was washed away shortly after my first visit in 1924.

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*487 over the eroded hill-side, then proceeds on the top of a flat spur, covered
*133 with small stunted *Quercus semicarpifolia* bushes. Limestone outcroppings
*137 are visible everywhere. We pass between two limestone hills covered with oaks which grow in the red soil in the cracks of the whitish-gray limestone. The trail of even grade leads along the hill-side overlooking the second and smaller plain south of the Yung-ning plain, through which the Hli gyi winds. Many limestone hills stand sentinel here, the path winding between or over them. The entire region is covered with scrub oaks, and is lonely in the extreme.

The Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu cave. — Seven li from the Ch'eng-huang Temple or 10 from the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail turns up a valley called Gi-k'wa-wu; here we encounter limestone sink-holes, such as occur on the Lo-shui-tung plain 落水洞 between Kuan-shang 關上 and La-shih-pa 剌是壩 on the way to Li-chiang. Four and a half li to the north from where the trail enters the Gi-k'wa-wu valley, through a rocky gap, there is a huge limestone cave called Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu, elevation 10,800 feet. About 1,000 people can take refuge in this cave, for as a refuge and place of hiding it is used, when Gangkar-ling — Tibetan bandits go on the war-path to rob and burn. The Yung-ning people flee with their mules and other livestock to this cave, a hidden retreat difficult to find. It is off the main trail and one must retrace one's steps going north from the gap down the valley. There are several small passage-ways which lead from the rear of the cave into the mountain. Its vault is enormous. Where the light could not reach we found long slender stalagmites of ice formed by the dripping from the ceilings. It is related that Guru Karma-pa, by name Chhos-kyi-hbyung-gnas (pronounced Chhö-kyi-chung-ne), who came to Li-chiang and established the Karma-pa (the Li-chiang people pronounce it Ga-ma-pa) lamaseries there, lived in this cave.[11] High up in a crevice in the ceiling is his staff, wedged in between the rocks.

Bu-llu dji valley. — From Gi-k'wa-wu we follow up a broad spur, and enter a circular depression with many sink-holes; deep below us flows the Bu-llu dji in an exceedingly narrow, precipitous, limestone gorge. The trail leads high above the stream-bed over a natural rock ledge, smooth and slippery like a macadam road, and descends along the pine-covered hill-

[11] The Hsi-t'u Ssu-pao fa-shih 西土四寶法師 (Fourth precious *fa-shih* Buddhist priest of the western land [Tibet]) a Karma-pa lama came to Li-chiang in the year *keng-hsü* 庚戌 of Yung-cheng (1730). He and his followers went to Chi-tsu Shan to worship [Chi-tsu Shan is a sacred Buddhist mountain to the north-east of the Ta-li Lake] and passed through Li-chiang. On the La-shih li Lo-shui-tung 剌是里落水洞 [to the west of Li-chiang, *see* geographical part of Li-chiang] on a cliff they saw the footprints of the Buddha of Magadha (摩訶陀國佛) and advised that a lamasery be built. (From a stone inscription in the Chih-yün Ssu 指雲寺, a Karma-pa Lamasery at La-shih li, Li-chiang.) The Karma-pa sub-sect was founded by Karma-pa Dus-gsum mKhyen-po (ཀརྨ་པ་དུས་གསུམ་མཁྱེན་པ་). He was born in 1109, ordained in 1124, and died in 1192. His monastery, called Tshu-mtshur Lha-lung, (ཙུག་རྩུར་ལྷ་ལུང་), was built at mTshur-phu, (རྩུར་ཕུ་), north of Lhasa, beyond Ser-ra (gSer-ra thugs-chhe-gling གསེར་རྒྱ་ཐུགས་ཆེ་གླིང་ Monastery of the Mighty Heart enclosed in gold), and is still the most powerful of all the Kar-gyu-pa sub-sects (WADDEL). *See* Chapter III. 2, page 204.

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sides to the valley floor and the stream, but keeps to the east of it. The Bu-llu dji valley floor resembles a long, narrow plain, in which the river describes a tortuous course.

The first Hli-khin village we strike in this valley is called Mu-ddri-di-man (Mu-ddü-dü-man in Li-chiang Na-khi) situated at an elevation of 10,500 feet on the east bank of the Bu-llu dji. It is the Mu-ti-ching 木底箐 of the Chinese, and is 12 li distant from Guru Karma-pa's cave. Beyond this little hamlet the trail crosses the stream and leads up the valley on its west bank, past a side stream descending from Wua-ha Mountain; near its mouth is situated the hamlet of Llu-lo-kwei (Lo-lo-kuan 猓猓關). Following along fields we ascend the valley which here is quite broad and flat, the hill-sides being covered with spruces (Picea), white pines *Pinus Armandi*, and also the yellow pine *Pinus yünnanensis*. Oaks and white birches are also not uncommon. It is a beautiful valley indeed, hemmed in by high mountains forested mainly with tall spruces. The last little hamlet is called Shan-on, situated at 10,700 feet elevation on the east bank of the stream and at the mouth of a lateral gully; it is 12 li from Mu-ddri.

Bo-wu-tsu valley. — A few li beyond the village of Shan-on the Bu-llu dji valley narrows considerably and is here known as Bo-wu-tsu to its head. The best time to travel over this route is in the winter; in the summer it is said to be dangerous to tarry in this region, on account of the thousands of leeches which stretch their heads from every rock, grass blade and bush, ready to attach themselves to man and beast. The trail ascends steeply up the narrowing Bo-wu-tsu valley, whose western walls tower high above the river. We enter dense forest of spruces with undergrowth of cane-brake, rhododendrons, etc. At 10,800 feet the first firs (Abies) make their appearance, and at 11,200 feet we emerge into pure stands of *Picea likiangensis* which has the appearance of *Picea purpurea*, so common in the mountains of western Kansu. A torrent roars here; we descend to cross it to the east bank, and climb out into an open valley with hills to the east. Here, the vegetation has changed entirely, and we are once more in pine forest with oak scrub.

The A-ngu valley. — We ascend over a narrow rocky trail leaving the stream-bed below, and come to another valley which opens out from the east, the junction of the two valleys being called Che-kö-t'ou-tse. This spot is a noted robber haunt, and Lo-lo, who have their stronghold at the head of the side valley, on a mountain called Pu-mu, waylay lonely travelers, and rob and beat them, if they do not murder them. From this broad knoll in the middle of the main valley, the trail descends again to the stream-bed and crosses it at 11,325 feet elevation, entering dense forest of *Picea likiangensis* with scrub-oak as undergrowth. The whole scenery is weird and lonely. The trail crosses the stream once more to the west bank, and leads out into boggy alpine meadows which form the head of Bo-wu-tsu valley, here called Zhe-dsu. Huts of yak herders are near a small ravine opening out from the east. Here the head of the valley is merely a flat meadow through which the stream meanders in innumerable zigzags. A trail leads through the little valley by the yak herders' camp to Pi-yi and

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*128 *133 *137 Yung-sheng. We follow the main stream, which has become a mere brook, and cross it to the west bank. The valley broadens, the surrounding hills are low and are sparsely covered with pines and Picea trees.

We come to a forking of the valley, or rather to the junction of two valleys — our valley, which leads to the left (south) and another opening from the right (west). At the head or what seemed the head of the valley there loomed up high limestone mountains with prominent crags piercing the sky. It is the southern end of Wua-ha Shan (Ta-yao Shan); this particular peak is called Dzo-an-p'u and represents another mountain god of the Hli-khin people. In this valley which debouches from Dzo-an-p'u are lovely meadows alternating with forests. The yak and half-breed Yak called Dzo (mDzo in Tibetan) of the Yung-ning chief and family roam here several hundred strong, herded by Tibetans who alone know how to handle them (PLATE 233). Quite a distance up the valley there is a limestone cave in the mountain cliff called 'A-bu-kwo at an elevation of 11,650 feet. The slopes of the valley are covered with spruces and evergreen oaks (*Quercus semicarpifolia*).

The main valley extends south, with broad, undulating, hilly country bordering it. It is a lonely region, a broad, high upland in which the streams coming from the crags and peaks of Wua-ha and Dzo-an-p'u have begun to cut as yet only shallow valleys. The valley leading south is called A-ngu, and the distance from Shan-on to this highland is 24 li and thence 10 li to the cave 'A-bu-kwo. We continue up the A-ngu valley, which spreads out into various shallow branches with yak herders' encampments, the broad, shallow floor being 11,600 feet above sea level. *Picea likiangensis* covers the low spurs in open formation, giving way to pines on one side of the slopes, and to oaks and white birches on the other. The oaks form here large low masses together with the small-leaved, blue-flowered *Rhododendron dasypetalum* which grow in clumps. The highest point of this grassy, shallow valley is 11,680 feet. Limestone outcroppings make their appearance, also funnel-shaped sink-holes, hiding-places of Lo-lo robbers. Here we begin to descend gradually until we find ourselves on the edge of a terrific limestone cliff at an elevation of 11,600 feet, with a sheer drop of 600 feet to its foot. The top of this cliff is the most dangerous spot as far as attacks from bandits are concerned. The trail descends steeply in short zigzags over the cliff to a small meadow with willow bushes. Three valleys converge here at the foot of the cliff. One deep valley issues from the west, sending down a stream which joins the short valley coming from the south; both flow in a curve to the east. These valleys are full of slender bamboo or canebrake and form an excellent hiding place for Lo-lo highwaymen. The trail ascends the narrow valley from the south, crosses another lateral ravine from the west and emerges into the grassy head of the valley, one branch extending east. We climb the shorter branch to the south-west to a pass at 11,400 feet elevation. This pass, where many a poor traveler has been murdered by Lo-lo robbers, is called Gi-kwua-gu-k'aw.

Tsui-yi. — We now descend into a glen which leads us out into the long broad valley called Ga-zu law-k'aw, the entire district being known as

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Tsui-yi. The glen is short but steep and is called She-lü-lü-t'o, meaning "Iron nuggets steep place," from the fact that iron was once mined here. The elevation of this part of the valley is 9,600 feet. A short distance below the pass, Pa-erh-shao 壩耳勺 [also called Pa-erh-ch'iao], is visible. The little village is situated on a very fertile plain, but has been almost abandoned because of Lo-lo depredations. Beyond the spur south of Pa-erh-shao, and still belonging to Yung-ning, is the hamlet of Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 in Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu territory. The distance from A-ngu valley to She-lü-lü-t'o is 22.5 li.

The trail descends the narrow glen and leads out into the great valley of Tsui-yi called in Chinese Wa-erh-lo 挖耳羅, where a magnificent view awaits the traveler; the entire Li-chiang snow range, like a huge sleeping dragon, appears on the distant horizon, but the third peak, Ha-ba ndshĕr nv-lv, is hidden by other ranges. Arrived in Tsui-yi valley the trail continues west between fields, in ditches and over rocks thrown there by the farmers. Most of the settlers in the upper part of this valley are sons of Han (Chinese). Any trail passing between fields is always the recipient of all the rocks the peasants can find in their fields. It also serves as irrigation ditch, the water from one terraced field being allowed to overflow on to the trail, to irrigate a field lower down. When the water is not wanted lower down the path becomes the bed of a brook. The valley floor is terraced; in the southern valley wall is a broad amphitheater traversed by three streams which flow into the Tsui-yi Stream. Here are several hamlets collectively called Lŏ-bü. Beyond Lŏ-bü the valley narrows and the trail leads along the grass-covered hill-side (*Heteropogon contortus*), with here and there a hamlet of a few houses. Next to Hli-dü, Tsui-yi is by far the richest agricultural, rice-growing area in the Yung-ning territory.

Continuing on the northern valley slopes we come to the hamlet of A-ka-lo, elevation 8,000 feet. The houses are of mud, the roofs of boards weighted down with rocks. The trail follows the narrowing valley to a bridge near the hamlet of Wa-erh-lo, elevation 7,050 feet. Crossing the bridge over the torrent we continue on the southern slopes in the deep, narrow canyon which Tsui-yi has now become. Mile after mile, the entire stream-bed, rocks, water, etc., is a light green, from immense quantities of algae. The trail winds in and out of lateral canyons, is exceedingly narrow and leads several hundred feet above the roaring green torrent.

The Li-su of Ba-ssu-ko hamlet. — After crossing a lateral valley we ascend the mountain-side to a huge rock shelf or broad terrace, at an elevation of 7,050 feet. Here is the Li-su hamlet of Ba-ssu-ko, known in Na-khi as P'ä-dä. The houses are regular pine log cabins, the roofs of pine boards weighted down with rocks. The latter become superfluous at pumpkin season for the entire pumpkin crop is stored on the roofs of the houses (PLATES 234, 235). The Li-su inhabitants when asked whence they had originally come, replied they did not know, except that they had settled in Ba-ssu-ko for many generations. They do, however, still speak their own language besides Hli-dü and Li-chiang Na-khi, as well as Chinese. Over 30 families dwell in this miserable conglomeration of huts, which look as if they had been dumped on a rock pile.

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dumped on a rock pile. The fields are poor and full of stones.[1] Lime-stone is everywhere and the soil hardened clay. Most of the people of this village are afflicted with goitre, and cretins are common, as the 30 families constantly intermarry with each other, there being no other Li-su in the neighborhood. The women wear false hair or rather a queue of black cotton thread, to the two ends of which they tie red-dyed yak or horse-hair (PLATE 236). Wound around their heads are also strings of thick disks of white conchshell, interspersed with a reddish transparent cornelian. They wear short pleated skirts of hemp cloth, which they weave themselves from the fibre of the female *Cannabis sativa*. The children go entirely naked and are black from filth.

From this Li-su hamlet we descend zigzag over a dusty rocky trail, to the stream-bed at 6,220 feet. Another path, the one to be preferred although longer, leads along the steep slopes, in and out of lateral ravines, over landslides down to the mouth of the arid valley. The vegetation which is of a xerophytic character is composed of *Phyllanthus emblica*, Albizzia, Wikstroemia, *Maba buxifolia*, *Dodonaea viscosa*, compositae and *Heteropogon contortus* grass which gives the landscape a reddish-brown aspect. Here also is to be found the monotypic genus *Delavaya* (species) *yünnanensis*.

The Yangtze. — We continue over a rocky spur to the Yangtze, which at the junction with the Tsui-yi Stream flows as a swift rapid. Here the river makes a sharp bend south, caused by an enormous bluff, on the Li-chiang side. Here a ferry plies from Yung-ning to the hamlet of Chiang-wai or Chiang-wa 江[川] on the west bank of the Yangtze. (*See* journey from Ming-yin-wu to Chiang-wai, p. 243). Massive mountains hem in the Chin-sha Chiang; they rise many thousands of feet above its bed, red, brown, and grey in all their aridity. Looking north the river issues from a succession of terrific defiles, through which narrow footpaths lead to La-pao and Feng-k'o. La-bpu mbu, a prominent hill over 10,000 feet in height, where we photographed the Yangtze in its gorges (PLATE 100), is visible from the Tsui-yi bluff.

The distance from She-lü-lü-t'o to the mouth of Tsui-yi is 50 li.

4. FROM YUNG-NING TO SHANG FENG-K'O AT APEX OF YANGTZE LOOP

This is the northernmost route to the Yangtze from Yung-ning. It traverses a region which rivals the valley of Tsui-yi, although less fertile and not so suitable to rice culture. It is inhabited by both Hsi-fan and Hli-khin tribespeople.

The region is extremely mountainous and densely forested. There are, however, no high meadows such as are found on Wua-ha Shan *en route* to Tsui-yi. The only arable area is in the long valley of Luĕ-dzu law-k'aw which in its lower part merges with another but shorter valley called Hĕr-dü or Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. This region is notorious for its highwaymen who practise their nefarious trade north of Li-chiang; they frequent lonely mountain trails, on the eastern slopes of the Yü-lung Shan and its meadows, as at Nga-ba. The region near the Yangtze, that is the lower parts of Luĕ-

1 [The Li-su village of Ba-ssu-ko -- Analyst]

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dzu and Hĕr-dü, is arid, similar to the lower end of Tsui-yi, but perhaps even more so. 487* 133* 137*

Up the Sä dji to To-ka-bo Pass. — From the lamasery the trail leads as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho and then to the Sä dji or Sä gyi which has its source on the eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide. The Sä dji joins the Hli dji by the village of T'o-djri, south of the hamlet of K'ai-chi and there they flow united as the K'ai-chi Ho. From this junction the Hli-khin people call it the Hli dji because it traverses the Yung-ning plain which they call Hli-dü and after which they call themselves the "Hli-khin" or people of "Hli," *dü* meaning land. Eight and a half li bring us to the banks of the Sä dji which we cross over a bridge by the village of A-dju at an elevation of 9,800 feet. Continuing west we enter a ravine and climb the pine-covered spur to an elevation of 10,400 feet, with deep depressions to the south and a Lo-lo settlement called Gu-tsĕr on the slopes. In great zigzags the trail ascends the forested spur to a gap at 11,650 feet, overlooking a valley to the north, which has its source east of the To-ka-bo Pass, and which debouches into the Sä dji. Here grows the white pine *Pinus Armandi* in company with the yellow pine, and species of deciduous oaks. Higher up these give way to spruce and poplar forest, mixed with maples (Acer) and rhododendrons. At an elevation of 12,200 feet, a magnificent vista opens out over Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain) and part of the beautiful Lake Lu-ku [La-t'a Ḳhü, as the Li-chiang Na-khi call it] (PLATE 237).

The trail follows the summit ridge to the Pass To-ka-bo, elevation 12,600 feet. To the north is the long high range called Shwua-gu with a view up the Sä dji, and a valley mentioned previously which leads from our pass into the latter. The virgin forest immediately below the pass is magnificent beyond words. It was atumn (1929) when I traversed this region, and all the deciduous trees were in their rich autumn garb. Tall spruces, birches, maples, with undergrowth of rhododendron and Lonicera, their foliage a golden yellow, bronze, or red, composed this glorious forest at an elevation of 12,400 feet. From To-ka-bo we descend along a spur with a valley to the north, a branch of which we skirt to a meadow surrounded by pine forest, and known to Hli-khin as Wua-ssu-to. Here is water and the lovely little meadow in the pine forest invites for a midday halt and rest for man and beast.

Luĕ-dzu valley. — From Wua-ssu-to we descend into a deep valley with the stream to the south of the trail, to the Hli-khin hamlet of Luĕ-dzu, elevation 10,100 feet. The valley itself is named after the village — Luĕ-dzu law-k'aw. Distance from Yung-ning 55 and a quarter li.

Skirting a ravine, the trail continues down the Luĕ-dzu valley, to the hamlet of To-kwa, elevation 9,600 feet, and then to a gap on the spur which separates Luĕ-dzu from a valley called Hĕr-dü in Hli-dü, and Hăr-lĕr-dü in Na-khi. There are two paths — one descends the Luĕ-dzu valley, and another crosses the spur into a branch of Hĕr-dü valley. These two paths meet again at the hamlet of Hĕr-dü. Beyond the village the two streams unite and debouch into the Yangtze. A short distance further we come to a bluff overlooking the Yangtze at 6,800 feet. The mouth of the Hĕr-dü valley

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*487 is called Sä-dji-ma; it was here that a ferry once plied to the Li-chiang side
*133 of the river.
*137

Crossing the Yangtze. — At the time of my visit in 1929, while returning from an expedition to Mi-nyag Gangs-dkar (Minya Konka)[12] for the
*487 NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY of Washington, D. C., all the ferries over the Yangtze had been smashed on account of the occupation of the Yung-pei
505 and Yung-ning region by military rebels and their horde of soldiers; it was to prevent them from crossing the Yangtze and occupying Li-chiang territory. Under the above circumstances we found it expedient to cross the river as speedily as possible in order to escape the rebels, who were then nearing Yung-ning. The good and friendly Tsung-kuan, the real ruler of Yung-ning, accompanied us to the Yangtze to personally supervise our difficult crossing of that river on inflated goatskins.[13] My entourage was a large one, consisting of many men, mules, horses and loads; the crossing by this primitive method took two days. We followed the river upstream, for the usual crossing at Sä-dji-ma is only suitable for boats. The light goatskin rafts would be quickly carried down to the fierce rapid a short distance from the mouth of Hĕr-dü. We eventually crossed three li higher up at a more placid stretch of the river.

A few words as regards the crossing of the Yangtze. All Zhĕr-khin people are expert swimmers. Twenty-two of them had been called together from the entire Yung-ning — Yangtze bank from as far south as T'o-lä-tsu. They were ready with their goatskins. Each skin was entire and formed a bag, only the neck was open, every other aperture being securely tied. The skin is held over the stomach, lengthwise so that the neck reaches to the mouth. The hind legs of the skin are securely tied with string, and are then passed between the swimmer's groins and tied over his buttocks. The neck of the animal is held in the mouth, and on entering the water the skin is inflated. They bobbed up and down in the swift current like corks, and when caught by a whirlpool they were sucked completely out of sight but soon popped up again. The mules and horses swam across, each man taking one by the reins; the more obstreperous animals needed three men. Often mule and man would disappear, being sucked down by the whirlpools for several seconds. We as well as our belongings were ferried across on inflated goatskin rafts, which consisted of 12 skins tied to sticks. They were much better constructed than the goatskin rafts used on the Yellow River in the Tibetan grasslands. There the rafts could be paddled across by one or two men, but here usually five men had to handle one raft, two pushing and swimming behind, and three, with ropes over their shoulders or holding them in their mouth, pulling and swimming in front. They first pushed the raft along the cliff (PLATE 238) until they reached the current, where there was also a whirlpool and where they were carried down-stream at express speed. When a considerable distance down, one would lead, swimming and

[12] མེ་ཉག་གངས་དཀར

[13] *See* J. F. ROCK, "The Glories of Minya Konka," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol. LVIII No. 4 (1930) PL. XV.

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pulling with all his might making for the other shore. Still they were carried down-stream until they struck another eddy, where they swam ashore. The ordeal was now to carry the raft back for a mile over the rocks on the opposite bank, inflate the skins, refasten the strings and plunge again into the water, pulling for the starting point. Although the atmosphere was balmy, the water was like ice, and the poor men, stark naked as they were, shivered visibly. It was a curious sight to see them coming back sitting in the water like corks, their bronze-colored bodies glistening in the sunlight. After two days of strenuous work we reached the other side of the Yangtze without the loss of a thing, save a mule who fell over the cliff into the river.

San-chiang-k'ou. — From the mouth of Hĕr-dü the trail leads over an impossible terrain along the cliffs; it is exceedingly narrow and the slopes down into the Yangtze next to vertical. Projecting rocks and boulders caused one of our mules to be pushed over the precipice, breaking his back. By an improvised trail down a talus slope we descended to the Yangtze. The heat is stifling in these arid canyons. From here it is 16 li to the junction of the Wu-liang Ho and the Yangtze (PLATE 105). This stretch is also called Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (dji) by the aborigines, who consider apparently the real Wu-liang Ho an affluent of the Zho Chhu. Opposite to where the Wu-liang Ho debouches into the Yangtze, on the Li-chiang side, is the small hamlet of Shang Feng-k'o (Upper Feng-k'o). Here besides the Wu-liang Ho two other streams empty into the Yangtze, the Ha-lo dji (Ha-lo Stream) from the Li-chiang side, and the Hĕr-dü below the Wu-liang Ho on the Yung-ning side, hence the name of this region, San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouths of three rivers).

Hla-mo-dzu Mountain. — On the right or western bank of the Zho Chhu and north of the Yangtze is a mountain called Hla-mo-dzu (H-M., Lamatzo) a spur of which forms the Yangtze valley wall and separates a stream from the river, namely the Chwua-dzu dji which flows into the Zho Chhu not far above its junction with the Yangtze.

Hla-mo-dzu is the border between the Hsi-k'ang — Mu-li, and Yün-nan — Chung-tien districts. Hsi-k'ang extends to the bank of the Yangtze west of the Wu-liang Ho, and to the summit of Mt. Hla-mo-dzu. Handel-Mazetti's map is here wrong, as he gives the Mu-li border farther north, and makes Hla-mo-dzu and a considerable stretch to the north of it, Yün-nan territory.

O-yü district. — On the banks of the Zho Chhu in Yung-ning territory are situated the hamlets of Yu-mi, Shu-dtü, Bpo-lo, the Chinese Po-lo 波羅, (H-M., Polo) and Zo-wua. They are inhabited by the Zhĕr-khi̱n, a tribe related to the Na-khi and Hli-khi̱n. Yu-mi is on the border between Yung-ning and Mu-li territory. The first village in the latter is Dze-ngu (H-M., Dsengo), others are Dshe-pu and Gya-pu — all inhabited by Zhĕr-khi̱n. The large village of O-yü, Wo-ya (窝亞) in Chinese, farther up the Zho Chhu valley is inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi, the descendants of former Na-khi soldiers who guarded that region in the days of the Ming dynasty during the rule of Mu Tseng (1587–1646) (PLATE 239). The famous gold-

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bearing Lo-nda gyi (Lung-ta Ho 攏打河) enters the Zho Chhu north of the Chwua-dzu dji at the Hsi-k'ang — Yün-nan border. The northern half of the north-western slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, the Yung-ning — Zho Chhu divide, forms the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning territories. The district of O-yü is situated on the banks of the Zho Chhu in Mu-li territory. There are in all over 200 Na-khi families, or over 1,000 men, women and children, living in O-yü. The district is known to the Hsi-fan as Wua-yëa-gko. From O-yü the district of Bbĕr-ddĕr in the Chung-tien magistracy can be reached in two days via the mountains and gorges of Gkü-dü. From Shen-dzong in Mu-li country, where a cantilever bridge spans the Zho Chhu and where a trail leads to the Tibetan-inhabited region of Mu-li, it is four days to O-yü, following the Zho Chhu down-stream. On the west bank of the Zho Chhu (the Shu dji of the O-yü Na-khi) the following villages comprise O-yü: K'ö-ndso, Wua-zhi, Mbi-dü, Re-bu (the Li-chiang Na-khi call this place Llü-bbu; we see here the influence of the neighboring Tibetans), Dji-ku (the Li-chiang Gyi-gkv); then the hamlets of Dji-man (Gyi-man) and Gkv-gkü. One day west of Shen-dzong are the villages of Shü-lo-gu-nyi and Shü-lo-dshĕr-bbu.

Besides the Na-khi villages enumerated above and belonging to the district of Mu-li in south-west Hsi-k'ang, there is one more Na-khi hamlet called T'o-lä-gki, harbouring several families. It is situated above the east bank of the Li-t'ang River, opposite Mu-li Lamasery and near the small monastery called lDan-hdra-ri-khrod [14] (pronounced Den-dra-ri-thrö).

The entire lower slopes of the Yangtze valley are covered with the reddish-brown grass *Heteropogon contortus*. On these dry slopes grows a beautiful shrub or small tree, a species of Hibiscus, *H. aridicola* with white flowers, the petals being pale green at the base. It reminds one of *Hibiscus Brackenridgei* of Hawaii, which grows in similar arid situations, associated with the same species of grass. *Hibiscus aridicola* has, however, long rambling branches. The remainder of the vegetation is similar to or the same as elsewhere in the Yangtze loop.

5. FROM YUNG-NING TO CH'IEN-SO IN SSU-CH'UAN

The T'u-ssu family feud. — The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu 前所土司 is not extensive, consisting of only one large valley in which is situated the yamen of the chief, and a little lamasery, or rather a lama temple. There are in all six villages in the valley, which extends north-east, then east. The T'u-ssu belongs to the Hli-khin tribe. His family name is A 阿 and he is a relative of the Yung-ning T'u-ssu. The Ch'ien-so native chieftainship was established in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), the present T'u-ssu, A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟, being the ninth generation.[15] Like the Tso-so chieftains, they have degenerated, and recently a feud arose between the present chief and his brother, so that neither could remain in the territory.

[14] གདན་དྲ་རི་ཁྲོད།

[15] During the Ming dynasty the same family ruled the territory in question under the title of Chiliarch or T'u-ch'ien-hu.

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This T'u-ssu brought in Lo-lo settlers to counteract his brother's activities, the outcome being that the peasants were the sufferers. His mother, a refined old lady, was a relative of the Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning. Her husband, the late T'u-ssu, died in 1909 at the age of 33. During the feud between her sons she ran the affairs of her forlorn little country which had once seen better days. The T'u-ssu has since then shot his brother in cold blood. Whereupon the wife of his brother employed a relative to kill A Ch'ao-tung. The Ch'ien-so territory was then taken over by the Mu-li T'u-ssu but in 1944 it was again relinquished to the impoverished A family. 627

Ch'ien-so country is beautiful, but several villages have been burned by the Lo-lo, especially in the Du-llo dyi valley, and it is impossible for the peasants to return. Some have sought asylum in Yung-ning, others in Mu-li. The outlook is not a bright one unless order is restored and the Lo-los are kept in check.

The Mu-li — Ch'ien-so — Yung-ning border is not correctly marked on Handel-Mazzetti's map. Instead of extending south-east from the Mu-li pass which leads to Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lidjiatsun of Handel-Mazzetti, and the Chinese Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), the boundary is formed by the eastern wall of the Erh dji valley, extending north and south till it strikes the confluence of the Erh dji with the Hli dji. From there it continues as a ditch across the fields, south-east to the valley which debouches from the rear of Lion Mountain. 133 *

Erh dji valley. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the trail leads along the northern edge of the plain to the mouth of the Erh dji valley, which extends from the village of Wua-la-pi to the Yung-ning plain; there the Erh dji stream joins the Hli dji. South of the Erh dji ford, is the deep crater-like depression of Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). On the north-western slopes of the latter are two small craters, and here the limestone is superimposed with volcanic rock. These craters whose outlines are very distinct and unmistakable, face north and are apparently much younger than Lion Mountain itself. Leaving the village of A-gu-wùa to our left, still in Yung-ning territory, we proceed along the edge of the plain and at the foot of the spur, instead of crossing it by the trail which leads to Mu-li via Wua-la-pi. At the foot of the mountain which forms the eastern valley wall of the Erh dji, and near its mouth, stands a white house close to the village of A-nda, both of which are in Ssu-ch'uan and Ch'ien-so territory. The eastern spur leads north and south and forms the Yung-ning — Ch'ien-so and Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. The actual boundary, 11.5 li from Yung-ning, is the mere ditch which divides the Erh dji valley and crosses the plain of Yung-ning diagonally south-east, to the foot of Lion Mountain. 133 * 489 * 137 *

Following the Hli dji through the Ch'ien-so valley. — Crossing the mouth of the Erh dji valley we come to the hamlet of Vu-dchü in Ch'ien-so territory, two li from the Yung-ning border. Here the Hli dji flows in long zigzags across the plain, and enters the valley of Wua-zhu (Wua-zhu law-k'aw); the trail follows down-stream along the northern valley slopes. Wua-zhu is the Na-khi name of the Ch'ien-so country. East of Seng-ge ga-mu and separated by a gap, is another but inconspicuous limestone mountain; this is the

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*487 *133 *139 mountain god of the Ch'ien-so people and is called Wua-zhu Pu-nà. Adjoining it to the east is Tso-so Shan in the Tso-so T'u-ssu territory. Wua-zhu Pu-nà, unlike Seng-ge ga-mu is a male deity and is depicted wearing a black garment and riding a black horse.

The Wua-zhu valley narrows, limestone outcroppings and cliffs are on the north side, at the foot of which our trail leads with the Hli dji immediately below. Six li from Vu-dchü, is the hamlet of 'A-mbe, the houses are of the log-cabin type, though some have tamped earth walls. The vegetation on the limestone spur to the north is entirely composed of oaks, *Quercus semicarpifolia*, while along the trail grow bushes of *Prinsepia utilis*, called Shu-da or Shĕr-da in Na-khi. This shrub flowers twice, in the winter and in the summer but produces fruit only from summer flowers. The southern slopes of the valley are forested entirely with pines (*Pinus yünnanensis*). The Hli dji is here a sluggish river, with fish weirs stretched across the shallow bed. There are beautiful camping places on its south bank under groves of poplars. Five li from the village of 'A-mbe the river makes a sharp bend north-east, near the small hamlet of Wo-yü-pa-k'a-ko, at an elevation of 9,500 feet. It winds considerably. From the north a limestone spur extends into the Ch'ien-so valley, the southern slopes of which are covered with pine groves, while straight ahead, on the northern slopes of the valley, is situated the yamen of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. Another valley opens out from the north, pine scrub covering the slopes here, while old oak trees grow on the southern hill-sides.

346 A lama temple called Wua-zhu Gom-pa, representing the Yellow sect, stands on the west bluff of the side valley, while the yamen is on the eastern one. The place where the yamen stands is called Hli-da (Li-ta 利達) and is at an elevation of 9,600 feet. The distance from Yung-ning to Hli-da is 31.5 li. The main building is over 90 years old and is in a bad state of repair. Back of it is a small temple with a large figure of Yamāntaka, conqueror of Yama. King of Death, one of the most venerated tutelary deities (*Yidam*) of the Yellow Church.

*487 *133 *139 Below the yamen the valley narrows and forms a defile through which the Hli dji has cut its way. Here it is exceedingly beautiful. The walls of the limestone gorge are a pearl grey and rise vertically from the river-bed. Large old evergreen oaks line the banks, their crowns over-hanging the stream, a lovely picture of peace and solitude. Here we noticed a large family of Maccacus monkeys which made its way chattering over the cliffs, the mothers with babies on their backs. When they finally reached the top of the rocky walls, they swung on to the trees and disappeared over the mountains. Beyond this defile a valley opens from the west called Du-llo law-k'aw, a distance of seven li from Hli-da. The Du-llo dji has two sources, one south and the other north of Lä-dgyu-dzu in Mu-li territory. A bridge of wooden planks, hardly worthy of the name of bridge, spans it.

Beyond the bridge where the Hli dji makes a sharp bend, it is joined by the Du-llo dji; this region is called Dji-tsu-kwan. Once inhabited, the fields on the northern slopes of the river valley are now abandoned, and the village which stood here and which bore the name of Tse-bu is in ashes. It is impossible for any one to remain here owing to the savage Lo-lo robbers. Only

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large and well armed parties may dare venture here, anything less would be robbed and murdered by these outlaws. 487*

The trail leads past the incinerated village along pine and oak-covered hills, strewn with boulders of limestone. The valley becomes shallower and here and there a small lateral stream joins the waters of the Hli dji; the latter flows placidly, but winds considerably in the broadening valley where we encounter tilled ground. We follow up a side valley for a short stretch to the hamlet of Hlu-wa, and then emerge again into the main valley of the Hli dji, in which we continue down-stream past another hamlet called Da-wùa, elevation 9,350 feet. Beyond the hamlet is a marshy meadow in which grows a variety of *Acorus calamus*, perhaps var. *vulgaris*, the Chinese Ch'ang-p'u 菖蒲. The local people call it Chu-bbu and the Li-chiang Na-khi, Ch'um-bbue. The peasants are forbidden to dig the rhyzomes of this plant, as the T'u-ssu had reserved himself the right to do so. The root is of medicinal value and sells in Ssu-ch'uan for two or three dollars silver a catty (Chinese pound). Beyond Da-wùa the Hli dji enters a terrific defile about one li long with vertical limestone walls. Continuing a short distance east beyond the gorge, it makes a sharp bend south, and enters Tso-so territory. 133* 137*

Mu-li boundary. — From Da-wùa a trail leads north up the side valley and climbs steeply the eastern valley slopes which are covered with forests of tall pines. Most of them have, however, been felled, as at Ghügh-t'o, by Lo-lo who inhabit these mountains. The Lo-lo, who live in huts made of pine boards tied together with ropes, had fled, as the Mu-li King, whose lama emissaries they had robbed while bent on a mission to Lhasa, was then on the war-path; he had sent his Tibetan cavalry to chastise them. There is one person the Lo-lo is in awe of, and that is a Tibetan of the uncontrolled territory of Gangkar-ling. The summit of the ridge, at an elevation of 10,900 feet, is the border between the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu and Mu-li territory. In the distance, visible from the ridge, is a high mountain spur which forms the divide between Mu-li and the territory of the Hou-so 後所 T'u-ssu. The latter is also a member of the Na-khi — Hli-khin tribe, and rules over peasants of the same stock with a sprinkling of Lo-lo tribespeople.

Below the spur which forms the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li divide flows the Shu-lo-k'o; it sends its waters into the Hli dji, where it turns south into Tso-so country, beyond the defile of Da-wùa chu-bbu, as the place is called, west of the gorge. The Shu-lo-k'o is entirely inhabited by Hei Lo-lo 黑猓玀 (Black Lo-lo) under the control of the Mu-li lamas, who belong to the Hsi-fan tribe, but who call themselves Ch'ra-me, which the Chinese transcribe Chia-mi 甲迷.

6. FROM YUNG-NING TO RIN-JOM GOM-PA (WU-CHIO SSU LAMASERY)

The north-westernmost part of Ch'ien-so territory, where it adjoins Mu-li in the north and Yung-ning in the south, consists of the valleys of Wua-lu, Du-llo and part of Ha-la-mi, but the only village in this part of Ch'ien-so is the scattered hamlet of Du-llo. It was in ashes and the fields were abandoned. To reach the monastery of Wu-chio 烏角 or Rin-jom Gom-pa (Rin-

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*487 hjom dgon-pa),[16] dedicated to the goddess Palden Lhamo (dPal-ldan Lha-
*133 mo),[17] is by way of the above-mentioned valleys. The boundary between
*137 Mu-li and Ch'ien-so is below Rin-jom Gom-pa in the valley of Ha-la-mi.

Du-llo and its destruction by Lo-lo bandits. — Opposite the hot springs, situated in the Erh dji valley, one half of which is in Yung-ning and the other in Ch'ien-so territory, a valley extending from north-east to south-west debouches into it.[18] This valley is called Wua-lu. It is more of a ravine than a valley and leads to a pass among forested hills. It becomes very narrow in its upper half, where it is joined by another ravine with a rocky defile. The slopes are covered exclusively with the yellow Yün-nan pine. There is a maze of spurs over which the trail leads to a pass and down another small rocky ravine, which debouches into the broad valley of Du-llo. Here at the junction of the ravine and the Du-llo dji, on the northern bank of the latter, stood the hamlet of Du-llo; now only the charred mud walls of the few houses which composed the village remain.

579 On February 9th, 1929, the eve of Chinese New Year, when the poor Hli-khin peasants had decorated the gates of their homes, with pine trees, the savage Lo-lo came and robbed them, drove off their cattle, and set their houses on fire; worse still, their children were carried off into slavery. And this happened less than 10 miles from where Chinese New Year was celebrated in great style in Yung-ning. Passing by here on my way to Mu-li in March of the same year, a few of the peasants were sitting in the ruins of their former homes; silently they contemplated the ashes of what constituted their former belongings. Their overlord, the T'u-ssu of Ch'ien-so, an opium sot, who was at feud with his brother and who had invited the Lo-lo to settle in his territory (see p. 404), had fled from the wrath of his brother, who had waylaid him with the intention of killing him. He was safely camping on the Li-t'ang River in Mu-li territory. His enemy brother had likewise fled and was living on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u in the Yung-ning Lake, also an addict to the opium pipe. No one cared for the poor peasants, who were thus delivered up into the hands of outlaws and robbers. I mention this to show what dreadful conditions prevail in this part of China, and how indifferent the officials are to the dire distress of the peasants and the lawlessness in the country.

This state of affairs is of course mainly due to lack of communications, the wildness of the country, and the long distance, comparatively speaking, from the governing center of these outposts of China. But if the truth must be told, it is also due to the indifference of the Chinese officials. It would be useless for the people to attempt to complain to the magistrate under whose jurisdiction they come, for between them and Yen-yüan, the seat of the magistrate, are independent Lo-lo who would rise *en masse* and inflict worse punishment. Only a large military force would be able to deal with them. Under present conditions, with the peasantry disorganized, their ruling

[16] རྗེན་ལྷོམ་དགོན་པ [17] དཔལ་ལྡན་ལྷ་མོ

[18] In the summer of 1942 the entire bank of the Erh dji on the Ssu-ch'uan side was planted to opium, a sea of purple flowered poppies extended to the foot of the mountains.

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chiefs at feud with each other, and themselves refugees, they cannot help but be prey to the rapacious, cruel Lo-lo.

Ha-la-mi valley. — Crossing the Du-llo Stream the trail leads up another broad valley which debouches at Du-llo village into the Du-llo valley. This valley is called Ha-la-mi, the lower half of which belongs to Ch'ien-so territory.

At the corner of the junction of these valleys stood the ruins of other homes. The Lo-lo robbers had done a thorough job in looting the poor innocent and undefended peasants. No one cared about their trials and tribulations.

In the Ha-la-mi valley a trail leads to Wu-chio Monastery situated in the territory of the once powerful Lama King of Mu-li whom the Lo-lo greatly feared and respected. Ha-la-mi is a beautiful valley, forested with pines and oaks. Yet the fields along the crystal-clear stream have been abandoned by their owners on the Ch'ien-so side of the line for fear of being carried off into slavery by the Lo-lo, should they dare go out to till them. The elevation at the Ch'ien-so — Mu-li border is 9,700 feet.

Ere reaching Wu-chio Monastery, a valley debouches into Ha-la-mi from north-west. A bridge spans that stream.

Wu-chio Lamasery. — Wu-chio Ssu 烏角寺 is situated at an elevation of 10,100 feet on a terrace which juts out into the stream. North of Wu-chio although in a continuation of Ha-la-mi valley, the stream is called La-dze dji and has its source in the huge limestone mountain called Hla-dze or La-dze.[19]

The lamasery consists of one stone building containing the main shrine and chanting hall, while log cabins house the few lamas who attend to the worship of the most dreaded demon goddess of the Lama Church, Palden Lhamo. Wu-chio Ssu (Rin-jom Gom-pa) is well known in Tibet as it is said to have been one of the early dwelling-places of the goddess. It is a mysterious spot, the temple dark and gloomy like all Tibetan chanting halls. One corner of the building was partitioned off and this was the sanctuary of the fierce goddess whose image, represented by a fresco, adorned the wall. The painting was covered with silk scarfs which served as a curtain. Butter lamps which were burning in front of it, furnished the only light; all was still and hushed. In front of the old temple stood two immense juniper trees at least 500 years old. The lamas related that the goddess delights to live in trees. Facing the valley in which Wu-chio Ssu is situated are the mighty crags of La-dze or Hla-dze. In this mountain is a large cave known as La-dze ni-kung. Palden Lhamo is reputed to have lived there in the dim and hoary past. Water issues from this cave, which is said to be the source of the La-dze dji.

[19] The Hsi-fan of Mu-li, who call themselves Ch'ra-me and whom the Na-khi call Boa, look upon Mt. Hla-dze as the cradle of their race. Like the people of Yung-ning do still, and the Li-chiang Na-khi did in former days, the Boa cremate their dead. They take the ashes and fragments of bones of their cremated relatives and deposit them on the limestone cliffs of Hla-dze, similarly to the chiefs of Yung-ning whose ashes are deposited at the foot of the cliffs, high up on Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain).

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CHAPTER V

The Yung-ning Plain

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The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

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The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羊 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

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[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller Przewalski from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found, *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi), *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-llu-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca nyroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 209. — MO-SO — KU-TSUNG TRIBAL WOMAN OF TSHO-KHÄ-THANG

The women of this region wear long pleated skirts like the Na-khi women of La-pao; they speak only Tibetan and do not understand Na-khi.

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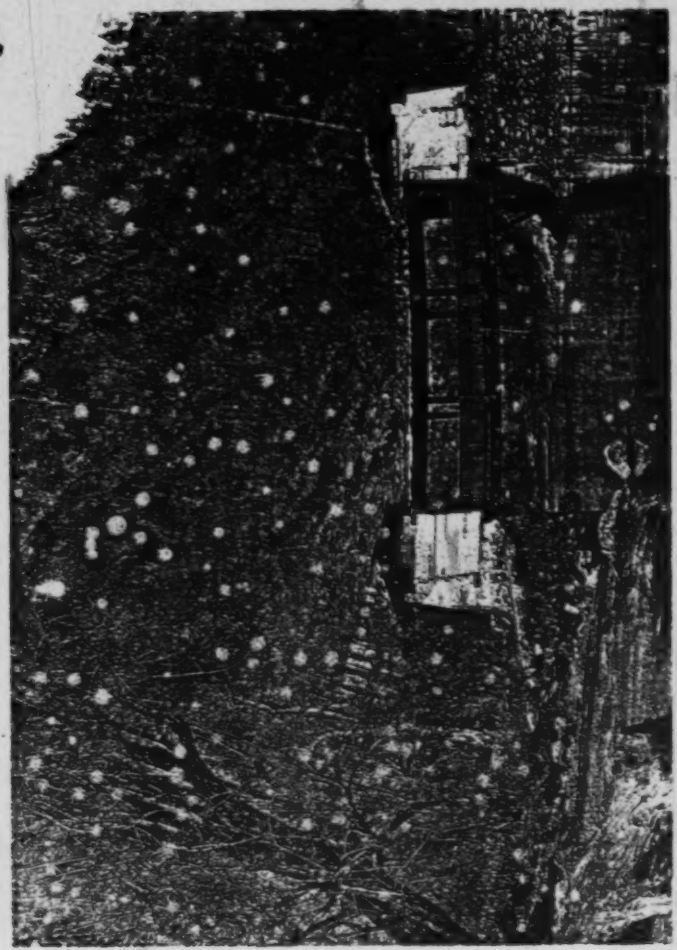

(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 410. — TIBETAN WOODEN BRIDGE OVER THE YOH-DZE-KHÁ

This type of bridge is common in the Tibetan part of the Yangtze drainage basin.

[p. 410 B]

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 211. — THE LATE MU-LI T'U-SSU HANG TZ'U-CH'EN-CHA-PA

本裏故宣慰司項此稱札巴

The late Mu-li or Mi-li rGyal-po (King) in front of his throne clad in priestly robes. The banners on the wall represent from left to right: Thugs-rje-chhen-po-bchug-gchig-zhal — the eleven-headed Chenrezig; the Tibetan pantheon Lam-rim-tshogs-shing; Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow sect.

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[p.410-D]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 212. — HERE AT JIH-YÜEH-HO KUBLAI KHAN CAMPED WITH HIS ARMY

永寧日月和元世祖駐蹕處

It was on this historic spot that Kublai Khan camped in December 1253, when he attacked Yün-nan. It is called La-pa-ddü by the people of Yung-ning. The author was always escorted by the rulers of Yung-ning as far as the Jih-yüeh-ho, when he took leave of them. From right to left, mounted: a servant; A Yün-shan, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan; a Tibetan incarnation; A Shao-fu the abbot of Yung-ning; J. F. Rock; Li Ssu-ch'en, a Na-khi assistant.

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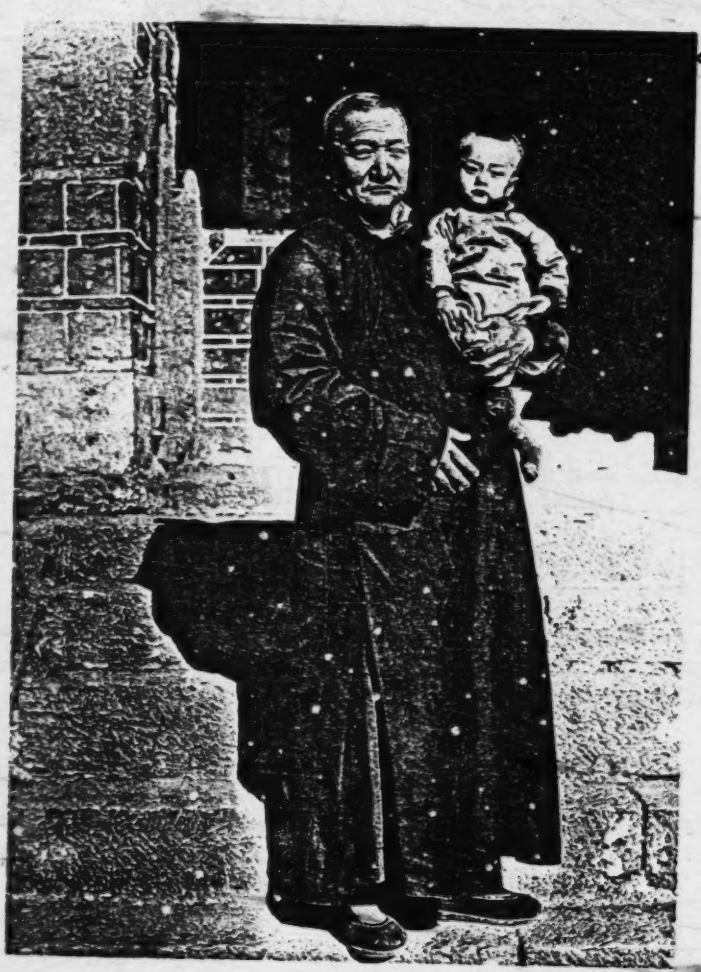

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 213.—A YÜN-SHAN THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN OF YUNG-NING

永寧宗管阿雲山

He was of Mongol ancestry, a descendant of one of Kublai Khan's officers left to rule Yung-ning in 1253. He holds in his arm his last-born son, declared a lama incarnation in 1931. See plate 254.

[p. 410-E]

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2: Rock, K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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(Courtesy Nat. Geog. Soc.)

PLATE 214.—THE FAMILY OF THE YUNG-NING NATIVE PREFECT

永寧土司府家眷

The center figure in Chinese dress is the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui; on his left the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan; between the two in the rear the present T'u-ssu A Min-han. To the right of the late T'u-ssu, his wife, sister of A Yün-shan. To her right the abbot of Yung-ning Lamasery A Shao-fu, second son of the late T'u-ssu.

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 215.—A HLI-KHIN MAIDEN OF YUNG-NING

★ 羊 康 在 夕 ★

She is dressed in her best; wound around her head she wears strings of cornelian, amber and turquoise. Over her forehead is a strip of cloth studded with gold nuggets. Her earrings suspended from her hair are of solid gold as are the buckles of her silk jacket.

[p. 410 G]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

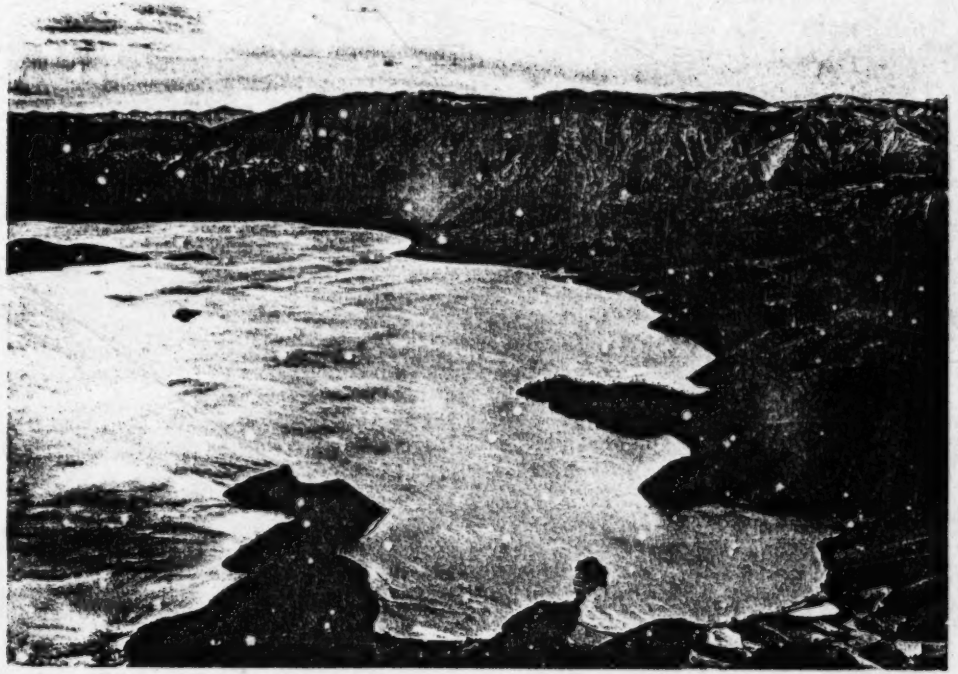
PLATE 216. — THE LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN OR SHIH-T'OU SHAN

獅頭山或石頭山

The southern end of Seng-ge ga-mu is broad and massive hence the Chinese call it Lion-head. It is 13,100 feet in height and rises 3,600 feet above the lake. At the foot of the upper limestone cliffs is a large cave.

[p. 410-H]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 217. — THE WESTERN END OF THE YUNG-NING LAKE

瀘沽湖由獅頭山頂眾景

As seen from the summit of Lion Mountain, elevation 13,100 feet. The lake is 3,600 feet below the peak. Extreme left T'u-bbu peninsula; separated by a channel is the island of Hle-wu-be; below it the island of Nyo-ro-p'u. At base of picture the village of Hli-ki on the small peninsula.

[p. 410-I]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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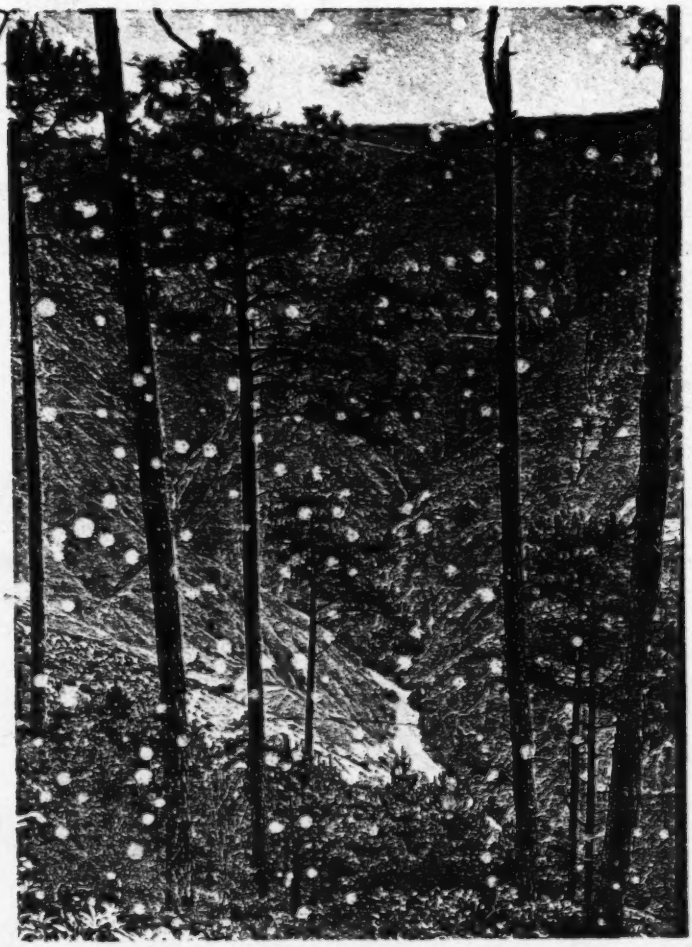

PLATE 218.—THE EASTERN BRANCH OF THE WU-LIANG HO OR ZHO CHHU IN MU-LI TERRITORY

木裏黃水驅地方無量河東支流

The Zho Chhu or Shu Gyi of the Na-khi has its source at Na-pu and flowing parallel to the Li Chhu or List'ang River, joins the main Wu-liang Ho some ten miles above its confluence with the Yangtze; *see* Plate 105. Photographed from an elevation of 12,000 feet, between the villages of Ga-ro and Dze-ru, Mu-li Territory.

[p.410-J]

Z: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 219. — SHIH-TZU-WAN OR LION'S COVE

獅子灣雲南永寧四川前所交界

This solid limestone mountain covered with scrub oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*) is in Ch'ien-so territory, Ssu-ch'uan; the small stream flowing in front, is the Yün-nan (Yung-ning) — Ssu-ch'uan border. Chinese squatters have settled in the cave.

[p. 410-K]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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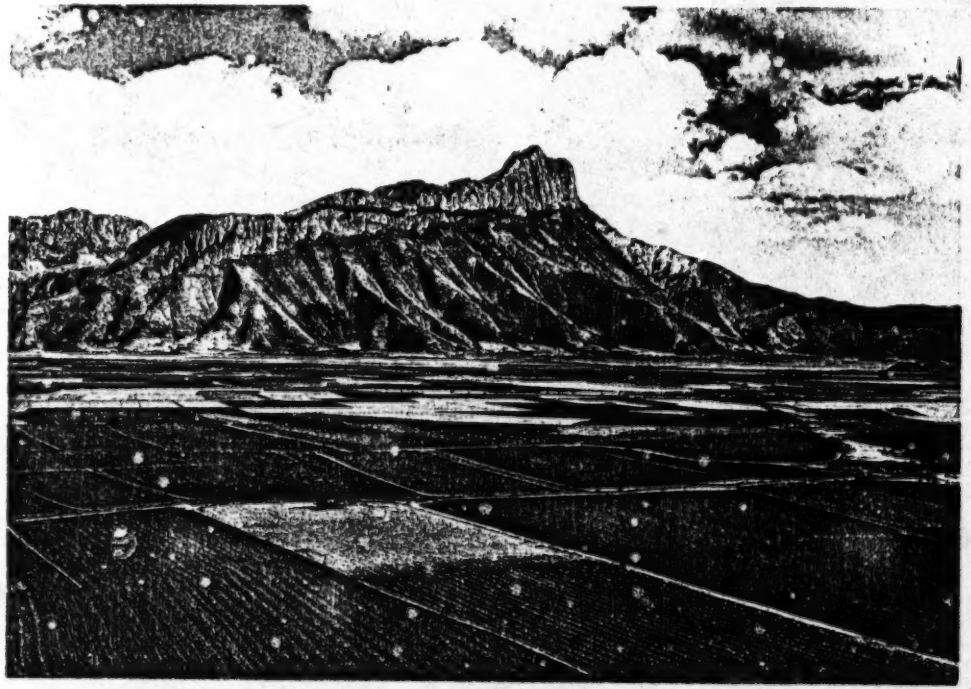

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 220.—THE YUNG-NING PLAIN WITH LION MOUNTAIN

永寧壩獅子山(甲母山)背景

The Plain is called Hli-dü and is the largest level piece of land in Yung-ning. Its elevation is 9,500 feet. Lion Mountain, the landmark of Yung-ning, is 13,100 feet in height.

[p. 410-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 221. — HLI-KHIN LADIES, MEMBERS OF THE T'U-SSU FAMILY

土司家婦人

Only members of the ruling family are allowed to wear long skirts. They adorn themselves with gold and silver ornaments and wear a white goat skin jacket held in place by a large round, silver buckle.

[p. 410-M]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border A E3
292
[p. 410 N]

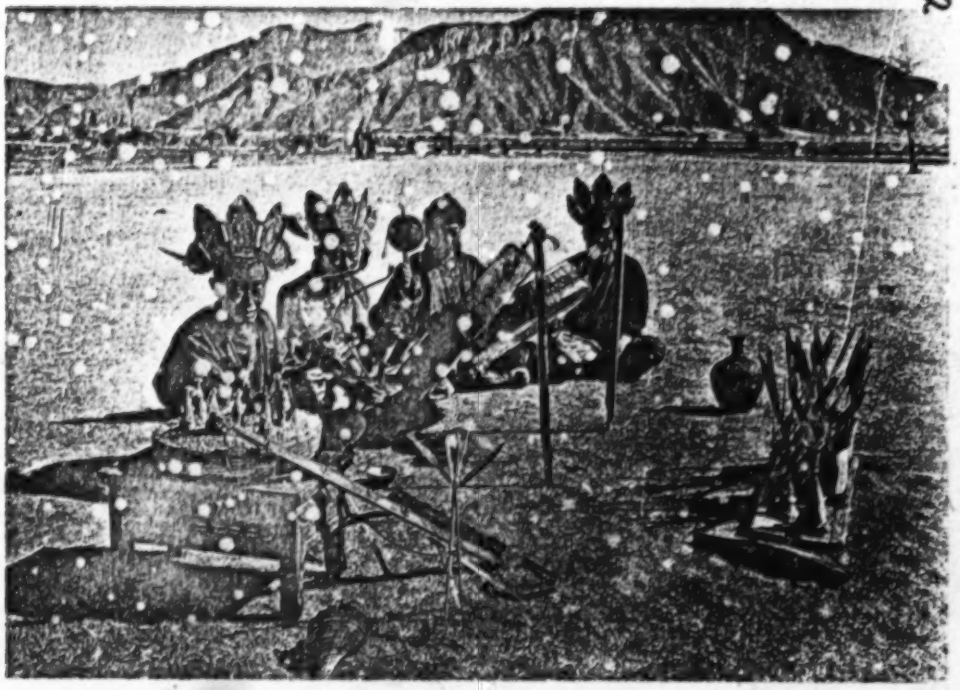
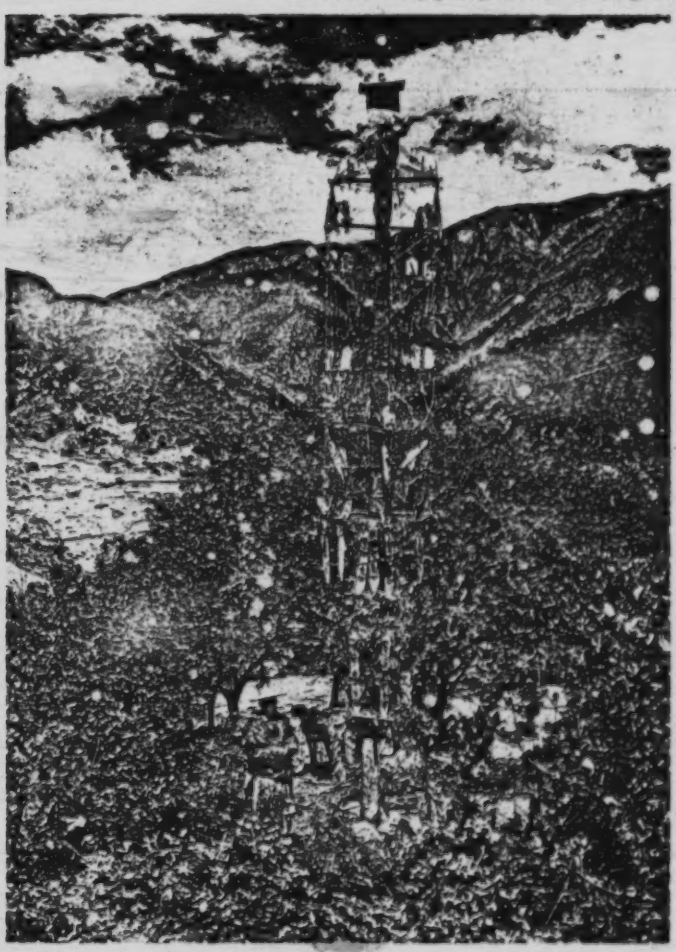


PLATE 222. — YUNG-NING NDA-PA (SORCERERS) PERFORMING THE ZHI-WUA-GKĀ CEREMONY

永寧巫行式

All their rituals are performed out of doors, on a meadow; in this case on the Yung-ning plain, in front of the lamasery. The Zhi-wua-gkā (burning of the demons), like all other Nda-pa ceremonies, ends in drunkenness.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
822
782



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 223.—A HA-PA CONTRAPTION TO PREVENT HAILSTORMS

永寧哈巴佛皮阻雹曼風雨

This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.

[p. 410-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[p. 410-p]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 224. — THE YUNG-NING LAMASERY DJRA-MI-GKO

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ (★ ★ ★ ★)

It is also called Ta-lan Ssu after the Tibetan name of the lamasery. The central building is the main temple or chanting hall; the square building to the left of it houses the giant statue of Maitreya, the Coming Buddha. The small buildings surrounding the temple are the homes of the lamas. They are however empty except on certain festive occasions.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ing the whole of Yung-ning with footwear, besides sending caravans with shoes to the Li-chiang market.

S 361 Back, or north, of the lamasery are the hamlets of A-la-wa, La-ngua, and Ga-ra, the latter north-west. Southwest, a little over one li distant, is the hamlet of K'ai-chi and diagonally across from the latter, on the southern bank of the Hli dji, is the hamlet of Ba-clü. Behind the village of K'ai-chi is a hill and here the ruins of the ancient seat of the Yung-ning chiefs are still to be seen. The place is called K'ai-chi wa-wu. The old trees, planted many generations ago by the chiefs of Yung-ning around their former yamen, still stand, among them a ginko tree which had been brought from Peking.

From this hill the whole plain and the zigzag course of the Hli dji can be seen to advantage.

2. THE T'U-SSU YAMEN

S *487 *133 *137 West of K'ai-chi is the bridge which spans the Hli-dji, and beyond the famous camping place of Kublai Khan, the Jih-yüeh-ho (La-pa-ddü of the Na-khi). If we follow south-west we come to the junction of the Sä dji [2] and Bu-llu dji, the former has its source on the north-eastern slopes of the Shwua-gu Range, and the latter on Mt. Dzoan-pu, a part of Wua-ha or the Ta-yao Shan. Here at the junction of these two streams is situated the hamlet of T'o-djri. If we cross the bridge at K'ai-chi where the stream is known as K'ai-chi Ho (Hli dji) and follow south, past the hamlet of Ba-chü, we come to the yamen of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. Two tall, spreading leguminous trees (*Sophora japonica*, the Na-khi Li-law ndzĕr) stand at the entrance S 193 which leads into a succession of courts as in any Chinese yamen. The present T'u-ssu is a young man called A Min-han 阿民漢 and is the 22nd generation, counting from his ancestor Pu-tu-ko-chi who was appointed native ruler of Yung-ning in the 14th year of Hung-wu (1382). The boy, who is said to be 25 years (Chinese) of age, became T'u-ssu in the 19th year of the Republic, the twelfth moon and 1st day (January 19th, 1931). His father died in 1927. His grandfather, A Ying-jui 阿應瑞, who had retired and lived on the banks of the Yangtze died in 1938.

At one time, during the Mohammedan rebellion (1856–1876), A Ying-jui's father, A Heng-fang, fled from Yung-ning into the Yangtze valley, where he kept in hiding. He had several wives but not one of them had presented him with a son. While in hiding he took unto himself a Hsi-fan woman from Mu-li. When the danger was past he returned to Yung-ning and, hearing that the Hsi-fan woman was with child, he sent for her. She gave birth to a son who was the late T'u-ssu A Ying-jui, and the grandfather of the present T'u-ssu of Yung-ning.

S *487 *133 *137 From the official residence of the Yung-ning chiefs a trail leads to the lake which is at all times passable, while another trail across the plain can only be used in winter. Beyond the yamen the path enters a valley, and crosses a dry, rocky stream-bed which has its source near the cave Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu.

[2] The words *sä dji* (Li-chiang Na-khi, *sä gyi*) are applied to a small stream which has its source in high mountains, usually such as are covered with eternal snow; glacier streams are usually called by this name.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

*487 *433 *137 The ravine narrows, the trail crosses the stream twice, and finally emerges by a small lake and the hamlet of Chü-di, situated on the southern side on higher ground. As the land is marshy it is often difficult to cross. From Chü-di the trail ascends a scrub-covered spur overlooking the lake near, or to the south-west, of the hamlet of Hli-ki; from here it continues around the south-western side of the lake to Ta-lo-shui 大喔水.

3. P'I-K'U-WUA HILL

The shortest way to the lake is across the Yung-ning plain through the hamlet of Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, along ditches to the banks of the Hli-dji which must be forded, thence to a hill called P'i-k'u-wua,[4] six li from the lamasery in a south-easterly direction. On the top of this hill is a temple with a huge figure of Chenrezig[5] with the thousand arms and eyes (Kuan-yin 觀音 of the Chinese). East or to the rear of P'i-k'u-wua is the hamlet of Nda-po. Here a nice house with a spacious court denotes the family home and the birthplace of the late and lamented Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan of Yung-ning. Near Nda-po a stream is crossed which has its source in, or is the outlet of, the little lake or marsh on the banks of which Chü-di is situated.

The trail follows along the foot-hills, into the narrowing wedge of the plain between the south-eastern foot of Lion Mountain and the outer spurs which hem in the lake. At the village of Bo-dzu it climbs a ridge to a pass of 10,190 feet elevation, with a ravine to the right and the plain on the left. Descending again it leads past two ponds, the first a smaller one and the second a larger one. The remnants of these circular basins with standing water would appear to testify to a former succession of lakes similar to the present Yung-ning Lake. The Yung-ning plain itself probably was once a large lake in which P'i-k'u-wua hill formed an island similar to the islands in the present Lu-ku Lake.

The trail leads along the slopes of Lion Mountain and along the edge of the larger basin up the pine and oak-covered spur, thence down to another cultivated basin with standing water to the south-west. Crossing the basin, about three li in diameter, we reach the spur which separates us from the main lake (PLATE 240). From the summit of the spur it is four li to the lake shore at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, where there are a few houses and cultivated fields and a good beach for landing boats. Both dug-out canoes made

[4] On the top of P'i-k'u-wua the cremation ceremony for the dead, that is for deceased members of the Yung-ning ruling class only, takes place. The late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan 阿雲山, however, was cremated on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u.

[5] This form of Chenrezig has 11 heads and is usually standing. In addition to the double pair of arms it has numerous others (said to be 1,000 in all) rotating from the body like a halo, each hand carrying weapons to defend its devotees. The 11 heads are arranged in a cone and are said to represent the unhappy state of Avalokita, whose head split into pieces with sorrow on contemplating the pitiable condition of depraved humanity. In each of his hands, in the center of the palm, he has an eye, hence his name: "He who looks down." In this form he is known as Samanta-mukha in Sanskrit. The 11-headed form is known in Tibet as Chenrezig chu-chi-zhel (sPyan-ras-gzigs bchu-gchig-zhal) སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་. In Chinese the thousand arms and thousand eyes Kuan-yin is known as 千手千眼大悲大慈普賢菩薩 (Bodhisattva Kuan-yin who has 1,000 arms and 1,000 eyes, great in mercy and great in compassion).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Sou ..est China AF16

of pine logs, and regular row-boats large enough to ferry horses to the island of Nyo-ro-p'u are in use. 487*

Across the Yung-ning plain, at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu, facing west towards the Yung-ning Lamasery, is the larger hamlet of Dze-mbu.[6] Here another relation of the T'u-ssu, also bearing the family name A 阿, has his residence. Originally this family supplied the Tsung-kuans 總管 of Yung-ning. Owing to the degeneracy of their line, which produced no more capable administrators, the office of Tsung-kuan was conferred on the late A Yün-shan. As a young man he took the vow of celibacy, entered the lamasery and became a monk or Gelong (dGe-slong). He studied for six years in Ga-den Lamasery[7] near Lhasa but returned afterwards to Yung-ning and becoming once more a layman he married and took up the administration of the Yung-ning prefecture. 133* 137*

5. LAMAIST CELEBRATIONS

There are several other smaller hamlets along the slopes of Seng-ge ga-mu, as well as a shrine, which is situated on the southern end, facing west. The shrine is dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (Seng-ge dKar-mo). Every year on New Year's Day, the lamas of Yung-ning, under the leadership of the abbot of the lamasery, betake themselves to the shrine where they chant the classic of this goddess; there they burn large piles of fresh juniper and pine branches, producing the huge clouds of white smoke so pleasing to the goddess. After the chanting of the classic the lamas line up in front of the shrine, a tall, square block of solid masonry with a picture of the goddess on the west side of the square, and after a few words of prayer call out in unison *"SSo sso sso sso la."* At the same time they throw handfuls of *tsamba* up to the shrine, this being the New Year's offering to the mountain goddess and patroness of Yung-ning. At great lamaist festivals as well as on the first day of the first Chinese moon the Yung-ning chiefs distribute presents to both the lamas and peasants. The presents consist mainly of tea, butter, and slices of what might be termed bacon. It is, however, not real bacon as we would understand it. It consists of cross-strips of a boneless, meatless pig which the Na-khi call *Bu-chĕr*; the Chinese speak of it as P'i-p'a jou 琵琶肉 or lute pork, on account of its shape. (PLATE 241). Only pigs weighing over 200 catties are used; the pig when killed is prepared in the usual way but afterwards all or practically all the meat is removed, leaving only the fat attached to the skin. The inside is then thoroughly salted and the pig sewn together and kept for about 10 years. Immense quantities of such pigs are kept in the store rooms of the Na-khi chiefs. They are often used as 778 782 262 251

[6] In Tibetan the place is called rDze-hbo and in Chinese Che-po 者波.
In the center of the village is a small lamasery called Dze-bo dar-gye-ling (rDze-hbo dar-rgyas gling རྫེ་བོ་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་). It does not belong to the same sect as the Yung-ning Lamasery, that is the Yellow (Gelug-pa) or Reformed sect, but to the Sa-skya-pa or Sakya sect (Tawny earth). Its first monastery was founded in Western Tibet in 1071.

[7] The full name of this lamasery is dGah-ldan rNam-par rGyal-wahi gling (Continent of completely victorious happiness དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་གླིང་). It is 75 li east-north-east of Lhasa.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

mattresses on beds occupied by members of the chief's family for lack of storage space. When wanted the *Buchĕr* is cut cross-wise into strips, which are dropped into boiling water for a few minutes only, as otherwise the fat would quickly melt.

6. THE NORTH-WESTERN CORNER OF THE PLAIN

There remains still to be described the north-western corner of Yung-ning to the Mu-li boundary. To reach the Mu-li border from Yung-ning on the direct road to Mu-li Lamasery, we follow the trail leading along the foot-hills which encircle the plain north-east of the Yung-ning Monastery. The first village east of the latter is called La-lo situated beyond a spur with a watch-tower. Instead of following the foot-hills, we ascend the spur past a little hamlet to a pass and descending a small ravine, strike a valley coming from the west. Crossing its stream we descend to its mouth past the village Muan-ndĕr, then cross the Erh dji, pass the famous Yung-ning hot spring which is always steaming, and come to the hamlet of Wua-la-pi at an elevation of 9,600 feet and 19 li distant from the lamasery. From Wua-la-pi the trail leads up an extension of the Erh dji valley to its head; on the western bank of the stream is a large, level, grassy place, which would make an excellent landing-field for aeroplanes if the Yun-ning plain did not offer the best type of aviation ground.

Two hamlets are situated near the western mountain slopes which hem in this valley. This mountain spur is the divide between the Sä dji and the Erh dji. At the head of the valley the trail leads in zigzags up the hill-side, entering forest of large oaks, both evergreen and deciduous, and pines. The path here becomes a mere ditch and next to impassable. At the summit of the spur at an elevation of 10,500 feet is a rock cairn, or *obo*, which denotes the Yün-nan — Yung-ning and Hsi-kang — Mu-li border. This is, however, not the ethnic border of the Na-khi — Hsi-fan tribes, for the former extend into Mu-li. The first hamlet we strike in Mu-li territory, called Lä-dgyu-dzu (Lieh-ya-tsui 列牙嘴), is inhabited entirely by Na-khi.

From the border the trail leads through magnificent virgin forest of oaks, pines, azaleas, etc., skirting the mountains with a valley to the east; it is the Du-llo dji, which joins the Hli dji in the Ch'ien-so country and united becomes part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河 (Wo-lo Ho).

The trail now leads out of the forest over grassy slopes into a circular basin, in which the village of Lä-dgyu-dzu is situated, elevation 10,000 feet, and a distance of 38 li from Yung-ning lamasery.

Although the inhabitants of Lä-dgyu-dzu are pure Li-chiang Na-khi, they speak besides the Li-chiang dialect also Hsi-fan and Hli-dü.

Beyond Lä-dgyu-dzu are Lo-lo and Hsi-fan (Ch'ra-me). The village beyond is called Vu-dyü or Vu-dyu (Wu-chio 烏角) and is inhabited by Hsi-fan, although Lo-lo have also settled there (PLATE 242).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHAPTER VI

YUNG-NING LAKE AND TSO-SO TERRITORY

1. LU-KU HU (YUNG-NING LAKE)

The Yung-ning Lake (called Lu-ku Hu 瀘沽湖 in Chinese and by the Li-chiang Na-khi La-t'a Ḳhü) is known to the Yung-ning people as Lo-shu Khü.[1] This magnificent sheet of water is divided almost in half by a long peninsula, broad where it projects from the land and narrowing to a sharp point; this peninsula is called T'u-bbu and extends from north-east to south-west into the lake. The Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border passes through the lake, cutting off the south-western point of the peninsula. A ravine extending down the western face of the wooded spur is the border. By far the larger part of this beautiful lake is in Yün-nan as are also three of the five islands scattered over it.[2] The smallest island is west of the Yün-nan border and is called Nyi-se. It is an oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and only a short distance from the northern shore between the villages of Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr, the Chinese Lo-shui 瀘水 or Hsiao 小 (Small) Lo-shui.

Immediately beyond is the border of the Yung-ning — Mu-li — Tso-so territory. Here is a boundary stone, erected in the 17th year, second moon and 27th day of Chia-ch'ing of the Ch'ing dynasty (April 8th, 1812), which denotes the border between Mu-li and Yung-ning. On one side is inscribed the above date, and on the western face of the stone is inscribed 雲南永寧土司東北界至此 (Up to here is the Yün-nan Yung-ning T'u-ssu north-east border); on the eastern face is engraved 四川木裏土司西南界至此 (Up to here is the Ssu-ch'uan — Mu-li T'u-ssu south-west border).

Strange to say, the Mu-li King possesses a strip of land on the north shore of the lake, three li long; it consists of a spur and a bay, with a valley extending west-north-west, a continuation of the bay. The spur is bare, the soil red; it extends from a white limestone bluff on Lion mountain to the bank of the lake. In the lake, just beyond the little peninsula which forms the narrow bay belonging to Mu-li, is a triangular island called A-na-wa, once a part of the projecting spur which forms the bay. This island also belongs to the Mu-li lama King. The ridge is semicircular in outline and is part of a crater wall, the island of A-na-wa being a remnant of the other half of the crater.

Legendary origin. — At the foot of the ridge near the frontier is a huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khin Ḳhü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake came forth). It is believed that here the lake has its source. A legend connected

[1] This may be in imitation of Lo-shui, two villages by that name situated near the lake shore. The two villages in question are called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi and Lü-khi.

[2] Part of the northern, and all of the western and southern shore of the lake is in Yung-ning, Yün-nan territory, while the eastern end and a short stretch of the northern shore, where it joins the eastern, is in Ssu-ch'uan. The peninsula of T'u-bbu, with the exception of the south-west end, is also in Ssu-ch'uan.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

823 with this bluff relates that in ancient days before the existence of the lake there lived in a rock cave (now under the water at this bluff) a huge fish. The people tried to pull this giant out of the cave, but could not move it. They then employed nine yak, tugging a rope tied to the fish's tail. When they had pulled the fish out, a tremendous volume of water poured forth, forming the present lake. The area now occupied by the lake is said to have been a large plain on which many yaks grazed.

Another story relates how a deaf and dumb yak herder saw under the rock at the foot of the bluff, a water-hole which was plugged up with a huge fish. Daily he cut off a piece of this fish for food. One day the other yak herders found out whence he secured his fish. Thereupon they used yak, and in the above described manner pulled out the fish.

173 *Yung-pei t'ing Records.* — The Yung-pei t'ing Records state that where now the lake is there was once upon a time a hsien called Lu-ku hsien 盧沽縣. In ch. 2, fol. 4b, it relates that: "The *Yüan-shih ti-li chih* 元史地理志 (Geographical Records of the Mongol History) states that Lu-ku hsien, (magistracy of Lu-ku) was subject to Li chou 禮州 of Chien-ch'ang Lu 建昌路 (Circuit of Chien-ch'ang, [the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌 or Ning-yüan fu 寧遠府 in Ssu-ch'uan]). The Lo-lo-man (Lo-lo savages) dwelled there. On the arrival of the Meng family 蒙氏 (649) they found that of all the feudatory tribes the Lo-lo had been the first settlers, and so the Wu-man chief was placed in charge of Pei-ch'eng 北城[3] [the Lo-lo belong to the Wu-man or Black barbarians]. They gradually became flourishing and numerous and thus they called themselves the Lo-lan pu 落蘭部 or Lo-lan tribe; they were also spoken of as the Lo-lo.

"P'u-te 蒲德, who was their descendant, sent his nephew Chien-tai 建帶 to make his submission. Later he turned against his uncle and killed him. He himself then said: 'I am a great chief,' and the entire tribe joined him. In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) he was pacified [suppressed].

"A Ch'ien-hu 千戶 [official ruling over 1,000 families] was then established. In the 13th year (1276) he was promoted to a Wan-hu 萬戶 [official ruling over 10,000 families]. In the 19th year (1282) the office was changed into a magistracy (hsien), but it is not known when it became part of the chün 郡 (of Yung-pei). Now the Lu-ku Lake is said to have been their land, that is, where the lake is now was their land."[4]

[3] The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih*, ch. 401, fol. 4b, states Tz'u-ch'eng 此城 instead of Pei-ch'eng. By the former the town or *ch'eng* of Lu-ku is meant and by the latter the city of Yung-pei or Pei-sheng; which is correct is difficult to say, but it seems probable that Lu-ku hsien is meant. The Lo-lo settled there and called themselves Lo-lan pu.

[4] It is quite possible that in ancient days the lake and the surrounding territory belonged to Lu-ku hsien; Lu-ku hsien was established by the Mongols in 1278, and the name Lu-ku has survived in the name of the Yung-ning Lake to the present day. We find the name Lu-ku Shui 盧沽水 in the Mongol History but whether it was a river or lake is not mentioned; it is possible that Lu-ku Shui was the ancient name of the Ya-lung which is known as the Lu Shui 盧水. Furthermore the Mongol History states that Li chou which governed Lu-ku hsien was east of the Lu-ku Shui, which would then be correct. There is, however, a gross error in the map of the Ning-yüan (Hsi-ch'ang hsien) district in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (Topographical Records of Ssu-ch'uan). There the Ya-lung River is called the

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The Yung-pei Records further state in ch. 1, fol. 30b, that the lake is also called Lu-k'u Hai 魯窟海 [the word *k'u* means a cave or a hole in the ground]; and that it possesses three islands. [In reality it has five, three in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan.]

The *Tien-hsi* 滇繫, Vol. 7, fol. 5a, says that the western part of the lake, ruled by Yung-ning, is called Lu-k'u Hai, in the center is a small mountain called Shui-chai 水寨, on this island the T'u-ssu built a stronghold. Its outlet is at Hai-men-ch'iao 海門橋 (Lake gate bridge), the water flowing into the Ta-ch'ung Ho in Ssu-ch'uan, [that is in the Tso-so country]. The circumference of the lake is 100 li [not following the shores of the long peninsula called T'u-bbu].

Description of the lake. — The Yung-ning Lake is without exception the finest sheet of water in the whole of Yün-nan; a more beautiful setting it is difficult to imagine. Its water is as clear as crystal, of a deep blue, which shades into purple at the foot of the wooded hills. It is surrounded by forested mountains whose sides are furrowed by deep ravines and whose little streams find their way into the lake. The quiet and peace which reigns here is indeed wonderful; the islets float like ships on a placid sea; all is serene, indeed a fitting place for gods to dwell (PLATE 243). It was my good fortune to visit this lake at many different times from 1924 to 1942 and to spend happy weeks on the lovely island of Nyo-ro-p'u, the only one of the islands belonging to Yün-nan which is inhabited. The lake is uniformly deep and flat-bottomed, the average depth being 220 English feet. Its elevation is 9,600 feet above sea level and 100 feet higher than the Yung-ning plain.

Hospitality of Yung-ning chiefs. — The hospitality of the Yung-ning chiefs, especially of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain) was unsurpassed. Friendliness personified, A Yün-shan made one really feel welcome. Yet peaceful as the lake and the surrounding country appear, its inhabitants have experienced bitter and stormy days and undoubtedly will continue to experience them.[5]

Ta-ch'ung Ho to where it debouches into the Yangtze. The Ta-ch'ung Ho, as explained by me elsewhere, is an affluent of the Li-t'ang River, and the latter a tributary of the Ya-lung Chiang 雅礱江. On another map the upper part of the Ta-ch'ung Ho is called the Ya-lung Chiang. The real Ta-ch'ung Ho (called Wo-lo Ho in the Tso-so country) is thus marked on the map mentioned as Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河.

In the text, ch. 15, fol. 29a, of the same work, it states that the Jo Shui 若水 is identical with the Lu Shui and that another name for both is Ta-ch'ung Ho; from this it can be seen that the Ya-lung is also called Lu Shui.

On page 34b, the Yangtze is, however, also called the Jo Shui, and is made to flow into the Lu Shui or Ya-lung, which is also given as Jo Shui.

Thus it is impossible to take any given location of a place seriously, especially when stated east or west of such and such a river, for it is next to impossible to decide which river is meant.

We find mention made of a Lu-ku Ho which is probably identical with the Lu-ku Shui; this Lu-ku Ho is made to flow into the Yangtze. It does, however, state that the Lu-ku Ho flows south-east of Mien-ning 冕寧 into the territory of Hui-li 會理, and this makes it the An-ning Ho 安寧河 which flows, however, into the Ya-lung (Chin Chiang 金江) and not into the Yangtze.

[5] Since this was written the Gangkar-ling (Gang-dkar-gling) Tibetan outlaws have again

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To the north-vest of Yung-ning dwell the outlaw Tibetans of the Kung-ka-ling 貢噶嶺 and Hsiang-ch'eng countries, who are ever bent on robbing; to the east and south are the insurgent savage Lo-lo whom it is impossible for the Chinese, or the degenerate smaller T'u-ssu on the Ssu-ch'uan side of the lake and Yung-ning, to control. In addition to the raids perpetrated by these wild tribes, an occasional military rebel, like the former chairman of the Yün-nan Provincial Government Hu Jo-yü 胡若愚, who having been turned out, attempted to regain control of the province, settles with his hordes like locusts on this beautiful, but otherwise poor region. He and his hungry soldiers impoverished the peasants and forced their headmen or chiefs, on pain of death, to contribute not only food but money for their support.

The good old Tsung-kuan was always busy, he detested any one who smoked opium and had no good word for such. His righteous anger was aroused when an official order came from the Yün-nan Government in 1931 forcing his people to grow opium. He was a wise man and his counsel was always in demand. The neighboring chiefs in Ssu-ch'uan, and the Lang-ch'ü chief to the south-east of his territory, always asked his assistance when in trouble, for he was greatly respected on account of his sense of justice, and unimpeachable character. It was a great loss not only to Yung-ning and Yün-nan, but to all the poor and troubled chiefs, his neighbors, whose burden he helped carry, when he passed away on the 28th day of the second (intercalary) fifth moon of the 22nd year of the Republic (July 20th, 1933).

Lion Mountain. — One of the most conspicuous landmarks which confront the lake on the north, is the southern face of Shih-tzu Shan (Lion Mountain; Sengge ga-mu). The latter is a Tibetan word Seng-ge dKarmo (White Lioness), *Seng-ge* meaning lion, *dkar* white, and *mo* female. It is the Chinese Kai-mu Shan. In Na-khi it is called Gko-mun Ngyu (Hawk Mountain). This mountain is mirrored in the lake, its broad face representing the lion's head (PLATE 244), while its body extends to the north, the long western slopes of it forming the eastern boundary of the Yung-ning plain. No hunting is permitted, and here roam many bears who live on the oaks, and often come to the fields of the villages and eat their broad beans and peas. Deer stags, blue sheep, serow, and goral roam over its rocky slopes and cliffs. The goddess Kar-mo is pictured riding a hind (PLATE 245). Two shrines have been erected to her in Yung-ning, one on the western slopes of the mountain which bears her name, and one on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 246).

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invaded Yung-ningterritory, burnt its peaceful homes, driven off 1,600 head of livestock, and killed a number of peasants. This state of affairs is only attributable to the short-sightedness of certain Chinese militarists who, personally kill or order the killing of inoffensive native rulrs who alone are able to control these wild border tribes. The murder of the Mu-li King s a case in point, and is directly responsible for the invasion of Yung-ning by the Gansar-ling outlaws. It is true that some of the T'u-ssu are not fit to rule, but this degeneration has been brought about by the opium habit and the latter again by the forced growing of opium by the Chinese authorities for the sake of revenue. Tribespeople usually do not smoke opium and would never grow it were they not at times forced to and heavily fined should they refuse to grow it, plus being taxed for what they could grow. Happily those days are past.

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Hli-ki and Law-zhĕr on the lake. — The first village one strikes on the lake-shore coming from Yung-ning is Hli-ki, situated on the small peninsula which extends here into the lake from Seng-ge ga-mu or Lion Mountain. There is very little flat lake-shore indeed, especially on the western end where the mountains fall steeply into the water. One trail leads over the mountains, while a lower one leads along the lake-shore but is forced to climb the slopes, as the waters of the lake wash the foot of the hills forested with pines and oaks.

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2. THE MU-LI KING'S TERRITORY ON THE LAKE

From Hli-ki bay the trail climbs the spur on which the village of Hli-ki is situated, then skirts another bay with a valley and cultivated fields, and climbs to the top of the next spur. A valley extends from Seng-ge ga-mu to the lake, while a long, wooded peninsula stretches south into the lake. From the long peninsula [not T'u-bbu] at the foot of Seng-ge ga-mu the trail descends to broad fields and the shores of a lovely bay. In the distance in Ssu-ch'uan there loomed up a high, rocky peak called Ssu-p'u-wua in the territory of a T'u-ssu, the land being called Nyi-bu-chu, east of the Tso-so territory and still inhabited by Hli-khi̲n. The trail continues to another spur above Hsiao-lo-shui (called Law-zhĕr in Na-khi or Hli-khi̲n) and descends to the above village, the distance from Hli-ki to Hsiao-lo-shui being about nine li. A short distance beyond the bay in which Hsiao-lo-shui is situated is the Yün-nan — Yung-ning — Ssu-ch'uan, — Mu-li boundary stone. Hsiao-lo-shui is the last and easternmost hamlet in Yung-ning.

From the boundary stone a narrow strip of land three li long extends along the lake-shore, and belongs to the Mu-li T'u-ssu (Mu-li lama King) of south-west Hsi-k ang, formerly ruled by Ssu-ch'uan, if the little strip of land on the lake shore comes now under Hsi-k'ang or is still part of Ssu-ch'uan is not known; the high mountains to the back of it are in Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory, in Ssu-ch'uan. On the dark mountain slopes, on a steep spur, a white rock is noticeable; Mu-li territory extends from this white rock above the boundary stone to the lake. At the foot of the ridge near the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan boundary is the huge limestone bluff called in Hli-khi̲n K̲hü-pa-k'o (Hole whence the lake issues). It is believed that the lake had its source beneath this rock.

What is now Mu-li territory on the northern lake-shore belonged in the days of the Na-khi chiefs, to the Li-chiang district; it was first inhabited or settled by soldiers who were sent there by them to keep guard. The present inhabitants are the descendants of these soldiers. After the Na-khi lost their independence, the soldiers took to banditry and never returned to Li-chiang. The name of the place where these people settled is now called Dta-dzu or Ta-dzui in Na-khi, (Tao-tse 盜賊), the meaning being Great robbers or Highway robbers; in this case the Chinese name has been phonetically rendered into Na-khi, but it does not have the Chinese meaning, and cannot be translated. These soldier-highwaymen were first stationed at Pai-chio-pa 白角塔 as soldiers under the Mu T'u-ssu 木土司; but when the Mu family ceased to rule as chiefs of Li-chiang (1723), the soldiers, instead of returning to their homes, looked for a place to settle. They then went to the Yung-

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ning lake-shore on the slopes of Seng-ge g[illegible]mu. Na-khi will always dwell where their is plenty of oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), the leaves of which they use as litter for their pigs; the decayed leaves with the pig manure are afterwards put into the fields as fertilizer. There were few oaks at Pai-chio-pa, so they went in search of a place where there were plenty, and seeing an abundance on Seng-ge ga-mu they settled on its southern slopes and became an independent robber band. Later, fearing they would get into trouble, they requested Mu-li to annex them, and so became subjects of the Mu-li King. Thus the village, which to this day retains the name of Ta-dzui (Tao-tse 盜賊 or Ta-tse 大賊, both meaning Highway robbers) [6] in reference to the unsavory occupation followed by the ancestors of the present inhabitants, became Mu-li territory. There are two villages on the strip of land along the lake belonging to Mu-li, both of which are known as Dta-dzu, Ta-dzui or Ta-tse, as explained above. One village is situated on the shore and the other up in the valley back of the spur which juts out into the lake forming a bay. Red soil covers the spur, on whose top is a small lama temple. Beyond the spur, and once part of it, is the island of A-na-wa also belonging to the Mu-li King. There is no house or temple on the islet, save a little hut on the north-east slopes where a Mu-li lama goes to meditate. The Mu-li King himself had never seen this part of his territory on the lake. The bay in which the island is situated only a short distance from shore is no longer Mu-li but Tso-so territory (PLATE 255).

3. — TSO-SO TERRITORY IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH'UAN

In Na-khi Tso-so land is called La-t'a. Beyond Ta-dzui we cross three small streams at the foot of Tso-so Shan and come to the broad shore and valley at the base of the T'u-bbu peninsula. This is the main approach to the Tso-so T'u-ssu's territory. From this shore it is ten li inland to the official residence of the Tso-so T'u-ssu, whose family name is La 喇. The residence is a poor affair surrounded by a large grove of trees. A short time previous to my visit it was partly burned by the Gangkar-ling bandits, especially the Tibetan Tong-chhen (sTong-chhen) [7] a ferocious bunch of outlaws. Back of the residence is the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung 大冲), with 40 families.

The Wo-lo or Ta-ch'ung Ho. — Tso-so is drained by the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河), the various branches of which have a number of Hli-khin as well as Chinese names. For example, the Yung-ning branch of it has its source on the eastern slopes of Dzo-an-p'u Mountain which is the southern end of the Wua-ha Mountain (Yao Shan). It becomes the Hli gyi, or Hli dyi, where it traverses the Yung-ning plain [called in Chinese the K'ai-chi Ho 開基 after a village by that name]. After having traversed the Hli-dü plain it enters Ch'ien-so territory as the Lo-chi Ho 勒汲河 until it reaches Da-wùa the last hamlet in that district. There it receives a tributary from Mu-li in the north called the Shu-lo-k'o. From Da-wùa it flows south and joins the main branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho coming from south of Lang-ch'ü

[6] It is also written 大賊 on the Yung-pei Records sketch map.

[7] *See* note 9, page 241.

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chou, with its source on the northern or north-eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Mountain. This part of the river is called the Lo-i Chiang 羅易江. From the eastern slopes of the Mien-mien Shan further north it receives a small affluent called the Mi Ho 米河 (Rice river); another branch in the east is known to the Chinese as the Yen-ching Ho 鹽井河. These two main branches flow united as the Ta-ch'ung Ho into the Li-t'ang River, and not into the Ya-lung Chiang, as the Chinese Yün-nan military map, as well as the older Chinese maps, would make us believe. These maps ignore the existence of the Li-t'ang River and draw the Ya-lung in its stead. Furthermore Ch'ien-so territory is marked much too far north and west, instead of north-east of Yung-ning. It would be of little benefit and would only create confusion were I to quote the Yung-pei Records regarding the sources, etc., of the Ta-ch'ung Ho.

A valley extends from the T'u-bbu peninsula, to the mainland, carrying a stream through Tso-so territory east into the Wo-lo Ho (Ta-ch'ung River). Another branch it receives in the outlet of the Yung-ning Lake (Lu-ku Hu), the outlet being called the Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge), for a bridge spans the stream at the effluence of the lake. Thus the lake drains into the Ta-ch'ung Ho, the latter into the Li-t'ang, and the Li-t'ang into the Ya-lung, which debouches into the Yangtze somewhat north-west of K'un-ming.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu family. — My first visit to Tso-so land was in the company of the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan. He had been asked to act as intermediary between the Tso-so T'u-ssu and the King of Mu-li, who was on the point of invading the former's territory with his Tibetan cavalry from Ga-ro, an unsavory lot with a notorious reputation. Tso-so country to-day is a lawless tract of land. The T'u-ssu family have lost all the respect of their peasants and are unable to control their territory, living themselves in constant fear of being kidnapped by the Lo-lo who form a major portion of their so-called subjects. The T'u-ssu, a young man of 26, admitted to me that he is unable to exert any authority east of the Wo-lo Ho. The Lo-lo repeatedly invaded and plundered his territory from the north and east — recently very nearly succeeding in carrying off the chief himself into slavery — while the Gangkar-ling bandits harass it from the north-west.

The older members of the chief's family, such as La Tsung-kuan 喇總管 and the old abbot of their lamasery which represents the Bön sect, were all addicted to opium; the former had died since my first visit in 1928, so there is now no one to take the responsibility of government and the poor peasants suffer without redress. The new and young abbot is a brother of the present T'u-ssu (PLATE 247). Matters had come to such a pass that the peasants were on the point of informing their chief that they did not want him any more. Whenever the approach of bandits is reported, the La family flees post-haste to the island of Bu-wua situated in the south-western part of the lake leaving the peasants to their fate. Their livestock is driven off, their houses burnt, and all that is left to them are ruins; into the fields of standing wheat which the bandits cannot carry off, they turn their horses loose and leave the stubble. Last, but not least, their children are carried off to be sold into slavery.

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579 622 Such is the lot of the poor peasants of the Tso-so territory and the same holds good for the Ch'ien-so country. I have met peasants from the latter who had lost everything and were migrating with a chair or a cupboard on their back, climbing the 13,000 feet high mountain of Ki-bo which separates Mu-li from Ch'ien-so territory, to beg the Mu-li King for a little land where they could settle and start life anew. No one of the ruling class of Ssu-ch'uan, an immense province without communication with this south-westernmost corner, cares for the peasants of these T'u-ssu, of whom there are five, called the Wu-so. The Yung-ning Tsung-kuan took pity on them and acted as intermediary between them and the Lo-lo, for the latter respected him and listened to his advice. Although powerless against the Tibetans, yet with the goodwill of the King of Mu-li he could at times avert pending troubles. Now, since the decease of that most active personality, who was like a father with a big heart for any one in trouble, the country has fallen on evil days. It is the beginning of the end of the native chiefs.

The Tso-so T'u-ssu is said to rule (?) over 1,000 families. However, he himself stated to me that he can, or supposedly can, control only his Na-khi subjects, who dwell west of the Wo-lo Ho or Ta-ch'ung Ho. Although his territory extends east of the Wo-lo Ho, he cannot even venture there, as it is inhabited by Lo-lo tribal clans in whose fear and dread he and his subjects constantly live. Since my first visit, their residence, at best a small affair, was being rebuilt, mostly of mud bricks and wood. The old decayed and half burnt yamen still stood in a long court full of weeds. The old Bön Temple in the rear had been spared by the Tibetan bandits, and there still sat enthroned as of old the founder of the Bön sect Tön-pa Shenrab (sTon-pa gShen-rabs-mi-po), with *Yidam* (tutelary deities of the Bön church) to both sides of him.

Only in the women members of the chief's family of Tso-so land is refinement to be seen, the men being degenerate and addicted to opium (PLATE 248).

*487 *133 *139 *T'u-bbu peninsula.* — The long spur which juts out into the lake and forms the T'u-bbu peninsula ends abruptly to the rear of the present Tso-so yamen. It does not join the mountain range to the north, but leaves a broad, flat stretch of land between: the main road to Yen-yüan or Yen-ching, to which the Tso-so or La-t'a T'u-ssu is subordinate, leads over this little plain. The mountain god of the Tso-so people is called Yon-tra T'u-bbu, and is represented by the T'u-bbu peninsula. He is pictured riding a white horse, and is accompanied by a white dog and a white rooster. In the left hand he carries a flag like the Tibetan god of wealth, and in his right a *Bum-pa* (Amrta vase). His face is white. Facing the god is his wife, a *kLu-mo* (female water spirit), rising from a spring. In winter the temperature in Tso-so land is considerably colder than that on the islands in the lake where the deciduous trees lose their leaves much later than on the mainland. The elevation at the Tso-so yamen is 9,700 feet and is ten li distant from the lake-shore. The trail leads from the Tso-so chief's house and village of Toshi, up the valley, leaving to the west the last hill which is still a part of the T'u-bbu peninsula. At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-

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At the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula, that is at its north-eastern base, is a square lama temple, commonly called Anu Gom-pa, belonging to the Bön or Black lama sect. It is a poorly constructed building containing only one large room, and is surrounded on three sides by low mud huts roofed with boards, weighted down with stones. These are the living quarters of the lamas when attending festivals, as on the annual Tor-gya-la (གདོར་རྒྱབ་ལ) when the gtor-ma of the Bön deity Ta-lha (lTa-lha) suppresses and banishes all evil, sickness, etc. (PLATE 249). The gtor-ma is burned at the end of the ceremony. Their large Bön temple is called Phun-tshogs-bden-rgyas-gling,* pronounced Phün-tshog-den-gye-ling a smaller Bön temple in the vicinity being called Sun-te-nyi. The Tso-so, as well as the natives of the other four *So*, call themselves (Na-z(u); this is equivalent to the Na-khi *Na-zo* which means a male Na-khi.

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Five li from the temple the trail brings us to a small hamlet with another, but much smaller, Bön temple or chapel. The hamlet is called Bo-shaw. Between the latter and the main temple is another little village called Gu-du-lo. East of Bo-shaw a distance of five li up the valley is the hamlet of Wu-dzu-lo. From Bo-shaw it is only a short distance to the tiny hamlet of Hlu-wa on the shore of the lake, at the southern end of the broad base of T'u-bbu.

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Outlet of the lake at Hai-men-ch'iao. — A few li beyond Hlu-wa is the outlet of the lake. A long valley extends east-north-east into which Lu-ku Lake empties; the valley is very broad and is a vast swamp extending from hill to hill. The outlet is a sluggish stream, spanned by a wooden bridge, with hardly any noticeable current; it converts the valley into a great marsh: outlet, stream and valley collectively are known as Hai-men-ch'iao (Lake gate bridge).

This stream unites with the one flowing from the center of the T'u-bbu peninsula and together they flow into the Ta-ch'ung Ho at an elevation of 8,700 feet, not far from the hamlet of San-chia-ts'un 三家村. East of the actual bridge Hai-men-ch'iao is a long sandy stretch with a little hamlet on the southern end which is in Yün-nan. Between this little hamlet and a stream called the Chi-p'u Ho is the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. On this stream is situated the hamlet of Chi-p'u in Tso-so land.

Shan-kwua on the Yün-nan — Ssu-ch'uan border. — Beyond the little hamlet on the southern end of the broad sandy stretch in Yün-nan, a small stream called the Shan-kwua flows into the lake. About six li before reaching the lake a bridge crosses it and here are two hamlets, both of which are known as Shan-kwua (She-k'ua 舍格); they are in Yün-nan and form the border between Yung-ning and Tso-so land in Ssu-ch'uan. This is a distance of 60 li from Yung-ning. The Shan-kwua Stream has its source south-west in the mountains which here encircle the lake, while broad valleys debouch to the lake-shore from the east in Tso-so land.

* གསོ་སོའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གླིང་

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4. TA-LO-SHUI 大喇水

*487 *133 *138 West of Shan-kwua, near a small stream, are three hamlets collectively called Lan-fan. Two streams debouch here into the lake. The westernmost Lan-fan is situated between the two streams, of which the western one debouches from a deep valley extending north-east, past a deep bay. The trail climbs a bluff overlooking the lake and here one obtains a beautiful view over the south-eastern end of this lovely sheet of water (PLATE 250). Continuing west along its shores we come to another stream which flows through a deep, winding ravine which we cross; here at its mouth is the hamlet of Dyi-p'u, whence a trail leads over the mountains to Pai-chio. The lake-shore extends north-north-west, the mountains sloping closely down to the water. By far the broadest expanse of level ground along the shore is some five li beyond Dyi-p'u, where two streams debouch into the lake. Here is also the largest village. It is inhabited, like the rest, purely by Hli-khin or Yung-ning Mo-so peasants, and is called by them Lo-shu [Ta-lo-shui, Large Lo-shui; in contradistinction to Hsiao-lo-shui (Small Lo-shui) called Law-zhĕr, situated on the northern shore]. From here one can reach Bo-wu-tsu valley to the south-west by following the valley edge by Ta-lo-shui and climbing zigzag to the top of the encircling mountains; here covered with spruce and fir forest. A magnificent view over nearly the entire lake is to be had from half way up the mountain on the trail to Bo-wu-tsu. From the summit ridge the trail descends to an alpine meadow which is the head of a valley called Nya-mu-lo and which debouches into Bo-wu-tsu below the hamlet of Law-k'a.

From Ta-lo-shui, where the Yung-ning chiefs have a commodius house with a Lama Buddhist chapel, the trail follows along the lake-shore crossing three small streams. The mountains slope rather steeply to the water, with the exception of a peninsula which is the nearest point of land to Nyo-ro-p'u, the most important island in the lake. There are no more villages between Ta-lo-shui and the pass over which the trail leads to Yung-ning and the lamasery 23 li distant.

In 1940 a battle was fought here between the lamas of Yung-ning and Lo-los brought in by the son of the late Tsung-kuan to suppress the authority of the abbot A Shao-fu 阿少符. A feud has thus developed in the Yung-ning A family to the detriment of the country.

5. ISLANDS IN THE LU-KU HU

*133 There are altogether five islets in the Yung-ning Lake, of which three are in Yün-nan and two in Ssu-ch'uan. Yün-nan possesses the two largest, while the third largest belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu and is in Ssu-ch'uan. The smallest is a mere oblong rock near the northern shore below Seng-ge ga-mu (Lion Mountain). The most interesting historically are Hle-wu-be and Nyo-ro-p'u which belong to the Yung-ning chief. Both these islands are fairly large comparatively speaking, and were inhabited as far back as the Ming dynasty when the Li-chiang chiefs, especially Mu Sheng-pai, or Mu Tseng (1587–1646), had control over this territory.

The names of the islands in Yün-nan are: Nyo-ro-p'u, situated in the cen-

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ter of the north-western half of the lake and exactly ten li from Hli-ki; Hle-wu-be, off the south-western point of T'u-bbu peninsula and separated from the latter by a channel breast-deep; and the third Nyi-se, a mere oblong rock, probably once fallen from the heights above or part of the rocky shore of the lake. It is covered with scrub vegetation. Of the two Ssu-ch'uan islets one is called Bu-wua and belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu; it is in the south-eastern half of the lake close to the slopes of the T'u-bbu peninsula. The second is called A-na-wa and belongs to the Mu-li lama King (PLATE 255). It is a small islet situated south-east of the spur of Ta-dzui which forms the bay in the Mu-li part of the lake-shore.

Nyo-ro-p'u. — (PLATES 251, 252). Nyo-ro-p'u, which the Hli-khin people call Khyo-ō-on and the Na-khi Ḳhü-wua-gku, is the most important strategically, as it is out of the range of rifle bullets, being located in the center of the lake. It is 100 feet in height and is surrounded by a wall with watch-towers and loop-holes, to ward off attacks by possible bandits. Furthermore, to prevent landing anywhere on the island, large pine trees have been sunk around the island, the base of the trees resting on the shore the branches sticking out of the water (PLATE 252). It is impracticable for any row-boat to approach the island save on the west side, where there is a regular landing place, a channel between sunken pine trees. There are also only two gates in the wall, one at the landing on the west shore, and one opposite on the east shore. The highest point, 100 feet above the lake, is at the southern end. The western side is nearly a straight line, and is 813 feet long; the eastern side is convex and measures 1,083 feet; the north point of the island is 66 feet across and the south point 40 feet, giving the island a total circumference of 2,002 feet. The northern crest is long and narrow with a small path leading to a lovely little tea or rest-house. The island has only been recently again inhabited (since 1920) when the late Tsung-kuan of Yung-ning, A Yün-shan, brother-in-law of the chief, built a residence first on the northern slope, and then a larger and massive house on the highest point after levelling off the top of the island. Here at least his family could be safe from the attacks of the Gangkar-ling bandits, who more than once came to Yung-ning to loot and burn. No rifle shot can reach the island and as there are no other boats available except those owned by him, it is impossible for any one to approach it; furthermore the Tibetans, having a holy fear of water, would never venture on the lake. From behind the loop-holes in the solid wall, any enemy could be held at bay. The island serves also as a treasure-house for all valuables, such as silver ceremonial utensils, butter lamps, etc., used in the lama ceremonies. All the valuable brocade dresses with gold and silver spangles, valuable Tibetan paintings, heirlooms, etc., not only of the Yung-ning chief, but also the treasures belonging to the Ning-lang (Lang-ch'ü) chief to the south of Yung-ning, are kept in safety on the island. I was often told that it held over 100 horseloads of treasure.

On this island were born the last three children of the Tsung-kuan's last marriage (PLATES 253, 254); the youngest son, born in 1927, was, during my visit to Yung-ning in 1931–1932, declared by Lhasa to be the third incarnation of a Huo-fu (Living Buddha) of Dre-pung Lamasery, situated

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some 20 li from Lhasa. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-hdzin-bdang-phyug[9] (pronounced Khentrül Lo-zang Ye-she ten dzin wang chhug). The original Huo-fu was a native of Gya-rong (rGya-rong) in west Ssu-ch'uan. The first incarnation went from Lhasa to Peking, whither the late Dalai Lama had gone after the Younghusband expedition, to invite him to return to Lhasa. He was then an old man and on the return journey he died at Ku-mbum (sKu-hbum) a famous monastery in Amdo, west Kan-su. The second incarnation died as a child, and the third is the little boy born on the island of Nyo-ro-p'u (PLATE 254). The boy now grown to manhood left for Lhasa in December 1943.

On the eastern side of the island, just below the highest point, is a little bay called Khi-mun (Dead bodies). Here, several hundred years ago, were washed ashore the bodies of Na-khi soldiers of Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Sen-pe) who tried to reach the island on a raft but were upset in a gale and drowned.

The island must have been inhabited either in those days or still earlier, for when the Tsung-kuan dug the foundation for his house he found some stone sculptures deeply buried on the top of the island. One of these stones with a bas-relief of a lion he utilized as the pedestal for an incense burner before the shrine of Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246).

On the highest point of the island the Tsung-kuan erected a rather nice residence with a lama chapel on the top floor, and living quarters below. An earlier-built house he renovated in 1931 and had glassed-in, at considerable expense, when it is remembered that glass panes had to be carried on mule-back by caravan for over a month from K'un-ming, the capital of Yün-nan province. In this house surrounded by a verandah with a wonderful view over the entire lake, I spent some happy weeks translating Na-khi literature in 1931–1932. Immediately back of the main building is a shrine dedicated to the mountain goddess Seng-ge ga-mu (PLATE 246). Gongs hang in the trees and prayer-flags are tied to the branches; an incense burner in front of the shrine belches forth white smoke in the morning and evening, when pine branches are burnt as offering to the mountain goddess. In the stillness of the morning and evening air an attendant strikes a gong, the deep, sonorous tones of which are carried far over the peaceful waters of the lake. At the very end of the island is a little gem of a rest or tea-house, beautiful and artistic in every way. There I also spent many happy as well as anxious weeks in 1929 when soldier-rebels were nearing this peaceful, heavenly spot. *See:* J. F. ROCK, Konka Risumgongba, Holy Mountain of the Outlaws, in the *National Geographic Magazine* Vol. LX No. 1, July 1931.

Now the island of Nyo-ro-p'u is forsaken, the man who gave life to it — was its very soul — is no more. His family moved first to Ta-lo-shui on the lake-shore, but later on returned again to the island. Since then the walls have crumbled, and the island has been turned over to pigs who are dislodging every rock and uproot the trees causing wreck and ruin. The remains of A Yün-shan (Cloud mountain), father of this peaceful little territory, who breathed his last on this blessed island on July 20th, 1933, were cremated on the summit spur of Nyo-ro-p'u, the place he loved and where he

[illegible]

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[p. 426 A]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 225. — THE YUNG-NING LAMA CHANTING HALL

永寧喇嘛經堂外觀

It is the largest building of the lamasery; in it all services are conducted necessitating a full complement of lamas. The entire lama constituency of Yung-ning is assembled before the gates of the hall. In the center (small figure) the late Huo-fu; on his left the abbot; on his right a lama oracle.

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PLATE 226. — LAMA DANCERS OF YUNG-NING

[illegible]

They represent from left to right: 1, the Tibetan stag or Sha-wa, the messenger of the god of the dead; 2 and 3, the central and northern gShin-rje sngon-po = the blue Lords of the dead; 4 and 5, Shwa-nag = Black hat dancers (sorcerers); 6, Dam-chan-gshin-rje chhos-kyi-rgyal-po = Yama the Lord (judge) of the dead; 7, the latter's wife Chi-mun-tra; 8, mGon-po bram-ze = Brâ-hma nâtha; 9, kShe-tra-pâ-la = the oracle of Serra monastery; 10, Ma-hâ-kâ-la or mGon-po phyag-drug-pa; 11, Seng-ge gdong-chan = the lion-faced companion of Lha-mo the She-devil.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 227. — HLI-KHIŊ, NA-KHI, HSI-FAN, LI-SU AND TIBETANS COME TO WATCH THE LAMA DANCES AT YUNG-NING

A motley crowd gathers in the court of the Yung-ning Lamasery at every festival, the long skirted women belong to the Hli-khiŋ tribe

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PLATE 118. — THE MAITREYA OR COMING BUDDHA IN YUNG-HING LAMASERY

This giant image was erected by the Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans. It is of gilt clay and its interior is filled with the Kang-gyur (bKah-hgyur) and Tang-gyur (baTang-hgyur), the Tibetan Classics; in all some 317 Volumes. Note the tall lamas to both sides of the image.

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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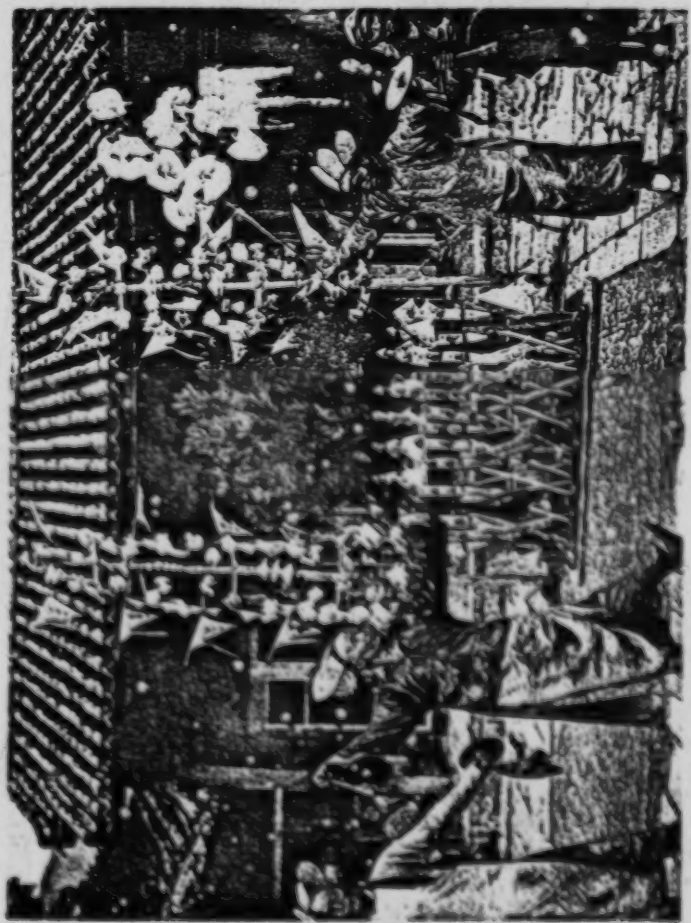

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 119.—NA-KHI DYO-MBAS PERF-MBIDS THE HĀR-LA-LLŪ CEREMONY

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to which they belonged. Many prominences love affairs end in double suicide.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 230. — YO-WA-BU PASS OVER THE TA-YAO SHAN

永 寧 大 樂 山 山 口

The author's entourage on Yo-wa-bu Pass in front of the Li-su guard station. It is the most important pass over Ta-yao Shan, on the caravan route to Yung-ning from Feng-k'o, on the Yangtze.

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 131.—LI-SU GUARD WITH CROSSBOW ON YO-WA-BU PASS

On the summit pass in lovely fir and spruce forest Li-su guards are on the lookout for bandits. They run to Yung-ning to notify the chief should robbers make their appearance. Lo-lo have now settled immediately east of Yo-wa-bu, and thus the pass is practically in the hands of robbers.

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[p.426 H]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 232.—THE YANGTZE VALLEY LOOKING SOUTHWEST FROM NEAR Bi-a

[illegible]

The Yangtze forms here the border between Yung-ning and the Li-chiang district. The mountain visible through the clouds is Hua-ti-yi nv-lv; the terraced fields (lower left) belong to the village of Law-k'a-khi-lli (Po-chio). Feng-k'o is west of the river about center of picture.

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PLATE 133. — YUNG-NING PIEN-NIU OR HALF-BREED YAK (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

永寧騙牛，黃牛與犏牛雜種

Half-breed Yak or Dao (mDao), a cross between a domestic cow and a Tibetan Yak, grazing on the alpine meadows of Wua-ha Shan, Yung-ning, elevation 11,500 feet. Mount Dao-an-p'u in the distance.

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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PLATE 134.—THE LI-SU HAMLET OF BA-SSU-KO

Ba-ssu-ko is situated on a terrace in the Tsui-yi valley at an elevation of 7,050 feet. It is the only Li-su village in this area. Note the pumpkins on the roofs of the houses.

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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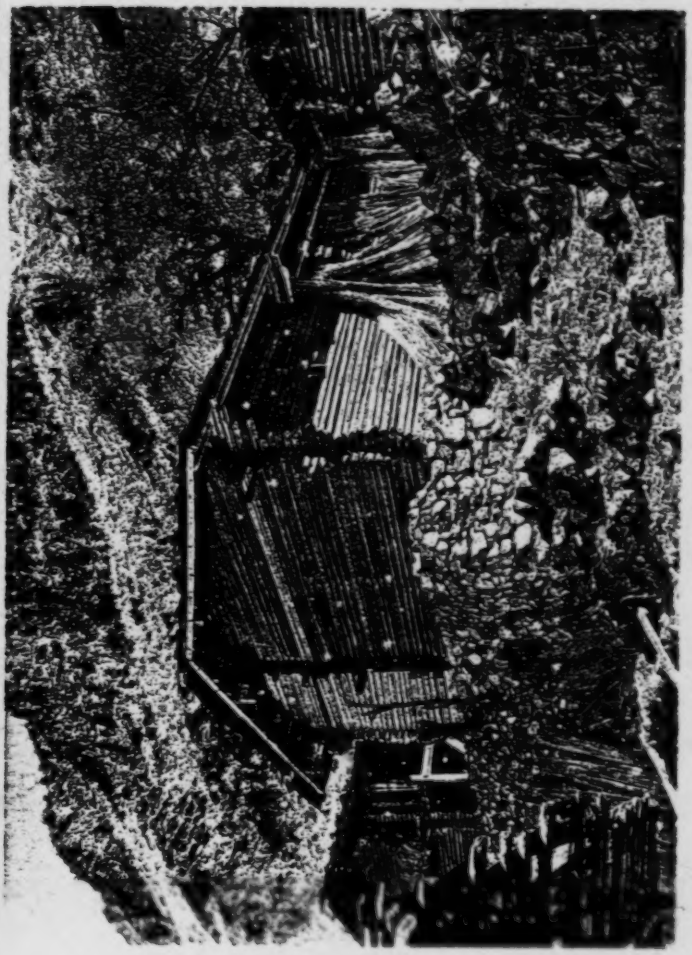

PLATE 235.—LI-SU LOG CABINS OF THE BA-SSU-KO VILLAGE

* * * * * *

The cabins are of yellow pine logs, the roof pine boards weighted down with rocks. Leaning against the wall of the first cabin, are hemp stalks (*Cannabis sativa*) from the fiber of which they weave their clothing.

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Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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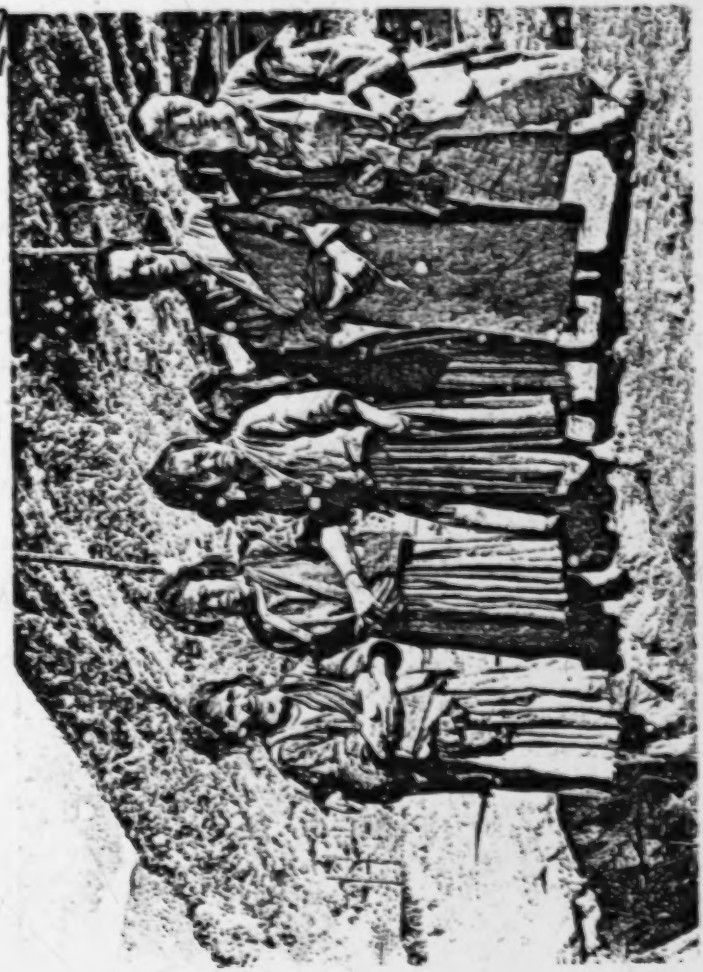

PLATE 25A. — LI-SU PEASANTS OF BA-SHU-KO

Nearly all are cretins and afflicted with goitre. Their constant intermarriage has caused them to degenerate. They live a miserable existence, isolated from the rest of the world.

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 237. — VIEW OVER YUNG-NING AND LION MOUNTAIN FROM EAST OF TO-KA-BO PASS

[illegible]

Photographed looking east from an elevation of 12,200 feet. A trail leads here west over To-ka-bo Pass to Hêr-dü and Son-chiang-k'ou at the apex of the Yangtze loop. Pines, spruces, poplars and rhododendrons in foreground.

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[p.426 N]

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 238. — CROSSING THE YANGTZE NEAR THE APEX OF THE LOOP

自上海可用車運渡金沙江回轉江灣

It took the expedition two days to ferry its entourage and belongings from Yung-ning to the Li-chiang side of the river. More than twenty Zhêr-khin swimmers were engaged for the purpose.

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 239.—A NA-KHI SOLDIER OF O-YÜ, NOW SERVING THE MU-LI T'U-SSU

本圖土司的藝術品

The Na-khi of O-yü are the descendants of professional soldiers who guarded the region, which from 1406 to 1729 was ruled by Na-khi chiefs. They were said to have been placed there by Mu Sheng-pai. Many are now soldiers in the Mu-li T'u-ssu's tribal guard. He wears a panda skin as headdress.

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PLATE 450. — THE NORTHERN SHORE OF YUNG-NING LAKE

A W M A M A S. A N M T S

The trail in the foreground leads to the village of Hli-ki near the foot of Lion Mountain. The Yün-nan — Sze-ch'uan border is beyond (east) the long, wooded peninsula. The trees covering the lake-encircling hills are mainly pines and oaks. Tso-so T'o-sza territory in the background.

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chose to spend the last years of his life. After the Japanese had taken T'eng-ch'ung in south-west Yün-nan it was rumoured in the summer of 1942, that they were on their way to Ta-li. In order to avoid falling into their hands I left Li-chiang intending to make my way north through Mu-li to K'ang-ting. I stopped *en route* at Yung-ning but owing to a severe illness was prevented from carrying out my plan. I visited the island of Nyo-ro-p'u and stayed there about ten days. I enquired of the two last born sons of the late Tsung-kuan, who were living on the island with their mother, where their father's grave was. To my greatest astonishment they replied that they did not know. I then asked a lama who said his ashes are buried on the island of Hle-wu-be. I then requested the two sons to accompany me to the island to visit their father's grave; to this they consented. We rowed over with a lama who took us up to the broad part of the spur, back of the ancient tower-ruin of the days of Mu Sheng-pai, and there found two graves, one that of a lama (on the south edge of the spur) and the other north of it that of the late Tsung-kuan A Yün-shan. Not even a stone marked the spot, only a few rocks and thorny branches covered a small circular depression, yet his remains had been buried there since 1933. The two sons who had never visited the grave amused themselves elsewhere while I meditated at the resting place of my old friend. The boys had rowed by there nearly every day with their Lo-lo dogs when on their way hunting in the forests around the lake, but did not even enquire where their father was buri.

The present Yung-ning Tsung-kuan is the second son of the late A Yün-shan; he was selected by his father and previously acted for him on various occasions. His name is A-pi 阿霏 in Chinese, and A-p'a-du-dji in the Mo-so Hli-khin language.

Hle-wu-be. — The island of Hle-wu-be is situated off the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula and is the oldest inhabited island in the lake. It is in line with, and south three li of the island of Nyo-ro-p'u, and separated from T'u-bbu by a narrow channel about four feet deep. It is densely wooded with pines and other trees, and covered with vines such as climbing Lonicera, etc. Near the center of the island is an ancient lama temple with a low hut for a priest or hermit, hidden in trees and shrubbery. In the sixth moon the peasants of Hli-khin land (Yung-ning) come to this islet to pray in the temple.

Many birds have made their home on this peaceful spot, as it is now uninhabited. On its very top is the ruin of an old watch-tower built by the Na-khi chief Mu Sheng-pai, (1587–1646). Little remains but about 15 feet of the tower in which a tree had taken root, grown to large size but has now died and crumbled. This island is better wooded than the rest as it has remained uninhabited for a century or more. The trees extend to the water's edge, forming a jungle; two trails lead to the top, one from the northern slope and one from the eastern, on both sides being a landing-place for canoes.

Ny-se and A-na-wa. — The island of Nyi-se is a low oblong rock covered with scrub vegetation and, like Hle-wu-be, close to the mainland. This holds also good for the islands of A-na-wa and Bu-wua, the latter being still closer

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to the shore than the former. A-na-wa is the smaller of the two Ssu-ch'uan islands; the top is rocky and bare, only the eastern and northern shores are wooded with willows. (PLATE 255)

Bu-wua. — Bu-wua, which belongs to the Tso-so T'u-ssu, has a residence and Bön lama Temple on its summit. It forms a broad triangle and its slopes are wooded. It is not used as a residence like Nyo-ro-p'u but merely as a place of refuge for the Tso-so chief and his family at the approach of either Tibetan or Lo-lo bandits.

T'u-bbu peninsula. — There remains now the long T'u-bbu peninsula. This latter discharges a stream from its central portion eastwards, which flows past the village of To-shi (Ta-ch'ung) and, united with the Hai-men-ch'iao, flows into the Ta-ch'ung Ho. The peninsula, which is about ten li in length, is densely wooded with pines and oaks. The last third or south-western end of this land tongue is in Yün-nan, the remainder in Ssu-ch'uan. A small ravine on its north-western slope, with a hut where a Chinese family has settled, is the boundary between Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan. The slopes are very steep and rocky and covered with scrub oaks and pines. Its highest point is in Yün-nan. Near the end of the peninsula the top is more or less broad and there can still be seen the remains of a house once inhabited by the proud Na-khi war-lord, MuT'ien-wang 木天王, the "Celestial King Mu," as Mu Tseng used to be styled 300 years ago. Now the remnants of the walls are moss covered and damp, buried in forest of oak and pine. All the glory of the past has vanished. To-day not a vestige remains of the power once held by the Na-khi chiefs in the days of the Ming, when they reached their height in Mu Sheng-pai (Mu Tseng); their descendants a counterpart of the ruins on this peninsula, live in poverty in the Li-chiang district, without a trace of the martial spirit which characterized their noble ancestors.

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CHAPTER VII

NING-LANG 寧浪 OR LANG-CH'Ü CHOU 浪穹州

1. BOUNDARIES

The district of Lang-ch'ü which is still under a native T'u-ssu is now called 101
Ning-lang 寧浪. The present T'u-ssu, like his ancestors, bears the family name A 阿 and is a relative of the T'u-ssu of Yung-ning. The Lang-ch'ü territory is situated between Yung-ning and the territory of Yung-pei, east of the Yangtze loop, and is bordered to the east by the Chung-so T'u-ssu 中所土司 in Ssu-ch'uan. It is watered by the Wo-lo Ho, the southern branch of which has its source south of Lang-ch'ü chou. The chief is a Mo-so, as are most of the T'u-ssu in this region, viz., the Chung-so, Tso-so, Ch'ien-so, Hou-so 後所 and Yu-so 右所, who are collectively called the Wu-so (Five *So*). The peasants are also Mo-so, but in Lang-ch'ü territory the Lo-lo have now the upper hand and are the real masters. A similar situation prevails in the territory of the other *So*.

The Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, have the following to say regarding the boundaries of that district:

"It is 220 li north of the ruling city of Yung-pei. Its original name was Lo-kung 羅共 and it is inhabited by the Lo-lo and Mo-so tribes.

"In the east it borders on Ko-na-ssu 格納思, 100 li to the Ssu-ch'uan Chung-so border.

"In the south to the Tien Ho 點河 120 li to the border of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu [he was T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng].

"In the west to Chin-hsing 金形 180 li to the border of Li-chiang fu [in the Yangtze valley].

"In the north to K'a-hsi-p'o 卡西坡 120 li to the border of Yung-ning. This is a village east of Mien-mien Shan (Continuous Mountain)."

2. HISTORICAL RECORDS

The Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 4b, state the following about the district:

"The seat of government of the Lang-ch'ü territory is at Lo-kung t'an 羅共攤, situated east of Li-chiang and north of the governing chün 郡 [Yung-pei], adjoining and contiguous with Yung-ning.

"Originally three tribes dwelled there from generation to generation; they are the Lo-lo, Mo [Mo-so] and Hsieh 些 [Li-hsieh 力些]. Kublai Khan attacked Ta-li in the third year of Hsien Tsung 憲宗 (1253). In the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272), the district was incorporated in the empire. In the 16th year (1279) the name Lo-kung t'an was changed to the department of Lang-ch'ü chou. During the reign of Cheng-t'ung (1436–1449) it became subject to Lan-ts'ang wei (military station of Lan-ts'ang); [this is the present Yung-pei or Yung-sheng].

"In the 26th year of K'ang-hsi (1687) the Wei was abolished and united

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with the Chou. In the 37th year (1698) the chou was raised to a fu-magistracy or fu-city [that is, the city of Yung-pei], to which the land of Lang-ch'ü became subject. Hence Lang-ch'ü, the T'u-ssu's territory, north of the fu-city, is still subject to it to this day."

3. CHRONOLOGICAL RECORDS OF LANG-CH'Ü CHIEFS

The first Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu was established during the Ming dynasty. His name was A-ti 阿的.[1] In the 14th year of Hung-wu (1381), when Yün-nan had been pacified, he led his people to submission. He had acquired merit on account of military exploits, and therefore in the 16th year (1383) he received letters patent from Mu Kuo-kung 沐國公 appointing him hereditary native sub-prefect, which were confirmed by the Throne. He was followed by his son A-chi 阿吉 who assumed his duties in the 19th year of Hung-wu (1386). Then followed A-ko 阿哥, son of the foregoing; he assumed his duties in the seventh year of Yung-lo (1409). His son, A-p'o 阿頗, assumed his duties in the third year of Cheng-t'ung (1438). He had no sons and died of illness. Afterwards followed A-nu 阿奴, who was A-p'o's younger brother; he became native ruler in the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453). Then A-tso 阿佐, A-nu's son, assumed his duties in the second year of T'ien-shun (1458). A-hung 阿烘, his son, assumed the chieftainship in the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495). A-luan 阿鑾, son of A-hung, assumed his official position in the third year of Cheng-te (1508). He was followed by his son A Ch'i-feng 阿杞鳳, in the 25th year of Chia-ching (1546), who was succeeded by his son, A chao-yung 阿朝用, in the 31st year of Chia-ching (1552). He was followed by his son, A-k'uei 阿奎, in the 13th year of Wan-li 萬歷 (1585), who was succeeded by his son, A-chen 阿鎮, in the 25th year of Wan-li (1597).

Then followed A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣, son of A-chen. When his father died he was still young, so his mother, who came of the La family 喇氏 (the Tso-so T'u-ssu), took charge of the affairs of the district. In the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627) he was promoted by Imperial decree and favor to the highest post and given a belt, whereupon he assumed his duties. Afterwards he died of illness, leaving no descendants.

After him came A Yung-chung 阿永忠, his younger brother. He was to assume his elder brother's position, but died ere he took office.

Then succeeded (the 15th generation) A Shang-i 阿尙義, the son of A Yung-chung. He assumed his father's position; as he was not of age, his Tsu-mu 祖母 (father's mother), paternal grandmother of the Chang family (of the T'u-ssu of Pei-sheng) cared for her grandchild and took charge of the affairs of the district. In the 16th year of Shun-chih (1659), owing to the ravages of the troops, he lost his letters patent, seal, and documents. Later Wu San-kuei rebelled, and, although he did not again receive official certificates, he assumed office.

[1] In another volume of the Yung-pei Records, ch. 7, fol. 34b, it states that A-ti submitted to the empire in the ninth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1272) of the Mongol dynasty, and that Lang-ch'ü chou was established at that time. During the Hung-wu period (1368–1398) of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu came to submit to the Chinese and was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-magistrate).

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Then came A Ssu-tsu 阿嗣祖, son of the former. In the 31st year of K'ang-hsi (1692) he gratefully received from the provincial ruler Ma 馬, the official title of T'u-ch'ien-tsung 土千總 (Native lieutenant). He also appointed him to rule over the Fan and I 番夷 barbarians and savages [Tibetans and Lo-lo are meant], and allowed him to collect taxes. 173

He died without sons and his younger brother, A Ssu-hsien 阿嗣賢, followed him, having received from fu-magistrate Li 李 permission to assume the position. In the 44th year of K'ang-hsi (1705) he received from the Board of Frontiers a commission to be the native chief and to rule his district.

Then followed A T'eng-lung 阿騰龍, who was the former's first-born. In the 59th year of K'ang-hsi (1720) his father died, and in the 60th year (1721) he assumed his father's position. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) he received orders from General Liu 劉 to come to La-ju-wo 臘肉窩 to join the Ssu-ch'uan — Yün-nan military officials, to capture the bandit chief Liao-ma-ch'e 了馬車. He endured many hardships, became ill and died.

Afterwards followed A Feng-t'ai 阿鳳泰, son of T'eng-lung. At his father's death he was still a minor. The magistrate of Yung-pei, Shih Hsiang 石祥 by name, arranged to have his paternal grandmother [of the La family], look after the affairs of office and also after the orphan grandchild. In the 13th year of Ch'ien-lung (1748) he reached his majority and was then asked to assume his father's position.

After him came A Ch'i-chi 阿其吉, his son. In the 36th year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) the Yün-nan–Kuei-chou Viceroy Te 德 ordered him to assume his father's position. During the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796–1820) he was ordered to assemble his native troops and his headmen and to lead them to Wei-yüan,[3] where there was trouble. Later he led his troops to Nan-lung[5] to attack the Chung and Miao tribes. Afterwards they were again sent to Wei-hsi.[4] He acquired merit on these expeditions, and was given a silver medal, cattle and wine.

Then followed A Erh-fu 阿爾福, the son of A Ch'i-chi. In the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809) Viceroy Chang 章 ordered him to assume his father's position.

Then followed A Wei-chu 阿爲柱, the former's first-born. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) Viceroy Po 伯 sent him letters patent. In the 10th year of Tao-kuang (1830) he asked for permission to assume his hereditary position. In the 22nd year (1842) he received from the Executive Office an official commission and a copper seal, and thereupon assumed his official position. In the 27th year (1847) he led the native troops to Yen-yüan hsien in Ssu-ch'uan where he captured the Moslem rebel Hai-pa-wang 海霸王. His military exploits were recorded. In the 29th year (1849) he repaired the wall of his city (Lang-ch'ü chou). He received from his su-

[3] Wei-yüan was in the district of P'u-erh, north-west of that city in the south of Yün-nan. In the T'ang dynasty it was called Yin-sheng fu 銀生府; in the Yüan it was known as Wei-yüan. It is the present Ching-ku 景谷 on the Pa-ching Ho 巴景河 which flows into the Mekong.

[5] Nan-lung is in the province of Kuei-chou.

[4] Wei-hsi is in the north-west of Yün-nan.

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173 periors the title of Yün-t'ung 運同 (Assistant Salt comptroller). In the third year of Hsien-feng (1853), the Ssu-ch'uan bandit Ts'eng Hung-shun 曾洪順 held Yao Shan [this is the Wua-ha Shan which separates Yung-ning from the Yangtze]. He and his soldiers attacked and killed the bandits. In the seventh year (1857) he died of illness.

After him came his son, A Kuo-pao 阿國寶. In the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858), he received his commission. In the 11th year (1861), Yung-pei was lost [taken possession of by bandits; the Mohammedan rebels are meant]. He used his own money and grain and sent two headmen, A Hsi-ling 阿錫齡 and Chou Shang-wen 周尙文, to lead their soldiers to attack. Governor Hsi 徐 conferred on him the fourth civil rank (雲騎) and the wild goose feather. In the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870), they recaptured the city. Afterwards, together with his headmen, he led his soldiers to attack and kill the bandits of Yang-pi 漾濞, Ta-li, Shun-ning 順寧 and T'eng-yüeh. In time of distress his strength became manifest. The title of Yün-t'ung was then conferred on him. In the fifth year of Kuang-hsü (1879) he received the hereditary appointment. In the 15th year (1889) he died of illness. His son Cheng-chi 正基 became hereditary chief, but as he died of illness and his grandson Chi-tsu 繼祖 was still a minor, it was approved that his grandfather's wife Chang 章氏 (of the Chang family) should assume the duties and take care of the grandchild.

In the 24th year of Kuang-hsü (1898) A Chi-tsu 阿繼祖, son of Cheng-chi, received the appointment to the hereditary position, that is, the letters patent and documents of office. He is to this day still in his official position."[*]

4. LO-LO RAIDERS AND IMPOTENT MAGISTRATES

567 661 The people are so poor that they have little to be looted of, so the Lo-lo carry off their defenceless children to be sold as slaves to other Lo-lo in more distant regions. In 1928 they raided the Pai-chio-pa 白角壩 district and carried off in one month 67 people, men, women and children, who were sold as slaves. Everyone in these villages wanted to flee, because they feared that they might all be carried off and sold into slavery. They even dared not go and cut firewood on the mountain-side for fear of being captured by the Lo-lo. This while the Chinese divisional magistrate and the T'u-ssu smoked opium in their yamen, unconcerned and powerless to remedy the situation. And yet a Hsi-k'ang official (Tsung-pan 總辦 Director) by the name of Ch'en 陳, from Wa-i 窪裏 on the Ya-lung Chiang in Hsi-k'ang, came in January of 1929 with some soldiers to Yung-ning. They commandeered Na-khi peasants *en route*, to carry loads of rifles; over 100 they brought to Yung-ning in Yün-nan to sell with ammunition to whoever could afford to buy them. In order to prevent the Lo-lo from getting them, who would sell their soul for a rifle if they could, the Yung-ning Tsung-kuan was obliged to buy most of them,

[*] Later a Fen-hsien 分縣 (Divisional sub-magistrate) was established at Pai-chio-pa, but with the encroachment of the Lo-lo tribe from Ssu-ch'uan who are overrunning this region, both the Tu-ssu and the Fen-hsien have lost control, and their lives have been endangered. The office of Fen-hsien has now been abolished. The T'u-ssu is an opium addict and is unable to control affairs, which run themselves.

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none of the peaceful peasants having the money to pay for them. They were old ex-German army rifles dating from 1870, and the Wa-li Tsung-pan, Ch'en, sold them with 25 rounds of ammunition for 100 to 120 dollars silver apiece.

5. THE BURYING ALIVE OF A LO-LO LEPER

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I shall here describe the burying alive of a leper in the district of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu 蒗蕖土司, where a divisional magistrate resided, besides the Mo-so T'u-ssu, neither of whom was able to prevent such a method of disposing of a live leper.

The male leper in question was well advanced with the disease when his relatives decided to bury him alive. He was taken to the top of a grassy hill, accompanied not only by his relatives, but also by his village neighbors, for such an occasion is always one of feasting and drinking. An ox had been killed and skinned, the wet skin was spread out, hair down, on the top of the grassy hill, and the leper was seated in the center of the skin. He was fed plentifully with beef, and was given sufficient quantities of strong liquor, brewed from grains, to make him intoxicated. Both relatives and friends gorged themselves on the beef and drank great quantities of liquor as only a Lo-lo can.

In the meantime a large circular hole had been dug not far from the spread-out skin on which the leper sat in a dazed condition. A large wooden tub had also been prepared and placed near the hole. The relatives then sat around the ox hide and the leper and began their lamentations, telling him that the time had come for him to leave, and that there was no way out, but that now he had to depart to the land of his ancestors. They wept and howled, interspersing their lamentations with draughts of strong drink, of which also the poor leper had to partake freely. He was consoled with the fact that he had been well feasted and given plentifully of strong drink. Finally, after the feasting was over, a last draught of liquor in which opium had been dissolved was given the poor leper, whose last minute had now arrived.

As soon as he had swallowed the poisoned drink, relatives rushed to the four corners of the ox hide and in an instant he was tied and securely sewn into the skin, ere his last breath should leave him. It was of great importance to them that he should not die before being securely tied in the wet ox hide. He was then quickly lifted into the wooden tub, and the latter was placed into the prepared hole in the ground. All hands worked feverishly for he had to be buried before life had become extinct in his ox hide prison. The tub was quickly covered and in addition a large cooking pot was put over it inverted, and the hole filled with earth, while the village Pe-mu, or sorcerer, chanted from a Lo-lo manuscript, entitled *Nunv ndü nunv p' nunv ngü yi*, the meaning of which is "Close the road of the demon of leprosy." This demon is called Nunv. The deity Ra-sa, of which a picture occurred in the book, who alone is able to suppress Nunv, the demon of leprosy, was thus invoked, during the burial of the leper, to close the road of the demon. It is believed that should the leper die before being tied up in the ox hide and before burial, that is, should his last breath escape, it would return to

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the village and give leprosy to his relatives; hence the custom of burying lepers alive. The burial over, all returned to their homes.

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6. PAI-CHIO SILVER MINE

The one feature of interest in Pai-chio-pa and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu's domain is the silver mine in Pai-chio Shan (Pai-chio Mountain). The Yung-pei Records, ch. 1, fol. 18b, have the following to say about this mine:

"The Pai-chio Mountain is in the district of Lang-ch'ü and borders on the district of the Chang T'u-ssu [Yung-pei district]; the mountain extends part-way into Ssu-ch'uan, that is into the magistracy of Yen-yüan. On the top as well as at the foot of the mountain there are outcroppings of silver ore. In the 11th year of Tao-kuang (1831), Sub-prefect Wu Chao-t'ang 吳兆棠 submitted a report which was approved, whereupon he began operating the mine and paid taxes to the government. The mine was called Tung-sheng ch'ang 董升廠, also Pai-niu ch'ang 白牛廠. At that time they saw a white cow at that place, whereupon they obtained silver [the legend says that only as much silver as corresponds to the leg of a cow has been mined, meaning that there is a large amount still unmined], hence the name Pai-niu ch'ang (White cow mine). In the 25th year (1845) gold was found in the silver, which was separated from it. Mining is still going on to this day."

Mining operations have, however, ceased, not on account of lack of ore, but on account of the foul air in the mine, which prevents workers from remaining in it. They are unacquainted with ventilating methods.

In another part of the Yung-pei Records ch. 2, fol. 48a, it relates that after the mine had been opened they kept five to six boilers (池) or smelters going [the word *ch'ih* 池 stands for a container of liquids, but the Records do not state how much ore could be melted in one of them]. It does say, however, that out of every *ch'ih* from 50–60 Chinese ounces of silver were obtained when the ore was good, and never less than 10 ounces. After many years of mining the ore became less and less productive and in the end contained little silver.

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PART VI

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT: ITS HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

YEN-YÜAN DISTRICT RECORDS

The District of Yen-yüan 鹽源 (Salt-well) is situated in south-western Ssu-ch'uan and south-east of Hsi-k'ang 西康. 101

The Yen-yüan magistracy comprises a considerable area ruled by native Mo-so chiefs whose subjects were preponderatingly Mo-so; other tribes are Hsi-fan and Lo-lo; the latter are now in the ascendancy. Yen-yüan is ruled by a Chinese magistrate, who at time of writing (1934) has been appointed by the Yün-nan Provincial Government, which would indicate that the district formerly under Ssu-ch'uan has now come under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan. The status of the district has, however, not yet been settled; but it seems to be under the military of Yün-nan.

The most powerful native chief or pacification commissioner of the barbarous tribes under Yen-yüan was the late Lama King who ruled Mu-li; his nephew who succeeded him is a very young man of little personality or influence, and as he is a Hsi-fan like most of his subjects, he does not concern us here.[1] Those who do come within the scope of this work are the chiefs of the Five *So* (Wu-so), and a few others who belong to the Na-khi tribe.

Chinese books, geographical and historical, are singularly brief as to the history of these native chiefs and their territory and very little can be gleaned from the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* 四川通志 (General Topography of Ssu-ch'uan) of which only two editions are extant. In both of these editions a mere half page or so is devoted to Mo-so history and the same holds true for the General Geography of China (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung-chih* 嘉慶一統志). 173

The only work which furnishes more detailed information about these areas is the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* 鹽源縣志 (Yen-yüan District Record). That such a work existed I was well aware, but very few libraries in China and none outside China possess a copy. Neither the National Library nor the Palace Library of Peiping owned one, but the Japanese Library of Peiping does.[2] A manuscript copy is said to be in the Nanking National Government University. While in Peiping in the winter of 1935–1936 I secured the loan of the copy in the Japanese Library which enabled me to translate the salient parts of its records dealing with the territory of the Mo-so chiefs, etc. This

[1] He has since resigned on account of illness, and as the older brother of the late Mu-li King has died and the male line of the Hang Family has died out, the second son of Chang Ta-chi the brother-in-law of the late Mu-li King has now become the ruler of Mu-li under the guardianship of his father a Molashog Tibetan. His name is: Hang Cha-pa Sung-tien Ch'un-p'in 項扎巴松典純品.

[2] The *Pei-p'ing Tung-fang wen-hua wei-yüan-hui T'u-shu-kuan* 北平東方文化委員會圖書館.

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work is not in manuscript, but is a block-print consisting of six *pen* 本. It is not divided throughout into numbered chapters, and its pages are numbered in part; an index (*mu-lu* 目錄) is also lacking. Furthermore, pages are missing here and there throughout the six volumes. There are no maps.

I have lately come into the possession of a copy of the Yen-yüan Records through the kindness of the Mu-li ruler. The same pages are missing as in the Peiping copy, which would indicate that the printing blocks representing these pages have been lost and not the pages themselves.

The first preface is dated the 17th year of Kuang-hsü (1891) while the second preface is dated the 19th year of Kuang-hsü (1893). The Record was compiled by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu Chün-yün 吳鈞雲 and Ku P'ei-yüan 顧培源, who was a Chien-sheng 監生 (Collegian of the Imperial Academy).

This work has enabled me to give here a detailed account of the genealogical history of the native Mo-so chiefs and the history of the territory they rule; a general account of the history and topography of the entire region under the jurisdiction of Yen-yüan is also added. I have only been able to make extensive visits to the territory of three, namely Mu-li, Tso-so and Ch'ien-so.

An account of the Mu-li lama King or Pacification Commissioner, his genealogical records and the history and geographical account of his kingdom, is reserved for a separate work which will include also Hsi-k'ang or the Tibetan Marches.

I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Past and present designations. — The *Yen-yüan hsien chih*, ch. 2, fol. 1, states that: "The land of Yen-yüan is in the extreme south-west of China. At one of its frontiers there is a salt lake. This land is also called Tso 筰 and possesses a clear [salt] spring which is indeed a treasure. In the Yüan dynasty this land was called *Jun* 閏 (Extra) as if it were a small piece of land added to the empire. In the Ming dynasty it was called a *Ching* 井 (Well) as if it had been an insignificant territory.

"Since the time of the Han dynasty this territory had been captured several times but could not be retained as part of the Chinese empire. At times it was rejected by the Imperial Court and later could not again be recovered, not even by force. Yet for several thousand years it has retained its beauty and mysteries. The emperor tried to acquaint the tribes peoples with Confucianism and graced them with virtues. They looked upon this as a constellation which supplied them with food.

"Therefore the first name given to this land was Yüan 源 (Source of a spring). The intention was that the people should keep firmly impressed in their mind the stream of the Imperial grace and not sever their connection with it.

Establishment between Hsia and Han dynasties. — "According to the Yü-kung 禹貢 (Tribute of Yü) of the Hsia dynasty 夏 (2205–2197 B.C.) which governed the province of Liang chou, the land of Yen-yüan hsien was situated outside its south-west frontier. In the 30th year of Nan Wang 赧王

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of the Chou dynasty 周 (285 B.C.) the State of Ch'in 秦 appointed a prefect 173
to govern the land of Shu [Ssu-ch'uan] and called it Tso 筰, which is the first appearance of the name in the History of China. At the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) there was established Ting-tso hsien 定筰縣 (district of Ting-tso) in the same territory, subordinate to the Chün of Yüeh-sui 越巂郡 and ruled by an official bearing the title of Tu-yü 都尉.[3]

Under Shu Han, Chin, Sung, and Northern Chou. — "Under the various dynasties which followed, as the Shu Han, Chin and Sung, the name as well as the policy towards it remained unchanged. In the Ch'i 齊 dynasty (479–501) the land was lost to the Liao 獠 tribes.[4] In the second year of T'ien-ho 天和 of the Northern Chou dynasty 北周 (567) the Principality of Ting-tso 定筰鎮 was established there.

Under T'ang and Sung. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the hsien of K'un-ming 昆明縣 was established subject to the department of Sui 巂州. Afterwards the Meng family 蒙氏 of the Nan-chao Kingdom made it to Chün 郡 of Hsiang-ch'eng 鄴城. In the Sung dynasty (960–1126) it was nominally kept in restraint (by the emperor) but was really controlled by the Ta-li Kingdom which called it the Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸.

Under Yüan. — "In the beginning of the Yüan dynasty it became the land of the Lo-lan tribe [Lo-lan pu; the Lo-lan tribe and Lo-lo are identical. *see* p. 416]. In the 10th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) it acknowledged allegiance to the empire. In the 14th year (1277) the Yen-ching Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch of Yen-ching) was established. In the 15th year (1278) there was created the department of Chin 金州 (Chin chou), later demoted to the district of Chin 金縣 or Chin hsien.

"In the 17th year (1280) it was changed to Jun-yen chou 閏鹽州 and made subordinate to Te-p'ing Lu 德平路 (Circuit of Te-p'ing). In the 27th year (1290) the chou was made into a hsien and the prefecture of Po-hsing 柏興府 was established.[5]

[3] In the National Library of Peiping (now temporarily in the safe-keeping of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.) there is extant the 3d. volume of a rare work entitled: *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* 四川土夷考 published in the Wan-li period (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, the other volumes have unfortunately been lost. This work (the 3d. chapter) deals in part with Yen-yüan and the Wu-so 五所, and I give here translations as far as they concern us here. As regards Yen-yüan it states under the heading Yen-ching wei t'u shou 鹽井衛土酋 on p. 36b, "According (to records) Yen-ching wei under the Han dynasty was the land of Ting-tso hsien of the Chün of Yüeh-sui. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty it was called Po-hsing fu 柏興府. In the beginning of the Ming dynasty it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so 柏興千戶所 and afterwards was again changed to Yen-ching wei, or the military garrison of Yen-ching."

According to Ma Tuan-lin the Liao are a tribe of barbarians or (Man) mentioned in antiquity. Their original home was in the region situated between Liang chou and I chou. From Han-chung 漢中 [parts of Shensi and Ssu-ch'uan] they penetrated to Chiung 邛 and Tso (Ssu-ch'uan and the region of Yen-yüan).

[4] The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 15, fol. 30a, states the name Po-hsing was applied to it because of the dense forest of Sung Po 松柏 pines and cypresses [junipers or *Thuja orientalis* could also be meant] which existed there on a mountain called Po-lin Shan 柏林山

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173 "This town was made subordinate to a Hsüan-wei-ssu 宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner) belonging to the Lo-lo tribe.

Under Ming. — "In the beginning of the Ming dynasty (1368) the same name was retained as well as the policy towards it, but it was later changed to Po-hsing chou. In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed to Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so 柏興千戶所 (Petty military station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subordinate to the Wei of Chien-ch'ang 建昌衛. In the 27th year (1394) the Wei of Yen-ching was established and its ruler was given the title of Chün min chih-hui shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and civil leader of the native tribes).

Under Ch'ing. — "At the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) it was still called Yen-ching wei. In the sixth year of Yung-cheng (1728) the office of the Military Station was abolished and the hsien of Yen-yüan was established in its stead, subordinate to the fu-city of Ning-yüan 寧遠府.

2. SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES

Under Han. — "In the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 24) there was established the hsien of Ting-tso. In the sixth year of Yüan-feng 元封 (105 B.C.) the land of Chiung and Tso was changed into the Chün of Ch'en-li 沈黎郡.[6] In the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.) Ch'en-li was abolished and two Tu-yü 都尉 (Captains) were appointed, one to govern Mao-niu 牛鞞 and to control the foreign Ch'iang 羌 tribes, and the other to govern Ch'ing-i 青衣 and to control the people of Han (Chinese), at that time Ting-tso was subject to the Tu-yü of Mao-niu.[7]

(Cypress forest Mountain) 10 li south of the city of Yen-yüan. The color of the forest was beautiful and the trees tall, touching heaven. It was surrounded by the Lung Shui (Dragon River) and was the border of Tien (Yün-nan) and Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and the land where the Chinese and barbarians met.

The old *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (of 1733), ch. 27, fols. 13b–14a, states that in ancient times the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 (Mo-so) dwelled where Po-hsing was. At the end of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶, about A.D. 755, it was captured by the T'u-fan. In 1273 the chief of the Mo-sha tribe of Yen-ching submitted to the empire.

In 1280 there were established P'u-lo chou 普樂州 and Jun-yen chou 潤鹽州 and in 1290 the two were united and made the Jun-yen hsien or Jun-yen district, of which the prefectural city was Po-hsing (fu).

[6] E. CHAVANNES in Vol. 1, Introduction to *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, p. LXXXVIII, states that Ch'en-li (Tchen-li) was the ancient territory of the principate of Tso, and is the present prefecture of Li-chiang.

The *Chia-ch'ing I t'ung-chi*, ch. 403, fol. 1b, states that Ch'en-li was south-east of Ch'ing-ch'i hsien 清溪縣 and was the ancient Hsi-i Tso-tu Kuo 西夷作都國 (Kingdom of Tso-tu of the Western Barbarians). According to the *Shih Chi* 史記 (Historical Records), Hsi-Tso-tu 徙筰都 was the largest of the 10 tribal chieftain territories situated to the north-east of Sui 嶲.

In the Han dynasty the Marquis of Tso 作侯 was murdered and Tso-tu was changed to Ch'en-li Chün. The latter was, however, abolished in the fourth year of T'ien-han 天漢 (97 B.C.). During the Chin dynasty it was again established by dividing Han-chia 漢嘉 (the present Ming-shan hsien 名山縣 under Ya-chou fu 雅州府). The name of Ch'en-li does not appear in the *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh*.

[7] Mao-niu hsien is the territory south of the present Ch'ing-ch'i hsien under Ya-chou fu.

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"Then there was established the hsien or district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣.[8] The name Sui-chiu was derived from the name of a mountain. According to the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經, the Sheng Shui 勝水 has its source in the Pa-sui Mountain 巴遂山. According to the *Hua-yang chih* 華陽志, in Sui-chiu there is a hsien and a river called Sheng Shui.

Under the Three Kingdoms and Shu Han period. — "During the period of the Shu Han dynasty of the Three Kingdoms (221–265) it was called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien. In the (two) Chin dynasties (265–419) it was also called Ting-tso hsien and Sui-chiu hsien but was changed and made subject to Yün-nan Chün,[9] which was later again abolished. In the Sung dynasty of the house of Liu 宋劉 (420–478) it was again called Ting-tso hsien. In the Ch'i, Liang and Pei Chou 齊梁北周 dynasties (479–580) it had the following designations:

"In the Ch'i dynasty it was the Liao Chün 僚郡 of Yüeh-sui, and the hsien of Ting-tso was subject to the latter.[10]

"In the Liang dynasty, Ting-tso hsien was again established, subordinate to Sui chou. Later it fell into the hands of its aggressors. In the Later [northern] Chou the Principality of Ting-tso was established.

Under T'ang. — "In the second year of T'ang Wu-te 武德 (619) the district of K'un-ming was created, subject to Sui-chou. Afterwards it ceased to exist as the Nan-chao Kingdom captured it. The latter established in its stead the Chün of Hsiang-ch'eng.

"In the seventh year (624) there was established the chou of Hsi-yü 西隃. In the third year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (629) its name was changed to

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In the *Han Shu* it relates that the descendants of the Ch'iang chief Wu-i 先無弋 established separate tribes of which one was the Mao-niu tribe [or Yak tribe who apparently were nomads herding yak (Mao-niu)]. They were the Yüeh-sui Ch'iang. This Tu-yü resided in Mao-niu and was the ruler of the barbarians who lived outside the border. In the second year of Yen-kuang 延光 (A.D. 123) of the Eastern Han, the tribes of Mao-niu rebelled and attacked Ling Kuan 靈關. [This pass is 60 li north-west of Lu-shan hsien 盧山縣 and adjoins the border of T'ien-ch'üan chou 天全州. It led over the Ling Shan and was considered of great strategic importance as one guard is said to be able to hold up 100 attackers. It adjoined the border of the Pai-lang 白狼 barbarians; it was like the belt of the Fan and Man tribes.] They were then attacked by Chang Ch'iao 張喬 who defeated them. [He was a native of Nan-yang 南陽 in Ho-nan and was a hereditary official appointed during An Ti 安帝 (107–125).]

The ch'ing-i hsien (district of Ch'ing-i) is the land to the north of the present-day Ya-an hsien 雅安縣.

According to the *Ya-chou fu chih*, ch. 3, fol. 34b, Ch'ing-i hsien was originally the kingdom of the Ch'ing-i Ch'iang 青衣羌. In 201 B.C., that is the sixth year of Kao Tsu of the Han dynasty, it was first opened and the district of Ch'ing-i established. It then belonged to the Chün of Shu 蜀郡.

[8] In the Western Han dynasty it was a district in the Chün of Yüeh-sui. In the Chin 晉 dynasty it was a hsien in Ning chou 寧州 in the Chün of Yün-nan 雲南郡. It is the land to the west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien of Ssu-ch'uan.

[9] Yün-nan Chün was 80 li south of Yün-nan hsien, subject to Ta-li fu, Yün-nan province. It is the present day Hsiang-yün 祥雲 (pronounced Ch'iang-yün in Yün-nan), two and a half stages east of Ta-li.

[10] The hsien was abolished as the Liao tribes captured it.

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173 Chi-mi Mi chou 羈縻靡州 (Chi-mi [11] of Mi chou); [it was north-west of Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 in Yün-nan] it controlled two districts, Mo-yü 磨豫 [12] and Ch'i-pu 七部.

"Afterwards they were abolished.

"Then there was established the hsien of Ch'ang-ming 昌明縣 [13] subject to Sui chou.

"At the end of the reign of Cheng-kuan (649) there were established one chou, namely Lao chou 牢州 and three hsien, Sung-wai 松外, Hsün-sheng 尋弊, and Lin-k'ai 林開.

"At the beginning of the reign of Yung-hui 永徽 (650), the chou was abolished and the (three) hsien demoted and included in Ch'ang-ming hsien. Afterwards it was again abolished.

Under Sung and Yüan. — "At the beginning of the Sung dynasty (960) the territory was subject to a Chi-mi, but afterwards the Ta-li Tuan Shih 大理段氏 [ruling house of Tuan of Ta-li (Yün-nan)] conquered it by force, and changed its name to Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the Yüan dynasty the fu-city of Po-hsing was established. In the 17th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1280) the chou of Jun-yen 閏鹽州 was founded and in the 27th year (1290) it was demoted to a hsien, and then in the hsien was established a fu-city 府 subject to the Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing Hsüan-wei-ssu 羅羅蒙慶宣慰司 (Pacification Commissioner of Lo-lo Meng-ch'ing).

"In the 15th year of Chih-yüan (1278) there was established the chou-city of Chin 金州. Afterwards it was demoted and made a hsien, namely Chin hsien, subject to the fu-city of Po-hsing.

Under Ming. — "In the Ming dynasty there was established the Yen-ching wei (Salt-well military station). In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) it was changed and made the Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu so (Military sub-station of the Chiliarch of Po-hsing), subject to the Chien-ch'ang military station. In the 27th year it was changed and the Yen-ching Wei Chün-min Chih-hui-shih-ssu 軍民指揮使司 (Military and Civil Leader of the native tribes of the military Station of Yen-ching) was established, subject to the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司 (mobile captain): thereafter Chin hsien was abolished.

"Yen-yüan was called Ting-tso and in ancient days belonged to Sui chou. Yet Tso itself is not Yen-yüan, for Sung, Mou, Ch'en-li Chin-ch'uan, and Wei-tsang 松, 茂, 沈黎, 金川, 衛藏, all these were called Tso. But strange to say our district [Yen-yüan] is generally believed to, have been the territory of Tso. [Li-chiang also belonged to Ting-tso in the Han dynasty]. Yen-yüan, did not represent the whole of Sui 巂, for the territory of Sui

[11] During the T'ang dynasty dependencies of the empire were ruled by indigenous chiefs and this type of local government, of which there were ninety-two, was called Chi-mi tu-tu fu 羈縻都督府. Chi-mi-chou 羈縻州 was the designation of a prefecture of a tributary state ruled by a native prince. *See* R. DES ROTOURS, Les grand fonctionnaires de provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang in *T'oung Pao*, Vol. 25, 1928, p. 243.

[12] Mo-yü was a district also called Chi-mi as was Mi chou. It is the land of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

[13] This hsien belonged to Chien-nan Tao 劍南道 (Circuit of Chien-nan) and was subject to Sui chou. It was south-west of the present day Yen-yüan hsien.

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also included Pei-shui 卑水, Hui-li 會理, Hui-wu 會無, Yao chou 姚州 and Ma-hu 馬湖. Yet our district [Yen-yüan] is said to have probably been the territory of Sui.

3. BOUNDARIES

"On the east Yen-yüan adjoins (or controls) the city of Yüeh-lu 月魯.[13]

"On the west it adjoins the stockaded village Ts'en-p'an 岑槃. On the south it adjoins the land of Mou-hsün 牟尋. From the northern frontier the traffic leads to the interior of Lung-tsan 弄贊.[14] Its territory is interlocked like the teeth of a dog, and the entrance is as strong as the tiger's mouth. Once it was lost to the Liao tribes, but afterwards it came again under the jurisdiction of Yün-nan.

"Yen-yüan hsien is situated 310 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present Hsi-ch'ang 西昌. From the eastern to the western border is a distance of 530 li, and from the southern to the northern border 1,900 li. To the eastern border [15] 250 li distant it adjoins Peng-t'u-k'an 棚土坎 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. 280 li west the border is in the center of the Lake Le-p'o 勒勃海 [16] of the native fu-city of Yung-ning [this is the Yung-ning Lake or Lu-ku Hu] in Yün-nan.

"800 li to the south the border adjoins the territory of San-tui-tzu 三堆子 of the district of Hui-li chou and Ta-yao hsien 大姚縣 of Yün-nan. 1,100 li to the north it adjoins the territory of Ming-cheng-ssu 明正司 [17] subject to a T'u-ssu and also the border of the Li-t'ang T'u-ssu. 260 li south-east it adjoins the border of the Military *So* (Sub-station) Te-ch'ang 德昌 in the district of Hsi-ch'ang. North-east 310 li to the border of Lu-ning ying 瀘寧營 (Military district of Lu-ning) of the district of Mien-ning 冕寧 and to Kao-yen-tzu 高巖子 of the district of Hsi-ch'ang. South-west 490 li to the border of Yung-pei of Yün-nan and the border of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu.

[13] Yüeh-lu stands for Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol general who tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops into the south-west; Ts'en-p'an was an aboriginal chief; Mou-hsün is I Mou-hsün, a Nan-chao King. These are all names of persons who in the early history of the country controlled the territory adjacent to Yen-yüan.

Lung-tsan, according to the *Hsi-tsang T'ung-lan* 西藏通覽, p. 32, is the Chinese name of the first historical king of Tibet, known as Srong-btsan sgam-po, transcribed in Chinese, Sung-ch'eng-k'an-po 松成坎波. Hence Tibet is here meant.

[15] This is reckoned from the city of Yen-yüan.

[16] This name for the Yung-ning Lake occurs only in the Yen-yüan Records. It is likely that Le-p'o or Lo-p'o has reference to the island of Hle-wu-be, situated at the end of the T'u-bbu peninsula which cuts the lake in half. Hle-wu-be is, however, in Yün-nan.

[17] There was a Ming-cheng Hsüan-wei ssu (Pacification commissioner of Ming-cheng) who resided at Ta-chien-lu and who controlled many districts, as Ho-hsi 河西, Yü-t'ung 魚通 and Ning-yüan. His title was Chün-min Hsüan-wei-shih-ssu 軍民宣慰使司 (Military and Civil Pacification Commissioner). His first ancestor assisted Chu-ko Liang when he attacked Meng Huo 孟獲 and thereby acquired merit, whereupon the above title was conferred on him. The Tibetan name of this principality is Cha-la written lChags-la ལྕགས་ལ; its ruler had the title of rgyal-po རྒྱལ་པོ or king. The King of Cha-la, the King of Mu-li and the Prince of Cho-ni 卓尼 in south-west Kan-su were the three most notable native rulers in West China. They used to repair every seven years to Peking to pay tribute to the Emperor.

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173 North-west 870 li to the borders of Chung-tien of Yün-nan and the border
131 of the T'u-ssu of Li-t'ang [the present-day Li-hua 理化].

"The distance from Yen-yüan hsien to the capital of the province of Ssu-ch'uan [Ch'eng-tu] is 1,540 li. To Peking it is a distance [over-land] of 7,250 li.

"The present frontiers of the Yen-yüan district partly exceed those of ancient times and partly do not include territory which formerly belonged to it.

The Han Records. — "On examining the records of the Han dynasty we find that the district of Ta-tso 大作 [18] was situated between T'ai-teng 臺登 and Ting-tso. This is the land of the present Kua-pieh 瓜別 and Mu-li, crossed by the Jo Shui 若水 [the latter is the Ya-lung Chiang 鴨濉江 which forms in part the border between Mu-li and Kua-pieh].

"The district of Sui-chiu 遂久縣 was changed and made subordinate to Yün-nan and must have been adjacent to the Yün-nan border; it was the region where the Sheng Shui had its source.[19] It extended from the valley of the Chin-sha Chiang by Yung-pei [the present Yung-sheng] to the rear of the mountains of the city of Yen-yüan, and where the Sheng Shui appears [that is, up to the confluence of the Ya-lung with the Yangtze].

"Ku-fu hsien 姑復縣 [20] lay in the south of Yen-yüan and consisted of the present Chung-so, Yu-so, Lo-kuo 猓果 and No-lung 糯弄.[21]

[18] Ta-tso was a hsien belonging to the Chün of Yüeh-sui during the Han dynasty. It is the land west of the present Mien-ning hsien of Ssu-ch'uan and is situated at the confluence of the Jo Shui and Sheng Shui 繩水 [the former is the Ya-lung and the latter the Yangtze]. Mien-ning hsien is considerably to the north on the An-ning Ho and about 420 li as the crow flies from the confluence of the Ya-lung and Yangtze. The An-ning Ho is called Sun Shui 孫水 (*see* further discussion of the name Sui 猺). According to the *Mien-ning hsien chih* 冕寧縣志 ch. 2, fol. 2a, Ta-tso hsien was established at the same time as T'ai-teng in 111 B.C. Later it was united with it. The above records make Ta-tso, T'ai-teng identical with Mien-ning. It would be more correct to state that the land of the present-day Mien-ning was included in Ta-tso.

[19] Now this statement would seem absurd, for the ancient name of the Yangtze according to the *Shui tao t'i kang* 水道提綱 is Sheng Shui and the source of the Yangtze is in the high plateau of northern Tibet. The *Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 400, fol. 8b, states under the heading Chin-sha Chiang that the river is called Sheng Shui from beyond where it enters the region of Ta-tso at the confluence with the Jo Shui (Ya-lung). This then makes the statement by the Yen-yüan magistrate Wu understandable. All these misunderstandings in Chinese historical geography are due to the giving of different names to various sections of one and the same river. Many books are quoted but at the end one is left to take one's choice, for no definite statement is made as to the correct name.

[20] The last edition of the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 33, fol. 40b, states that a confusion exists and that it is not clear where Ku-fu was situated. Yet in the tables of the Li-chiang district it says that Ku-fu hsien was the land of the present day Li-chiang. During the Ch'ien Sung dynasty (420–478) there were two Ku-fu hsien, an Eastern (Tung) Ku-fu and a Western (Hsi) Ku-fu. Both were in the present district of Li-chiang.

Again, according to the records of the *Shui-ching chu* (Commentary on the Water classic) Ku-fu was in the district of Ta-yao. Both statements are probably quite correct. Boundaries in ancient days were not fixed in these outlying regions, and Ta-yao is south of Yen-yüan and east of Li-chiang.

[21] The southern boundary of the Chung-so territory is stated to extend 400 li south to No-lung on the Yangtze and adjoining the Yün-nan Ta-yao hsien. This gives us the ap-

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"According to the *Shui-ching chu* 水經注, the Ch'a Ho 盆河 is identical with the Yen Shui, and flows through Ku-fu hsien and debouches south into the Jo Shui [Ya-lung]. 173 131

In the T'ang dynasty. — "During the T'ang dynasty the seven districts as K'un-ming, Ch'ang-ming 昌明, the two hsien of Mi chou 靡州 and the three hsien of Lao chou 牢州 were all included in the district of Ku-fu. [This would corroborate the statement in the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* that Ku-fu was the land of the present Li-chiang, for during the T'ang dynasty Li-chiang was called K'un-ming hsien.] The district of Ch'ang-ming was south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and was in Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan 貞觀 (648) the Sung-wai man 松外蠻 established the district of Lao chou. The Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 [Cheng-kuan] thereupon sent the soldiers of 12 departments [chou] of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) to attack the Sung-wai man, whereupon over 72 tribes submitted.

Under the Mongols. — "In the Yüan dynasty the chou of Chin 金州 of the territory of Li-tou 利窶,[22] the Lo-lan Chang-kuan-ssu 落蘭長官司 (Senior native official of Lo-lan [a Lo-lo tribesman]), and the Pacification Commissioner of Po-hsing [Yen-yüan] as well as Jun-yen hsien, were all subject to, or belonged to the district of Ku-fu.

"However the chou of Yüeh-pien 月邊 was subordinate to the territory of Kua-pieh, while all the different towns and villages of Hsi-lu 西瀘 and Sha-yeh 沙野 were subordinate to Ho-hsi 河西. [Ho-hsi is one stage south-west of Hsi-ch'ang (Ning-yüan fu), situated below the crest of a mountain spur which forms the western valley wall of Chien-ch'ang.]

Under the Ming dynasty. — "The Ming dynasty Military Station of Yen-ching, the chiliarch on service for garrison duty on the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦千戶所, and Yen-chung-tso-so 鹽中左所 all belonged to one hsien. This means that during the Han and T'ang dynasties several chou and hsien were made into one hsien, and proves that the frontiers of the district of Yen-yüan extend in part beyond those of ancient times. Half of the land of the district of Sui-chiu belongs to the Yung-pei district, and half of the land of Ch'ang-ming belongs to the district of Hsi-ch'ang, while the territory of Lo-lan pu never extended to Lu-ku.

"In the Ming dynasty the land of Chung-so and Tso-so adjoined the territory of the Mu family 木氏 [Mu chiefs of Li-chiang, but now they are no

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proximate location of No-lung, which I could not find otherwise in all the reference books at my disposal.

[22] Chin hsien was north of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the Yüan Dynasty. In the Ming dynasty it was abolished. Chin hsien was governed, according to the *Geographical Records of the Yüan dynasty*, by Po-hsing fu. Its aboriginal (native barbarian) name was Li-tou-chieh-lo 利窶揭勒 (the name given it by the Nan-chao barbarians). In the 15th year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1278) Chin was established but was afterwards demoted to a hsien. In the land of this district was a mountain called Hu-p'o-ho Shan 斛婆和山 where gold was mined, hence the name Chin hsien (Gold district). The mountain is 30 li west of Yen-yüan hsien and contains gold. The Li-tou-chieh-lo and Ju-k'u 蕊睹 barbarians dwelled there.

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173 131 more adjacent to that territory, being separated by the district of Yung-ning].

The smaller district of to-day (1893). — "This proves that the district of Yen-yüan includes only parts of other districts and that its frontiers do not extend to those of ancient times. In fact it rules over only part of its former territory.

"The ancient people of Kua-pieh are called by the Ning-fan 寧番 the Shui-wai Sheng-fan 水外生番 (wild savages outside the river [either the Yangtze or the Ya-lung must be meant here]).[23] The people of Tso-so were Ma-la-fei's 馬剌非[24] peasants who were hated by Yung-ning. The Chung-so, Lang-ch'ü, and the Mu T'u-ssu of Li-chiang had disputes regarding boundary lines; the senior native officials of the above mentioned places had also occasional quarrels among themselves."

4. CONFIGURATION OF YEN-YÜAN

173 137 133 "Junipers[25] grow on all the lofty peaks of the district of Yen-yüan, giving the latter a blue-green tint. The dragon-like rivers flow zigzag over its land. This district is situated between the Yün-nan and Ssu-ch'uan boundaries and here the Chinese and tribespeople live in contact.

"The land of Chiung 卬 and of Chiang 絳 is related to this district in the same way as lips are to teeth, while the Liao and Man tribes are as near to it as the fingers to the arm.

"Its passes over the lofty peaks, covered with fragrant junipers, can safely be guarded by one man. Salt and copper are its chief natural resources.

"Yen-yüan is the capital and cross-road of the Chiu-so 九所 (Nine military sub-stations). [Under Chiu-so must be understood the Five *So*, as well as the chieftains of Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Ku-pe-shu and Mu-li.]

5. ACCOUNTS OF YEN-YÜAN AND ANCIENT PLACES

173 101 *No-chi.* — "The city of No-chi 諾濟 was west of Yen-yüan hsien. It was established during the T'ang dynasty. At the close of the period T'ien-pao 天寶 (751) it was captured by the T'u-fan. In the 15th year of Cheng-yüan

[23] The Ning-fan are the inhabitants of Ning-fan Wei. The region was surrounded by the Hsi-fan tribe who dwelled there, therefore the Military Station of Ning-fan was called Ning-fan ch'eng 城. All the inhabitants were known as Ning-fan-man.

During the Yüan dynasty there was established a fu-city which was called Su chou 蘇州 in the wild parts of Chiung-tu 卬都. A native (Mongol) official of that region, by the name of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, rebelled, and there was then established the Military Station of Ning-fan. This was in the 27th year of Ming Hung-wu (1394).

Su chou was the territory at present governed by Mien-ning hsien. Ning-fan Wei was governed by the Ssu-ch'uan Hsing-tu-ssu 行都司. There were two classes of Fan savages — Sheng-fan (wild, raw, savages) and Shu-fan 熟番 (the ripe savages who had submitted to Chinese rule).

[24] This should read La-ma-fei, he was the son of La-t'a or La-wu, who ruled over the Tso-so territory 300 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien.

[25] Probably *Juniperus Wallichiana* or *J. formosana*.

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貞元 (799) the T'u-fan divided their troops and sent them from No-chi ch'eng to attack Sui chou. In the 17th year (801) Wei Kao 韋皐 sent the Sui-chou general Ch'en Hsiao-yang 陳孝陽 and others with Mo-so tribesmen and the Eastern barbarians (Tung-man 東蠻) to attack the T'u-fan, K'un-ming, and No-chi. Afterwards No-chi was conquered by the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

"No-chi ch'eng was situated where the Mu-li and Li-chiang boundaries met and is the place where the No-chi Ho flows. The remains of the wall can still be seen.

Yen ch'eng. — "The ancient Yen ch'eng 古鹽城 was situated in the southwest of Yen-yüan hsien. In the 17th year of T'ang K'ai-yüan 開元 (729), Chang Shen-su 張審素, military governor of Sui chou, captured both K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng. This proves that K'un-ming and Yen ch'eng were two different cities.

Po-hsing, subsequently called Yen-ching and Jun-yen. — "The ancient city of Po-hsing [Po-hsing chou] and Po-hsing Ch'ien-hu-so was in the magistracy of Yen-yüan, and was established during the Yüan dynasty.

"In the province of Yün-nan, according to the *Yüan Shih*, there existed a fu-city of Po-hsing which in ancient times was inhabited by the Mo-sha tribe 摩沙 [the Mo-so or present day Na-khi].

"In the Han dynasty (the land of Po-hsing fu) was the district of Ting-tso. In the T'ang dynasty there was established K'un-ming hsien. At the end of the T'ien-pao period (755) it was captured by the T'u-fan (Tibetans). Afterwards it came under the rule of the Nan-chao Kingdom which changed it to Hsiang-ch'eng Chün 香城郡.

"In the tenth year of Chih-yüan 至元 (1273) a Mo-so chief submitted, also a Lo-lo leader, and the Lu-lu 獹獹 and Ju-k'u 茹庫 tribes [of the district of Yen-yüan].

"In the 14th year (1277) the Chiliarchy (Ch'ien-hu) of Yen-ching was established.

"In the 17th year (1280) the name was changed to Jun-yen chou, and the land of the Lu-lu tribe was created a chou called P'u-lo 普樂州 subject to the Circuit of Te-p'ing 德平路.

"In the 27th year (1290) the two chou of P'u-lo and Jun-yen were united into the hsien of Jun-yen in which the fu-city of Po-hsing was established, subordinate to the Lo-lo-ssu Pacification Commissioner 羅羅斯宣慰司.[26] The tribes living in the suburbs of Jun-yen hsien called it Ho-t'ou tien 賀頭甸. In the period of Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty it was changed

[26] The Lo-lo-ssu was east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien; in the 12th year of Chih-yüan (1275) a Hsüan-wei ssu was placed there. Lo-lo-ssu was a place east of the city of the Hsing-tu-ssu of Chien-ch'ang, that is, one li east of Hsi-ch'ang hsien. He was the greatest chief of the Hsi-i (Western barbarian) and was called the first chief. He ruled over a large territory which could be covered only in 48 horse-stages, and governed the following tribes: P'o-jen, Lo-lo, Pai-i, Hsi-fan, Mo-so, Meng-ku 蒙古 (Mongols), and Hui-tzu 回子 (Mohammedans). All these tribes scattered and lived in the valleys and mountains; south they went as far as the Yangtze, and north to the Ta-tu River 大渡河, east they spread as far as Wu-meng 烏蒙 (the present Chao-t'ung) and west to Yen-ching, covering territory over 1,000 li in extent.

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1173 101 to the Military Station of Yen-ching which lay 300 li south-west of Tu-ssu ch'eng 都司城 [that is the city of Chien-ch'ang].

Ting-tso. — "The old hsien of Ting-tso according to the *I-t'ung chih* was situated to the south of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty.

"According to the *Shu Chih* 蜀志 (Memoirs of Ssu-ch'uan) and especially in the Biography of Chang I 張嶷傳, the three hsien cities of Ting-tso, T'ai-teng, and Pei-shui were over 300 li from the *Chün* 郡 [perhaps here translatable as Commandery] of Yüeh-sui. Formerly the region produced salt, iron and varnish. The tribes closed their country to trade and lived by their own exertions. The prefect Chang I led his troops to rob the tribes of their belongings. On his arrival Hao 豪 of Ting-tso, Ts'en 岑[27] of the (Pai 白) Lang 狼 and Chiu 舅 the King of P'an-mu 槃木 were angry and disliked Chang I and therefore did not go to see him. Chang I then went boldly to them and seizing them put them to death. He took from them salt and many iron utensils which he used to meet the needs of the poor.

"The *Geographical Records of the Chin Dynasty* state that Ting-tso hsien was subject to the Chün of Yüeh-sui.

"In the Historical Records and the Chronicle of the South-western Barbarians it states that in the north-east of Yüeh-sui there were about 10 native princes. Hsi-tso tu 徙作都 was the largest of them all. The *Hua-yang kuo chih* states that Ting-tso hsien was west of Yüeh-sui Chün, beyond the Lu Shui 瀘水 on the border of Pin-kan 賓剛 where the Pai Mo-sha-i 白摩沙夷 dwelt [that is, the White Mo-so, whence probably the Mongol name for them originated, namely, Cha-han Jang 察罕章 (White Jang or Mo-so)].

"When Chu-ko Liang, the famous Wu-huo 武侯 (Marquis of Wu) (181–234) of the Shu Han dynasty, led his punitive expedition to the south, Kao Ting-yüan 高定元, one of his generals, sent troops from Mao-niu, Ting-tso and Pei-shui and constructed many fortifications. The district of K'un-ming belonged to the governing district of Yen-yüan.

"According to the *Yüan ho chih* 元和志 it was 300 li from K'un-ming to Sui chou 嶲州. K'un-ming was originally the district of Ting-tso of the Han dynasty. Afterwards it was lost to the Man (barbarians).

Explanation of the name Tso. — "The reason why so many places were called Tso (Bamboo rope) was because the aborigines used rope bridges to cross the large rivers. [These are still in vogue. *See* PLATES 162, 164]. For example Ting-tso and Ta-tso were situated near rivers over which bamboo ropes were stretched. The character *tso* 祚 is equivalent to the character

[27] The *Tu shih fang-yü chih-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 23b, states that P'an-mu Kuo 槃木國 was west of Mou-chou 茂州 (north-western Ssu-ch'uan). It also relates that the Pai-lang, P'an-mu, Lou-po 樓薄, and over a hundred other countries paid tribute to the Court. They were the barbarians who lived outside of the borders of Mao-niu.

Chang I was a native of Nan-ch'ung Kuo 南充國, which is the present territory lying to the north of the district of Nan-ch'ung (hsien) subject to Shun-ch'ing fu 順慶府 in Ssu-ch'uan. The Nan-ch'ung Kuo was 35 li north of the fu-city of Shun-ch'ing. During the Han dynasty it was the Chün of Pa 巴郡 and during the reign of the Great Yü 大禹 it was the land of Liang chou. He was an administrator of a chou during the Han dynasty.

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chiao 交 (a bamboo rope). It was by means of bamboo (twisted) ropes that the Hsi-nan-i 西南夷 (South-western barbarians) crossed the rivers of Tso.[28] 173 101

Sui-chiu. — "It was situated in the south-west of Yen-yüan and was established during the Han dynasty. It was subject to Yüeh-sui. In former days it was also called Sheng-men 勝門 (Gate of victory), because it served as the gateway to the Pai Kuo (White Kingdom). The latter was one of the earliest States in the west of Yün-nan during the reign of Han Wu-ti (134–87 B.C.).

The Chi-mi of Mi chou. — "According to the Records of the Chiu T'ang (Old T'ang History), the land of Chi-mi chou was under the control of Jung chou 戎州 and its southern boundary adjoined Yao chou 姚州 [in Yün-nan]. It was situated north of the Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江 (Yangtze) and south of Yen-yüan.

The obsolete Ch'ang-ming, Lao chou, Sung-wai,[29] *Hsün-sheng* 尋聲 *and Lin-k'ai.* — "According to the *I-t'ung chih* these districts were all south-west of the district of Yen-yüan. And according to the New T'ang History the land of Ch'ang-ming hsien 昌明縣 was under the control of Sui chou. In the 22nd year of Cheng-kuan (648) the land of the Sung-wai savages was opened, and there was established Lao chou; in addition three hsien were also created in the same land, viz., Sung-wai, Hsün-sheng, and Lin-k'ai. In the third year of Yung-hui 永徽 (652) the chou was abolished and the three hsien were reduced and included in Ch'ang-ming. According to the chronicle of the Nan Man, Liu Po-ying 劉伯英, Tu-tu of Sui chou during the reign of Cheng-kuan, sent a memorial to the Throne stating that the various tribes of Sung-wai had rebelled again after having submitted for a short period, and requested that the Imperial Court sanction their subjugation, so that the road that led to the territories of Hsi-erh 西洱 [Ta-li in West Yün-nan] and T'ien-chu 天竺 (India) might again be opened. Some years later the prefect Liang Chien-fang 梁建方 was ordered to dispatch the troops of 12 chou districts of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan) and to lead an expedition against those barbarous tribes. After this more than 70 aboriginal tribes returned to allegiance.

The name Ch'ang explained. — "According to the History of the Later Han there were established by order of Emperor An Ti 安帝 in the sixth year of the period Yung-ch'u 永初 (112) the three Yüan 三苑 of Ch'ang-li

[28] The *K'ang-hsi Dictionary* states that *tso* is a bamboo rope which the south-western barbarians used in crossing rivers. In the *Shou-wen* 說文 it is said to be equivalent to *chiao* which, as already stated, stands for a bamboo rope. Hence the name Tso for the region. [The rope made of *wei* 葦 (reed) was called *chiao*.]

[29] The reason why the Sung-wai Man were thus called was because they lived outside the district, namely Sung chou 松州. They dwelled in cliff caves, and were troglodytes. It is also stated on the border of the present day Tung-ch'uan 東川 there is a mountain called Chiang-yün-lung 絳雲弄山, and adjoining the border of Lu-ch'uan 祿勸 of Yün-nan province there is a mountain called Sung-wai-lung Shan 松外龍山 (Dragon Mountain of Sung-wai) and this is the ancient territory of the Sung-wai Man (From *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 25b).

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih* states that the mountain Chiang-yün-lung is 120 li south-west of Tung-ch'uan, the present Hui-tse hsien 會澤縣.

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173 101 長利, Kao-wang 高望 and Shih-ch'ang 始昌, in [the Chün of] Yüeh-sui.[30] It was then that the word Ch'ang 昌 was given to certain districts and their cities [*ch'ang* meaning glorious, prosperous].

"With the advent of the Yüan dynasty the circuit of Te-ch'ang 德昌 was incorporated with Te chou 德州 and the circuit of Ting-ch'ang 定昌 was also known as Ting-tso. Besides there were the districts of Ch'ang chou 昌州 and Chien-ch'ang. In the territory of Sui 嶲 most of the cities were called *ch'ang*, but only in the Yüan dynasty. After that period the oldest district bearing the name Ch'ang was Ch'ang-ming, which included Lao chou, and the three hsien of Sung-wai, Lin-k'ai, and Hsün-sheng, and the land of more than 70 tribes. This district had roads leading to the land of Hsi-erh [Ta-li] and T'ien-chu [India] and was one of the largest of the Empire. This is the present-day Mu-li, whence roads led to India. Beyond its mountains were roads which led to Ai-lao 哀牢 [Yung-ch'ang or Pao-shan]. Its northern frontier adjoined the territory of Hsi-ch'ang, and its eastern the boundary of Te-ch'ang. Its southern frontier was not far from that of Yung-ch'ang.

"It is said that the land north-east of Pai-yen ching, viz: Yen-chung 鹽巾, Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 and Kua-pieh belonged to K'un-ming.

"It is possible that all the districts south-west of Yen-ching, as A-so-la 阿所拉,[31] Tso-so. Mu-li, Chung-so, and Kua-pieh 瓜別, belonged to the district of Ch'ang-ming.

Chin hsien (or chou). — "Chin hsien 金縣 or Chin chou 金州 was situated north-west of the district of Yen-yüan according to the *I-t'ung-chih*, and was established during the Yüan dynasty. It adjoined the land of the T'u-fan. [Gold must have been produced in that region, hence its name Chin hsien (District of gold)]. It is identical with K'u-lu 枯櫓, also called K'ang-wu 康塢 in Mu-li, known to be rich in gold.

Sha-yeh ch'eng. — "Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 is the present land of Sha-p'ing-p'u 沙平堡 and probably identical with the land of Sha-ch'eng hsien 沙城縣 of the ancient Nan-chao Kingdom.

Sui chou. — "According to the History of the T'ang dynasty there were in the district of Sui chou nine cities or towns 城, as Hsin-an 新安, San-fu 三埠, Sha-yeh 沙野, Su-ch'i 蘇祁, P'u-chai 僕寨, Lo-shan 羅山, Hsi-lu 西瀘, She-yung 蛇勇 and O-jung 邁戎; all these were important garrison towns.[32]

"According to the new History of the T'ang dynasty it is 260 li from Sui chou by way of Sha-yeh ch'eng to Ch'iang-lang-i 羌浪驛 (despatch station of Ch'iang-lang). Again, when travelling for over 100 li from Sui chou via

[30] These San yüan were places for rearing horses.

[31] The A-so-la Inspectorate is west of Yen-yüan hsien and was established in the 22nd year of Chia-ch'ing (1817).

[32] Hsin-an ch'eng was south of Hsi-ch'ang and was established during the reign of T'ang K'ai-yüan (713–741). In the fifth year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通 (864) the robbers of Nan-chao took Sui chou, thereupon Yen-ch'ing 顏慶, a garrison commander, presented a memorial to be permitted to rebuild the two cities of Hsin-an and O-jung. He received permission, but afterwards the Nan-chao Kingdom captured them. P'u-chai was south-west of Hsi-ch'ang.

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Yang-p'eng ling 楊蓬嶺, a high mountain pass, one reached the town of O-chun-kuan 俄準館. To the south of Yang-p'eng was the territory of the Nan-chao Kingdom. 173 101

Jun-yen chou. — "Jun-yen chou was the land of K'un-ming of the T'ang dynasty and is the present Yen-yüan hsien.

P'u-lo chou. — "P'u-lo chou 普樂州 was to the north of the T'ang dynasty Ch'ang-ming hsien and adjacent to the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州.[33] Afterwards it was united with Jun-yen.

Hsi-yü or Mo-yü chou. — "The Hsi-yü chou 西豫州, or Mo-yü hsien 磨豫縣, and the hsien of Ch'i-pu 七部. At the beginning of the reign of T'ang T'ien-pao 天寶 (742) there were two places, called Chiang-mo 姜磨 and Shu-mo 戍磨 respectively, which were identical with the territory of Mo-yü. In the present day Yen-chung 鹽中 there is said to be a mountain called Mo-yü Shan, the hsien or district of Ch'i-pu cannot be located.

Ho-t'ou tien (or Lo-lan pu 落蘭部). — "According to the *Fang-yü chih yao*, the territory of the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu 馬剌長官司 or Senior native official Ma-la, was the land of Jun-yen hsien of the Lo-lan tribe during the Yüan dynasty. The two small military stations called Chen-hsi-p'u 鎮西堡 and Ta-ch'ung-ho comprised during the Mongol dynasty the district of Lu chou 瀘州 and were situated 60 li north of Chung-so Yen-ching 中所鹽井.[34]

[33] P'u-chi was 150 li south-west of Hsi-ch'ang. The aborigines called it Kan-tien 玕甸 and the Lu-lu Man lived there for generations.

[34] The military substation of the chiliarch of Chung-tso, that is the Chung-so and Tso-so Ch'ien-hu of the garrison service of the Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河守禦中左千戶所 was 160 li north-east of Yen-ching wei and during the Mongol dynasty was the land of Lu chou of the Circuit of Chien-ch'ang. During the period of Ming Hung-wu (1368–1398) a So (military substation) was established, but was later changed into five So, subject to Chien-ch'ang. The Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu was given to the family La 喇氏 in perpetuity.

In the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted and the latter's son, La-ma-fei, went to pay tribute to the court, whereupon he was made a vice-chiliarch (Fu-ch'ien-hu 副千戶). Later, in the 11th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1413) he was made a full chiliarch.

The land of the other four So adjoined Li-chiang and Yung-ning territory. The native official of the house of Mu of Li-chiang encroached on their territory so that half of it was lost to them. All the others submitted at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and were given official positions, as the Yu-so chiliarch Pa 八, the Chung-so chiliarch La 剌, the Ch'ien-so chiliarch A 阿, the Hou-so chiliarch Pai 白. Later they were encroached upon and devoured by Li-chiang as a silkworm gnaws on the mulberry leaves.

In the *T'ien-hsia Chün-kuo Li-ping shu*, ch. 68, fol. 14a, there is a statement which has created a good deal of misunderstanding, but by reading the *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, ch. 74, fol. 17a, the misunderstanding seems to be cleared up. The cause of this misunderstanding is the character *cheng* 正 in the first-named work. It relates there that in the 25th year of Hung-wu (1392) in the 正月 (first moon). Lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la and the native La-t'a submitted. The second work states that in the same year they attacked (征) 月魯帖木兒 Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh; in the first-named work the character *yüeh* is taken from his name and made to read "first moon," in the second the character *yüeh* is left as part of his name and the first character is read *cheng*, "to attack, to subjugate."

However, in the same work, on p. 6 of the same chapter, it states that in the 27th year

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173 101 *Yen Chung-tso so.* — "The Yen Chung-tso so was established during the Ming dynasty; it was the land of Ho-hsi 河西 and was surrounded by an earth wall; now it does not exist but the remains are still visible.

Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so. — "The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, established during the Ming dynasty, was on the west bank of the Ta-ch'ung Ho [35] it was abolished, but the foundations of the wall can still be seen.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE TERMS TSO, SUI, YÜEH, SHENG, HSI, ETC.

"It may be remarked that it was not only the city and district of Yen-yüan which was known as Tso, but also the various regions as Sung 松, Mou 茂, Ch'eng-li 沈黎, Chin-ch'uan 金川 and Wai-tsang 外藏.[36] Yet when people speak of Tso they generally mean Yen-yüan only. Yen-yüan is also spoken of as Sui 嶲, but many other places like Pei-shui, Hui-wu, Yao chou (in Yün-nan), and Ma-hu were also called Sui, although when people speak of Sui they generally mean Yen-yüan."

The magistrate who compiled the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* discusses in a separate chapter the correctness of the names of the main streams, rivers and places, and also the mistakes which crept in in olden days. The chapter is entitled "Does the land of Sui lie on the banks of the Tso river?"

He mentions that Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145–86–74? B.C.) had travelled through the Yen-yüan district [probably around 109 B.C.] and was familiar with its mountains and rivers. The other historians, however, had little knowledge of this land and vaguely called it by various names such as Sui and Tso. Therefore those who studied the history of China doubted their statements.

He then relates that having himself travelled extensively in the district and interrogated many old residents, and having a wide knowledge of China's historical and geographical works, he began to realize which was the true land of Sui, and says it actually borders on Tso. "Sui 嶲 is the name of a river, and the name Yüeh 越, which has the meaning of passing over, has been selected because the virtue of the Han dynasty was so vast that it had even extended beyond the confines of the Sui River. In the land of

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of Hung-wu, the first moon, Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh rebelled. We have here two *yüeh*, viz., 正月月魯帖木兒 etc. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh was a general in the Mongol army or often referred to as Shuai 帥 (Commander).

[35] The *Tu-shih fang yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that "Chung-tso so 中左所 was west and the Chung-ch'ien so 中前所 was (were) east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and that furthermore it performed garrison duty on the river bank." The present-day Chung-so territory is east of the Ta-ch'ung Ho and the Ch'ien-so territory west of it.

[36] Wai-tsang was really the land of the Ch'iang 羌 tribe and the land of the Hsi-jung 西戎 mentioned in Yü Kung 禹貢. The real Tsang is Tra-shi-lun-po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ bKra-shis-lhun-po (Cha-shih-lün-pu 札什倫布) the land controlled by the Panchen Lama.

Ch'ien-tsang 前藏 is the territory controlled by Lhasa and adjoins Ssu-ch'uan, or rather the present Hsi-k'ang, comprising Ta-chien-lu, Li-t'ang, Pa-t'ang (K'ang-ting, Li-hua, Pa-an) and Chha-mdo (Ch'a-mu-to 察木多); then there is the Chung-tsang (Central Tibet) and the Hou-tsang 後藏 (Further Tibet). The general term for Tibet is Hsi-tsang 西藏.

Chin-ch'uan is the Tibetan Gye-rong (rGyal-rong རྒྱལ་རོང་).

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Yüeh-sui there is a stream which has its source in the land of the Fan 番. This river, misidentified by former generations as the Lu Shui which had been crossed by Chu-ko Liang, is none other than the Ta-tu Ho, which the cunning Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu 太祖 (960–976), by drawing a line on the map with his jade axe, made the boundary of his domain.

"The Sui River is probably the upper part of the Chin-sha Chiang which flows around the borders of Li-chiang. The people crossing the Ta-tu Ho use bamboo ropes, therefore they call it *Tso*. Those crossing the Chin-sha Chiang use a *sheng* 繩 (hemp rope), hence the name Sheng Shui.

"The Sheng River is also called the Sui River [*Sui* is also read *Hsi*]. This, he states, seems to be proven by the history of Li-chiang which was known during the T'ang dynasty as the Yüeh-hsi chao 越析詔. The character *hsi* 析 is similar in sound to the character *sui* 嶲 or to the sound of the character 徙 *hsi*. In the *Shih Chi* 史記, ch. 116, fol. 1b, it states that Hsi-tso tu 徙笮都 was the largest of the 10 tribal kingdoms.[37]

"The character *hsi* 徙 is but another way of writing the character *sui* 嶲 but the character *hsi* 析 is an erroneous one.

"This would surely indicate that the Yüeh-sui 越嶲 is the Sheng-sui 繩嶲, (that is, the Yangtze).

"All the territory south-west of Hsü fu 敍府 may be called Sui 嶲, nevertheless the region to the north of the Yangtze is the inner Sui. And as all the different districts called Tso, Chiung-tu 邛都, and T'ai-teng were once subordinate to the military Chiao-yü 校尉 of Mao-niu, they were called Sui. To the south of the Yangtze is the territory of Li-chiang. Why should it be called Sui? It would be better called Yüeh 越.

"In the Han dynasty there were the various towns and districts of Tso-tu, Ta-tso and Ting-tso. Tso-tu is the present Ch'ing-hsi, Ta-tso is said to be the present Mien-ning 冕寧, but it really is the land of Mu-li and Kua-pieh of the hsien of Yen-yüan, while Ting-tso is on the border of Sui.

"The word *Tso* was not only applied to the rope used to cross the rivers but because of its use by the aborigines the latter were also called Tso together with the land they dwelt in. Hence it is stated that Tso are the aborigines, Sui is a river, and Yüeh has reference to the remoteness of Sui. The meaning implied is that of the characters *mai* 邁 and *yao* 遙 (to surpass, to exceed, remote).

"The land of Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao or Kingdom, and all the So, as Tso-so, Yu-so, etc., of Yen-yüan belonged to the Mo-so Kingdom. Li-chiang lies within the river boundaries of the Sui (Yangtze) 嶲水 while all the rivers of Yen-yüan flow into the Sui Shui.[38]

[37] Hsi-tso, according to the same work, comprised two kingdoms. Hsi hsien 徙縣 was in Shu 蜀 (Ssu-ch'uan), Tso hsien 笮縣 was in Yüeh-sui. Tso chou was originally outside the borders of Hsi Shu 西蜀 (Western Shu), and was called the Miao Ch'iang Sui 羌嶲. It was the Ya chou Chiung-lai Shan 雅州邛崍山; originally it was called Chiung-tso Shan 邛筰山 and was the border of the ancient Chiung and Tso people.

According to the *Ya chou fu chih*, ch. 2, fol. 42b, this mountain is five li north of the district of Ch'ing-hsi 清溪縣. The road over it is a very difficult one.

[38] This is indirectly correct for most of the streams flow into the Li-t'ang River, the latter into the Ya-lung, and it in turn flows into the Yangtze.

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173 101 "Li-chiang was the Mo-so chao (Kingdom) and all the So 所 of Yen-yüan were called Mo-so, therefore Li-chiang and Yen-yüan are like one family.

"Others consider the Ta-tu Ho as the Sui Chiang 瀘江, but this cannot be, for that river is too remote from the district; others make the Mien-ning Ho 冕寧河 the Jo Shui, but the Jo Shui cannot possibly be so small as the Mien-ning Ho. The Sui Shui must be the Sheng Shui (Yangtze) and the Jo Shui the Ya-lung River."

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CHAPTER II

The Eight Mo-so Chieftaincies in South-West Ssu-ch'uan

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The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜別 T'u-ssu in the north, near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 草苴蘆,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

1. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

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S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 穆沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner).* — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

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whereupon he received an official seal and Imperial letters patent appointing him as the ruler of Kua-pieh. 173

"Chi Chio-pu 己角補 was the eldest son of P'o 迫 by his first wife. In the 55th year of K'ang-hsi (1716) he succeeded his father as T'u-ssu. In the fifth year of Yung-cheng (1727) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the Fan [Hsi-fan] brigands of Yü-o 魚窩 he acquired merit, and was rewarded with 300 taels of silver. In the 11th year (1733) he again joined the Imperial army, attacking the Fan bandits of Erh-ssu 兒斯. He captured the rebel Wu-sha-chia 烏沙甲 and more than 10 bandits. He was granted more than 600 taels of silver and promoted to a higher official rank.

"Chi Lien-kuei 己聯貴, the eldest son of Pu 補 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 25th year of Ch'ien-lung (1760).

"Chi Shao-hsien 已紹先, the eldest son of Kuei 貴 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (1770).

"Chi Kuang-tsung 己光宗, the eldest son of Hsien 先 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).[3]

"Chi Kuo-fu 己國富, eldest son of Tsung 宗 by his first wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Chia-ch'ing (1815). In the 23rd year of Tao-kuang (1843) he joined the Imperial army and by attacking the brigand chief Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒 he acquired merit, and received the *Lan-ling* 藍翎 [Blue plume, a raven's feather conferred as a reward for services upon officials below the sixth grade. GILES, No. 6732].

"In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan 張大脚板 (Chang with the big feet) of Yün-nan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he was ordered by the government to lead his troops to exterminate them. He then received the peacock's feather instead of the former Blue Plume. In the 11th year (1861) the brigand leader Ma Jung-hsien 馬榮先 and his followers burned and looted Mien-hua-ti 棉花地 in the district of Yen-yüan. Fu joined the Imperial army and by subjugating the brigands he acquired merit and was promoted to the second official rank. In the third year of T'ung-chih (1864) he retired from his official post.

"Chi T'ien-hsi 己天錫 was the eldest son of Fu 富 by his first wife. In the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865) he succeeded to his father's position. In the sixth year (1867) he led his own troops to build defense works and to exterminate the Yün-nan bandits. On this account the Emperor conferred on him the honorific title of Pa-t'u-lu 巴圖魯 (Strong and brave; [*Baturu* is a decoration rewarded for military prowess and bestowed only on such as already have the peacock's feather]).

"Chi T'ing-liang 己廷樑, son of the brother of Hsi 錫, succeeded to his uncle's position in the 15th year of Kuang-hsü 光緒 (1889).[4]

[3] He is the An-fu-ssu (Pacification Commissioner) mentioned in the second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816).

[4] It was this T'u-ssu who was murdered with his entire family, excepting his eldest son, by the Lo-lo of Kua-pieh in January, 1924.

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2. MA-LA 馬喇

101 Although the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu 馬喇副長官司 or Deputy senior native official of Ma-la[5] and his subjects do not belong to the Mo-so tribe but to the Tai or Shan whom the Chinese designate as Pa-i 擺夷, the territory is here included as it adjoins the So 所 of Yen-yüan. It seems strange that sandwiched in as it were among Mo-so we should here find the Tai or Shan (Pa-i) so far north. The compiler of the Yen-yüan District Records calls them P'o 獘, which is simply another nomenclature for this tribe. They are not to be confused with the Pai-jen 白人 or Pai-i 白夷 (White barbarians) of the ancient Pai-tzu Kuo, now known as Min-chia and who were the T'u-jen 土人, or aborigines, of the Nan-chao Kingdom.

In the *Yen-yüan hsien chih* it states that in the land of Tso there were three tribes, namely, the P'o, Hsi-fan and Mo-so. The P'o are claimed to be the descendants of the Yü-hsüeh Ch'iang 禹穴羌.[6]

"They are known as the most benevolent of tribes, hence the character P'o 獘, the radical of which is *jen* 人 (man) has been selected [in contradistinction to the dog radical 犭 which is commonly used in tribal names].

That they are the descendants of the Ch'iang of Yü-hsüeh is rather far-fetched, for the Ch'iang belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock to which the P'o or Pa-i do certainly not belong.

131 The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 200, fol. 5b, states that during the Han dynasty they dwelt at P'o-chou tien 叵剫甸, and in the T'ang dynasty at Pu-hsiung 步雄 and Hsi-o 鼷鼠. The former is the present Chiang-ch'uan hsien 江川縣 of Ch'eng-chiang fu 澂江府; the latter is the present Hsi-o hsien of Lin-an fu 臨安府. Hsi is also the name of a mountain in the south of Yün-nan.

"The subordinate magistracy of Ma-la is 350 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is 60 li east of Ma-la at K'a-so-ching 卡所箐 and adjoins the border of Chung-so. The southern border is marked by a stone tablet and is 60 li distant, adjoining the territory of the T'u-ssu Kao 高 of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The western border is at Lo-k'o-ngai 羅可崖 50 li distant and adjoins the territory of the Chang 章 T'u-ssu of Yung-pei, Yün-nan. The northern border is at Chi-lo-ching 吉樂箐, a distance of 70 li,

[5] In the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-yi k'ao* (see p. 437 n. 3) pp. 36b–37a. there is also mentioned a Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu, 瓦剌長官司. His territory lay 350 li south-west of the Yen-ching garrison. It relates that the family name of the native official was A 阿 and that the first ancestor of the family was a native of that place. In the Hung-wu era (1368–1398) he returned to allegiance, assisted with the revenue and acquired merit whereupon he was given the rank of Chang-kuan which his sons and grandsons inherited. He paid 150 piculs of food supplies which were allotted to the garrison. His territory adjoined Pei-sheng chou (now Yung-sheng hsien the former Yung-pei) in Yün-nan. At the time of the composing of the above records the Wa-la Chang-kuan-ssu's name was A Sung 阿嵩. On a map accompanying the text, the Ma-la Chang-kuan-ssu is to the north-west of Yen-ching wei.

[6] Yü-hsüeh is the name of a defile in the Wu mountains 巫山 which gives passage to the waters of the Yangtze. The mountain is east of Wu-shan hsien 巫山縣 in Ssu-ch'uan. The waters of the Yangtze pass east through the gorges of the Wu Mountains (*Chia-ch'ing I-t'ung chih*, ch. 397, fol. 6b).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

adjoining the Chung-so boundary. The entire circumference of the Ma-la territory is 240 li, or from north to south 130 li and from east to west 110 li.[7]

"The tribe inhabiting this territory and subject to the Ma-la chief numbers 125 households, composed of 411 people.

"The Ma-la chief pays taxes in kind, namely 40 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. Only one tribe inhabits this territory, namely, the Pa-i or Shan. Their natural disposition is pure-minded and honest. The clothing of the men and women is the same as that of the Chinese. In case they are involved in a lawsuit, they are judged by their local official."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ed. 1733, ch. 19, fols. 50a-b, the Ma-la territory extends east to the land Pa-hei 巴黑地, south to the borders of San-ma-la 三馬喇, west to the district of Lang-chü, and north to Mi-to 簏多.

The second edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1816), ch. 97, fol. 19a, states that the Ma-la territory extends east to Nan-teng-teng 南鄧鄧 60 li to the borders of the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; south to the mountain called Kai-p'ai Shan 界牌山,[8] 75 li adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Kao 高 T'u-ssu; west 40 li to Lo-k'o-ngai adjoining the border of the territory belonging to the Yün-nan Chang T'u-ssu; north 90 li to Chi-lo-chai 吉落寨 (stockaded village), adjoining the Chung-so T'u-ssu territory.

Genealogy of the Ma-la Fu Chang-kuan-ssu (Senior native deputy official.) — According to the Yen-yüan Records his first ancestor was called A Shih-hsün 阿世勳 and was the first deputy official of Ma-la. He himself belonged to the Pa-i tribe. In the 16th year of Ch'ing Shun-chih 順治 (1659) he submitted to the empire, whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in and administer the affairs of the Ma-la territory.[9]

"A Shih-chung 阿世忠, younger brother of Hsün 勳 by the same mother, succeeded to the position in the sixth year of K'ang-hsi (1667). [The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 states that A Shih-chung submitted in the 19th year of K'ang-hsi (1680).]

"A Feng-ch'ien 阿鳳謙, the eldest son of Chung's 忠 legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of K'ang-hsi (1699). [The 1733 edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* states the 22nd year or 1683, and further says that his ancestors administered hereditarily the affairs of Ma-la

[7] The Yen-yüan Records state that the Chou-wei 周圍 (circumference) of the Ma-la territory is 240 li; this is not correct for it actually represents the diameter; 130 li from north to south and 110 li from east to west. This is, however, the Chinese way of expressing the circumference of a territory.

[8] There is a Kai-p'ai-p'u-p'u 界牌鋪舖 (Guard station of Kai-p'ai) which is 80 li east of Yen-yüan hsien.

[9] The name of A Shih-hsün does not appear in either of the editions of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* nor does the entire genealogy, which has apparently been compiled from the personal family records of the Ma-la T'u-ssu.

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173 prior to the Ming dynasty, that is, before 1368. He was given a diploma [but neither seal nor letters patent] appointing him Chan-kuan-ssu (Senior native official), not deputy or *Fu* as given in the other Records].

"A Heng 阿衡, the first legal grandchild of Ch'ien, succeeded his grandfather in the 14th year of Ch'ien-lung (1749).

"A Chi-ch'ang 阿際昌, eldest son of Heng's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788).

"A Hui-chien 阿繪健, eldest son of Ch'ang's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814).

"A Wen-chu 阿文鑄, eldest son of Chien's legal wife, succeeded to his father's position in the 13th year of Tao-kuang (1833).

"A Wu-i 阿武毅, eldest son of Chu's legal wife, succeeded his father in the seventh year of Hsien-feng (1857).

"A Wu-ching 阿武經, younger brother of I by the same mother, succeeded to his brother's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The T'u-ssu resides at the village of Hsin-ts'un-chai 新村寨. In the 14th year of Tao-kuang (1834) a census was carried out to ascertain the number of inhabitants of the various military stations under Yen-yüan. The Ma-la territory at that time had 125 families consisting of 411 tribespeople.

3. KU-PO-SHU 古柏樹

131 "Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 (Old cypress tree) is situated 40 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border extends 120 li to Wu-li-p'ai 五里牌,[10] of the village of Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡 adjoining to the territory of Yu-so. The southern border extends 40 li to Ta Ho 大河, adjoining the boundary of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井 (White salt-well).[11] The western border extends to the Tsa-na Mountain 咱那山 and Shu-p'u-o 樹普窩, adjoining the boundary of the Tso-so territory and Mu-li. The northern border extends 90 li to Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, A-po-ku-erh 阿迫古兒, La-chia-o 拉呷窩 and Hei-che Ho 黑者河, adjoining the territory of the Kua-pieh 瓜別 Pacification Commissioner. The circumference of the entire Ku-po-shu territory is 700 li.

651 "The Ch'ien-hu of Ku-po-shu rules over 35 villages inhabited by two tribes, the Mo-so and Hsi-fan. He pays taxes in kind consisting of 26 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat for the rations of the soldiers of the Hui-yen army. In the 19th year of Chia-ch'ing (1814) this district offered to pay an additional tax of four taels silver which was to be paid regularly to the Yen-yüan

[10] Mei-tzu-p'u is 175 li east of Yen-yüan. Wu-li-p'ai has reference to a *p'ai* (boundary) tablet five li distant from Mei-tzu-p'u.

[11] Pai-yen-ching is a little mud-walled town with a population of about 10,000 souls all of whom are working at the two brine wells which lie in a ravine to the south of it. The town itself is at the western end of the Yen-yüan plateau. The salt-wells are about 75 feet deep, one being small and the other large. The brine is raisd by buckets at the end of bamboo rods worked by hand. The salt is mostly exported to the Chien-ch'ang 建昌 valley by mule transport. Yen-ching prides itself on its mosque [a miserable building] of more or less recent construction. Prior to the Moslem rebellion there were three mosques, but these were destroyed by the Chinese. The present day Mohammedan population of Yen-ching consists of 45 families.

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PLATE 241. — BU-CHÈR, THE YUNG-NING BONELESS PIG

永寧豬巴肉 (無骨豬)

They are often kept for ten years and are used as mattresses for that length of time, before being eaten. Horizontal slices are cut as from a loaf of bread; these, with butter or cheese, serve as New Year gifts to the lamas and peasants from the Yung-ning chiefs.

[p. 458 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

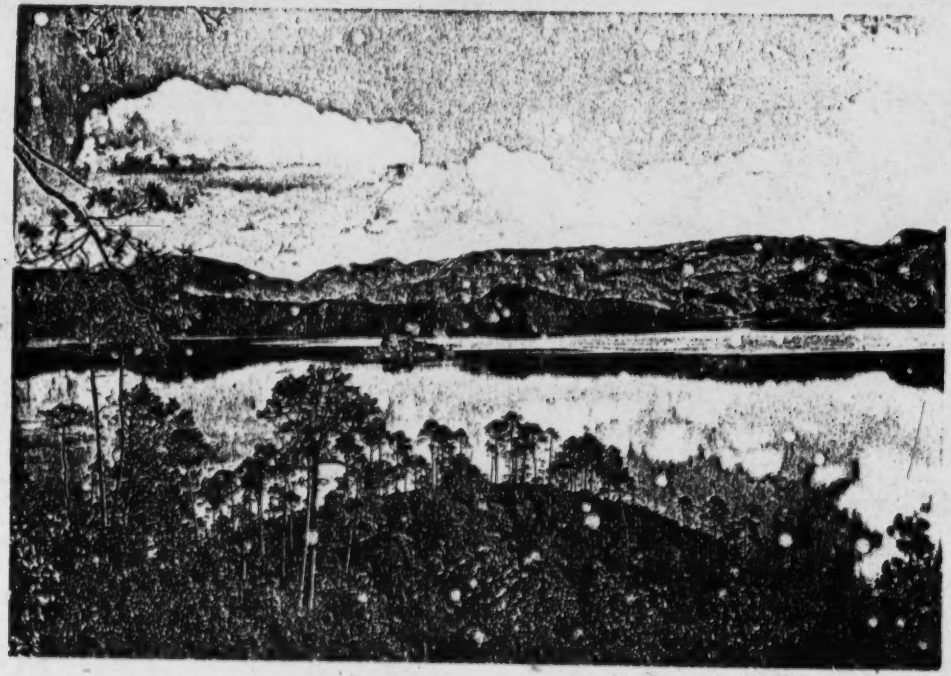
PLATE 242. — A LO-LO FROM WU-CHIO VILLAGE

木裏島角彌撒農夫

Many Lo-lo villages are distributed through southern Mu-li. They behave in Mu-li territory, but often leave their villages to rob elsewhere.

[p. 458 B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 243.—THE YUNG-NING LAKE WITH THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

永寧瀘沽湖望東面，湖中木窠島

Looking east from the pine covered hills encircling the west shore of the lake. Beyond Nyo-ro-p'u is the long peninsula called T'u-bbu; separated from the latter by a channel is the island of Hle-wu-be. The mountains in the distance (center) are in Tso-so land. Ssu-ch'uan.

[p. 458 c]

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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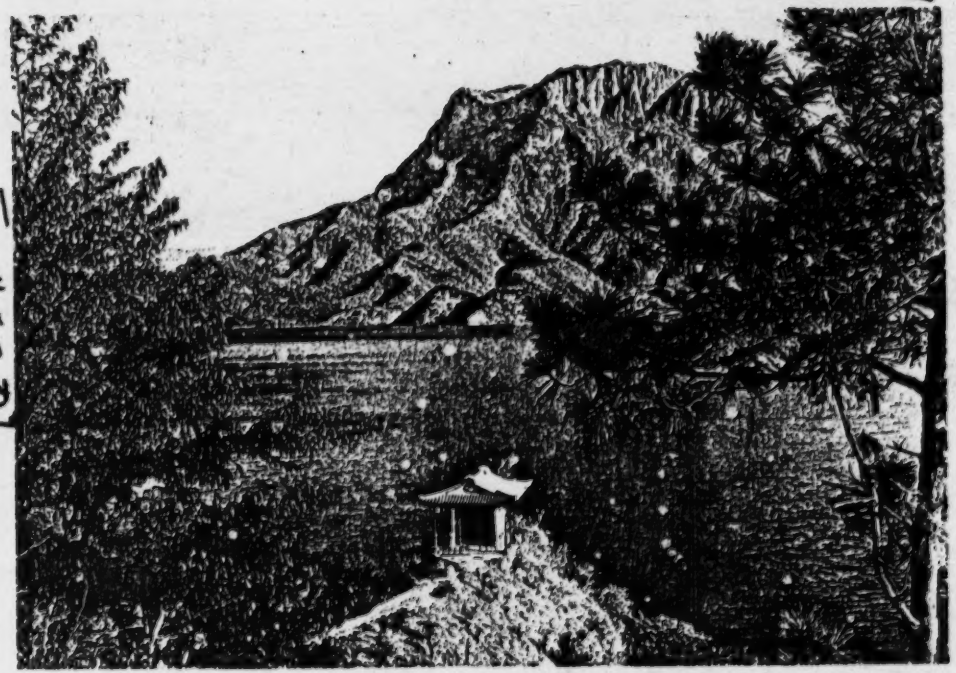

PLATE 244.—VIEW OF LION-HEAD MOUNTAIN FROM THE CENTER OF NYO-RO-P'U

自永寧瀘沽湖水藥島望獅頭山景

On the northern end of Nyo-ro-p'u is a lovely tea-house whence a beautiful vista opens over the lake to Lion-head. Here the author spent many happy weeks translating Na-khi literature.

[p. 458 D]

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776

PLATE 245.—LION MOUNTAIN GODDESS SENG-GE GA-MU

永寧獅子山山女神書圖

She rides a hind and is patroness of Yung-ning. From a Tibetan painting made in Lha-sa. To the left, near her hand holding a flute, is Lion Mountain; lower left, Yung-ning lake with two ducks. Above her in center is Amitabha.

[p. 458 E]

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778

PLATE 246. — SENG-GE GA-MU'S SHRINE ON NYO-RO-P'U

永寧道沽湖水葉島上獅子山神壇

In the little window of the shrine is a picture of the goddess. Pine branches are burned as offering to her every morning and evening in the little furnace, while a lama strikes the gong suspended from the tree. Prayer flags flutter from under the roof of the shrine which is situated in the center of Nyo-ro-p'u.

[p.458-F]

2: Rock R.5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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PLATE 247.— THE ABBOT OF THE TSO-SO BÖN LAMASERY

四川左所黑喇嘛塔伟

He is the brother of the Tso-so T'u-ssu. Only Tso-so land has adhered to the Bön sect. The lamasery, like the whole country, is in a terrible state of neglect.

[p. 458-G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF96
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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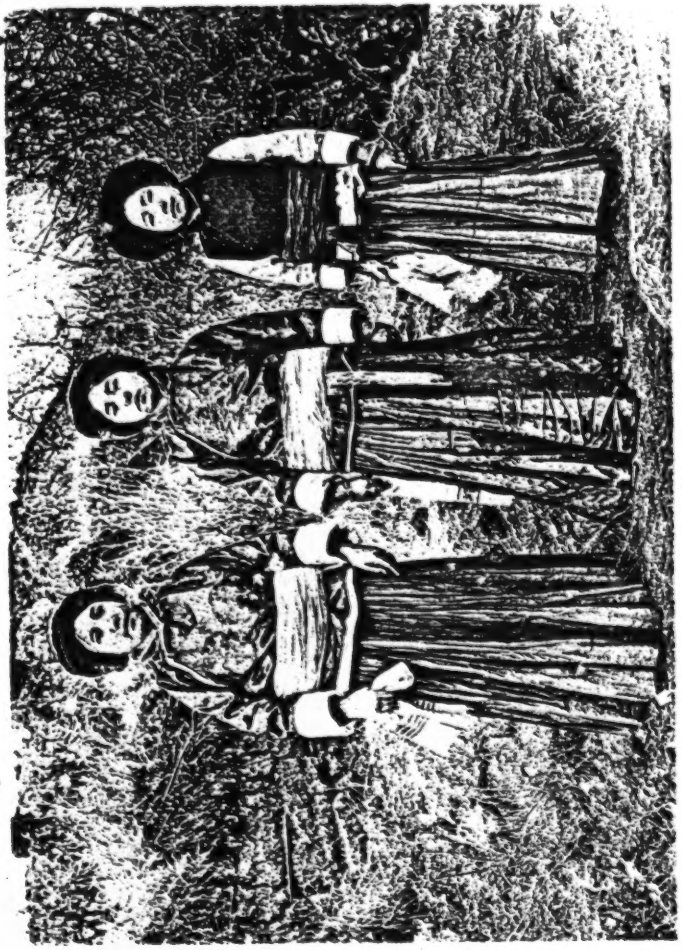

PLATE 248. — HEI-KHIN LADIES OF THE TSO-SO LA T'U-SSU FAMILY

四川左所土司黑氏夫人

The women alone of the Tso-so T'u-ssu family show refinement. Like their sisters of Yung-ning they wear long pleated skirts.

[p. 458 H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

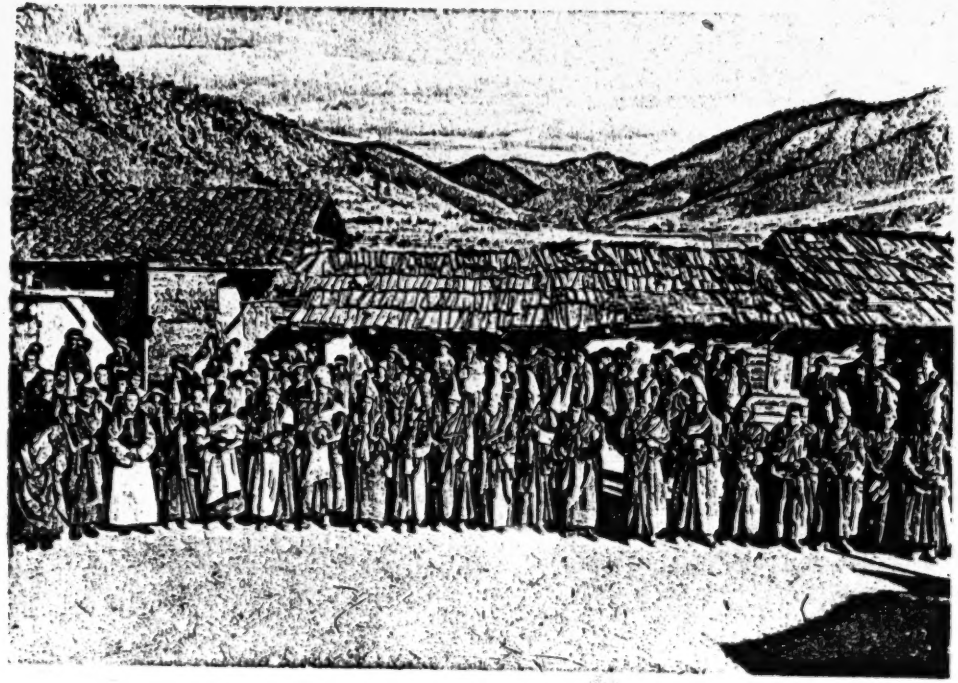

PLATE 249. — TSO-SO BÖN LAMAS GATHERED FOR THE DANCE

四川左所黑喇嘛開教會

Once a year the Bön Lamas of Tso-so celebrate the Ta-lha festival which ends in a religious dance. Unlike the Yellow sect they wear a peculiar cornucopia-like ceremonial hat of various colors.

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[p.458-I]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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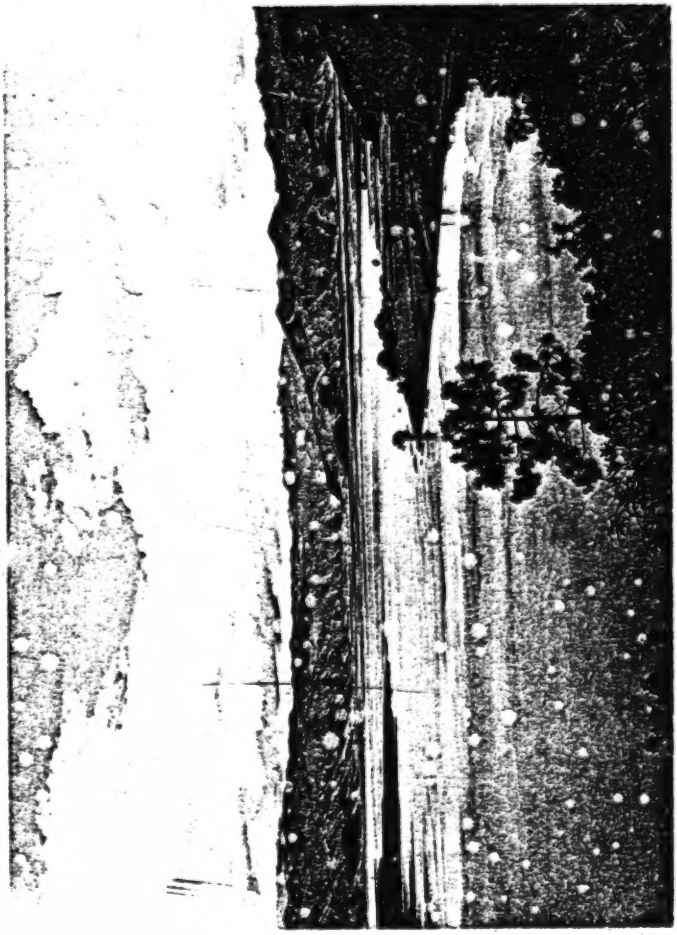


(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

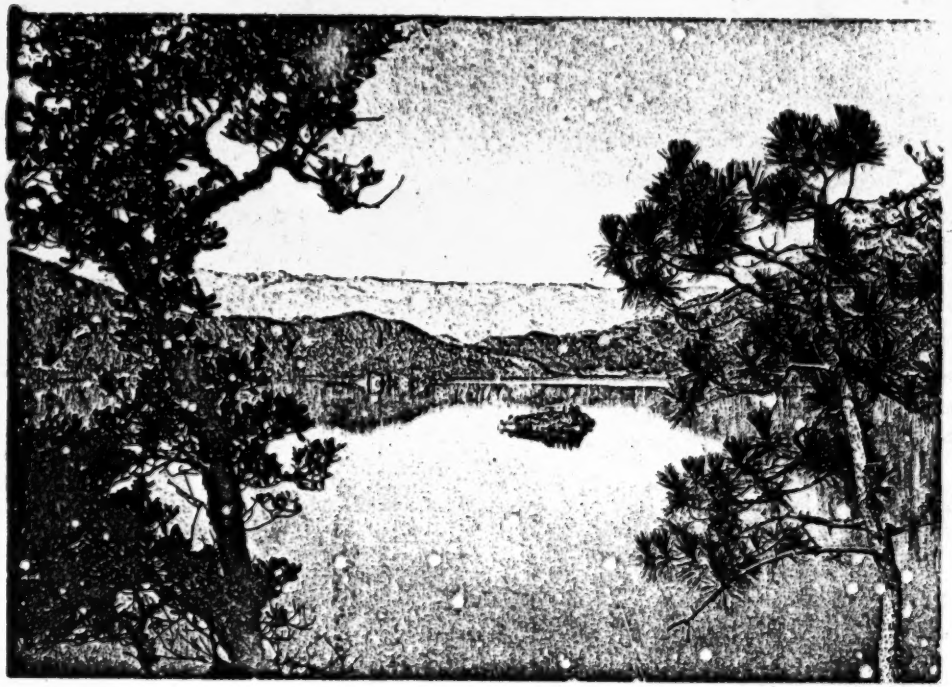
PLATE 250.—THE SOUTHEASTERN END OF YUNG-NING LAKE

永寧湖東南端的景象

The outlet of the lake is through the broad valley in the Tso-so mountains in the distance. The little village on the lake shore beyond the first bay is in Yün-nan. Pines in foreground.

[p.458-J]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 251. — YUNG-NING LAKE AND NYO-RO-P'U ISLAND AS SEEN FROM THE T'U-BBU PENINSULA

自永寧渣洁湖上布牛島望西面，湖中水柔島

Looking west from T'u-bbu, Nyo-ro-p'u appears like a majestic liner floating on a calm sea. Left Oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*; right *Pinus yünnanensis*.

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Cp. 458-K]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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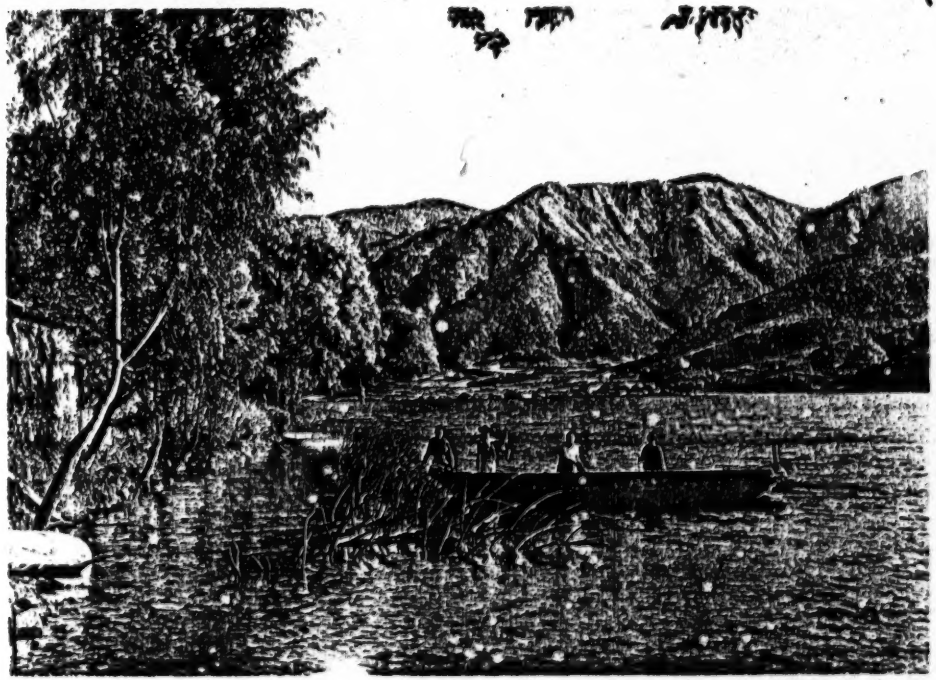

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 252. — LANDING ON THE WEST SHORE OF THE ISLAND OF NYO-RO-P'U

永寧水藻島西岸

The lake is alive with fish, some of them poisonous. Pine trees have been sunk around the island to prevent landing of enemies. The village of Ta-lo-shui in middle distance.

[p. 458-L]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 253. — WIFE OF THE LATE TSUNG-KUAN WITH HER CHILDREN

永寧故總管阿雲山妻

The little boy in her arms is the last born and was declared the incarnation of a Dre-pung Lama. She wears a brilliant Paris-green skirt, a red sash, and a jacket of blue brocade with golden yellow sleeves. In her hair she wears cornelian, ivory and coral beads.

[p. 458 - M]

1932
[p. 458 N]
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PLATE 254. — LU-ZO THE LAST-BORN SON OF THE LATE YUNG-NING TSUNG-KUAN

永寧總管小兒祿卓活佛

In 1931 Lha-sa authorities declared him an incarnation of a high lama of Dre-pung Monastery. The name of his incarnation is mKhan-sprul-blo-bzang-ye-shes-bstan-bdsin-dbang-phyug. He was preliminarily installed in the Yung-ning Lamasery on February 11th, 1932.

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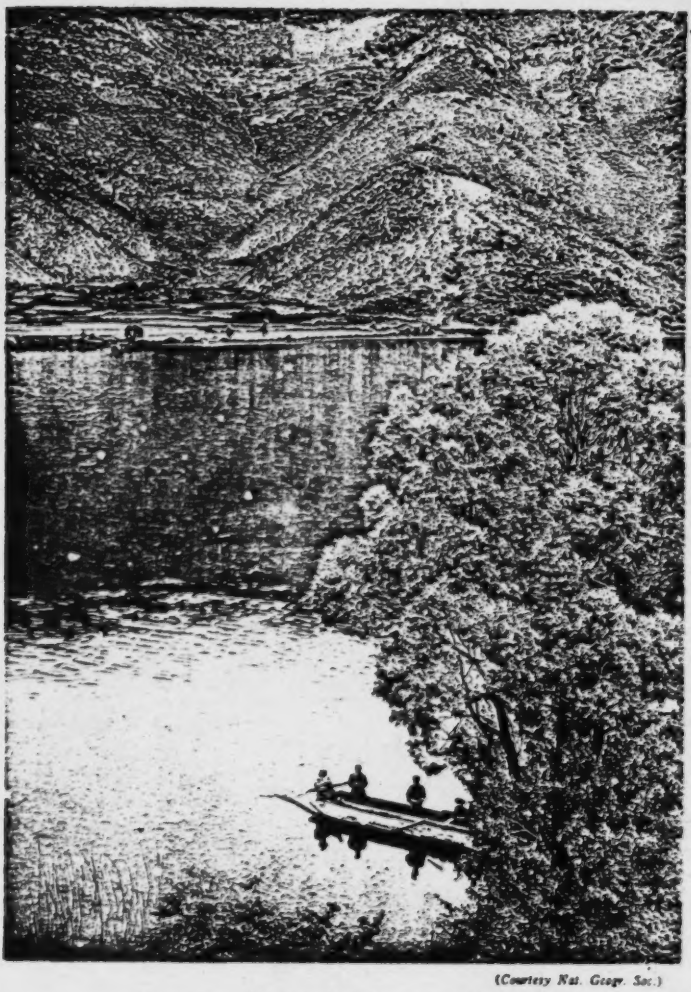

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 255. — VIEW FROM THE ISLAND OF A-NA-WA

[illegible]

A-na-wa Island belongs to the Lama Kingdom of Mu-li as does the shore opposite visible in the picture. Willow tree in foreground.

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PLATE 256.—HSI-FAN (CH'RA-ME) PEASANTS OF DSHI-ZHI IN MU-LI

木裏四番農家

They are oppressed by the lamas, and dare not look up in the presence of superiors. The men wear no trousers but, like the women, wear striped skirts woven of yak hair, the men's skirts have horizontal, those of the women longitudinal stripes. They are forbidden to wear shoes.

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65/ hsien. He also ruled over two native chiefs: one of whom resided at A-sa 阿撒,[12] and the other at Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao 祿馬六槽." [13]

131 The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, edition of 1816, ch. 97, fol. 19 a-b, states that his territory extends 120 li east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho, adjoining the Chinese territory of the sub-magistracy of Ho-hsi 河西 and Yen-chung 鹽中 of Yen-yüan hsien. The southern border extends also to the Yen-yüan district, a distance of 40 li; west to Tsa-na Shan 90 li to the Mu-li border. The northern border extends to Ku-erh 古耳, and the Hei-che Ho 90 li to the Kua-pieh territory.

173 *Imperial audiences and tribute.* — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the first-class chiefs of the aborigines were for the first time commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, accompanied by native leaders, took with him the following articles of tribute: Four small boxes of *ch'ang-pu* 菖蒲 [the rhizomes of *Acorus calamus* var. *vulgaris* L. which grows in swampy places in this region], weighing 12 catties; four *fu-ling* 茯苓 [commonly known as China-root, a species of fungus *Pachyma pinetorum* growing from the roots of pines, and used medicinally by the Chinese] weighing 40 catties; four bear galls weighing six taels; two pairs of snake galls weighing ⅕ of a tael; four wooden bowls weighing eight taels [made from the cancroid growth of maple trees (*Acer*); these growths are rather rare and highly priced for the turning of Tibetan tea-bowls; they are exceedingly light and beautifully mottled; the finest are worth 50 silver dollars apiece]; four bundles of Tibetan incense (*tsang-hsiang* 藏香) weighing one catty, four pockets of musk [from the musk-deer *Moschus moschatus* and *M. chrysogaster*]; four leopard skins weighing 16 catties; four foxskins weighing three catties. All these articles were offered to the Emperor, who rewarded him with a dark-blue colored button to be worn on his hat, a ceremonial robe, and a suit with official badges, a necklace and other objects. In the first moon of the 50th year of Ch'ien-lung (February 9th-March 10th, 1785) he returned to his native village to assume his official duties. Whenever he was ordered to attend the Imperial audience he either went to Peking in person or sent his representative. He was always rewarded by the Emperor with excellent gifts."

Genealogy of the Ku-po-shu T'u Ch'ien-hu (Chiliarch). — "Lang Chün-wei 郎俊位 was the first Chiliarch of Ku-po-shu. He himself belonged to the Mo-so tribe. In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) he returned to allegiance whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside at Ku-po-shu.

"Lang San-pao 郎三寶, eldest son of the legal wife of Wei 位, succeeded to his father's position in the second year of Yung-cheng (1724).

[12] This is the A-sa-la T'u-ssu; the name of the present incumbent is Ko Shih-huai 葛世槐, who is subject not to the magistracy of Yen-yüan but to the hsien of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣; his territory is now known as Pi-chü-lu.

[13] The land of the tribes of Lu-ma-liu-ts'ao connects with the territory of Hang-chou-p'u 杭州壩 which is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan hsien.

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M3 "Lang Shih-chung 郎世忠, eldest son of the legal wife of Pao, succeeded to his father's position in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784).

"Lang T'ing-hsi 郎廷璽, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded his father in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing (1809). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling chiliarch of Ku-po-shu].

"Lang T'ing-fang 郎廷芳, son of the brother of Hsi by the legal wife, succeeded to the position in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821).

"Lang Ying-sheng 郎應陞, eldest son of the legal wife of Fang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the 22nd year (1842) on account of his meritorious services rendered in suppressing the brigand Wang Ch'üeh-pa 王缺扒, he was rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume. In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) when the Yün-nan brigand chief Chang Ta-chio-pan assembled a large band and disturbed the peace, he joined the Imperial troops to attack Chang. After the expedition he was rewarded with the peacock's feather. In the 10th year of Hsien-feng (1860) the Yün-nan brigand Ma Jung-hsien and others escaped and disturbed the peace at Mien-hua-ti in the district of Yen-yüan. On account of his meritorious services in that campaign the Emperor promoted him to the third official rank.

"Lang Ch'ao-ting 郎朝鼎, eldest son of the legal wife of Sheng, succeeded to his father's position in the 10th year of T'ung-chih (1871).

"Lang Jui-lin 郎瑞麟, eldest son of the legal wife of Ting." [He was apparently T'u-ssu at the time of the compiling of the Yen-yüan Records; no further notes as to his assumption of office, etc., are given.] The present Ku-po-shu native chiliarch is Lang Chih-pang 郎治邦.

The Ku-po-shu census of 1834 revealed a population of 585 households consisting of 1,461 tribespeople.

4. HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE SO KUO

"Of the So Kuo 所國, the first to be established were the Chung and Tso which formed one *So*. Now they are divided into five *So* and are known as the Wu-so, subject to the magistracy of Yen-yüan, formerly called the Yen-ching wei. In the T'ang dynasty it was the Sha-yeh ch'eng 沙野城 whose old remnants are the present military transport circuit-post of Sha-p'ing 沙平. In the Yüan dynasty it was the territory of Lu chou 瀘州 in the Chien-ch'ang Circuit" [14] (*Yen-yüan hsien chih*).

5. CHUNG-SO 中所

"The seat of the chief of Chung-so [15] is 100 li from the district town of Yen-yüan.

[14] The now obsolete Lu chou was 25 li south-west of Ning-yüan fu, the present-day Hsi-ch'ang hsien. The savages who dwelt there called it Sha-ch'eng-chien 沙城檢.

[15] The home of the Chung-so chief is situated on the mountain-side above the village of Huang-ts'ao-pa 黃草壩, a distance of 135 li south-west of Yen-yüan hsien and about 60 li from Yen-ching. The mountains around there are inhabited by Lo-lo tribespeople who live in rude pine-log huts. The mountains are covered with pine forest with undergrowth of *Rhododendron decorum*.

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"The eastern border of Chung-so extends to the A-kuo Ho 阿果河, a distance of 15 li, adjoining the border of Pai-yen-ching 白鹽井; the southern border extends to the village of No-lung 糯弄, adjoining the boundary of the Yün-nan district of Ta-yao, a distance of 400 li; to the west the border extends to the summit of the Ko-na-ssu Mountains 格納思山, a distance of 100 li, adjoining the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district. To the north the border extends to the banks of the Ta Ho, 大河 a distance of 60 li, adjoining the territory of the Tso-so native chiliarch. The circumference of the entire Chung-so territory is 575 li.[16] The chief controls 50 villages inhabited by native tribes [I-min 夷民]. [Lo-lo, Mo-so and Hsi-fan are here meant.] 173

"The Chung-so Ch'ien-hu pays taxes in kind amounting to 19 *tan* [piculs] of buckwheat. This is forwarded to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In addition he pays a land improvement tax of 15.66 taels' silver to the magistrate of Yen-yüan."

According to the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1733) the borders of Chung-so extend east to A-ko 阿各 (the edition of 1816 states A-ko Ho or A-ko Stream); south to Sa-che 撒者; west to the border of Ku-mu 古木; north to Mi-i 迷易.[17]

"He controls 820 households of tribespeople [the edition of 1816 states, 485 families].

Imperial tribute and rewards. — "In the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784) the second-class native chiefs of the aborigines were commanded to have audience with the Emperor. Thereupon La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相 went to Peking in person and took with him the following articles of tribute: A brass Buddha sitting on a silver throne and weighing 8.10 taels, five *Ha-ta* 哈達 [the Tibetan Khatag (written Kha-btags)],[18] weighing two catties; five China-roots [*Fu-ling*] weighing 27 catties and 8 taels; five boxes of *Ch'ang-p'u* (*Acorus* roots) weighing five catties; five foxskins weighing 4 catties; five bear galls weighing 7.7 taels, and five pockets of musk weighing 3.15 taels. These articles he presented to the Emperor, who honoured him with the button of the fourth rank. Hereafter when commanded to have audi-

[16] *See* note 7 on page 457.

[17] At Mi-i there is a native chiliarch whose family name is An 安. His ancestor was An Wen 安文 who also submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi. This chiliarch resides and rules over a district called Li-ch'i chou 蠡溪州 under the prefecture of Hui-li.

The *Ming Shih*, ch. 311, fol. 16a, states that the native official Ch'ien-hu of Mi-i was called Hsien 賢. His first ancestor was a native of Ching-tung 景東, Yün-nan, and belonged to the P'o tribe 婆種. The above is also recorded in the *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of Ming Wan-li (1573–1620). But it adds that the name of his distant ancestor was A 阿 and that the latter possessed no fields in Ching-tung. He lead his tribesmen and migrated to Mi-i where they possessed themselves of fields and stayed. In the 16th year of Hung-wu (1383) he followed the army, attacked and advanced on Tung-ch'uan and Mang-pu where he killed the robbers. Having thereby acquired merit he then submitted and left for the capital where the Emperor appointed him hereditary assistant chiliarch of Mi-i-so.

[18] Presentation or salutation scarfs made of silk; the longest and best are presented to high officials; they carry respect according to their quality, color and length.

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173 ence, he either went himself or sent his representatives and was always rewarded with precious gifts.[19]

Genealogy of the Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La Jui-lin 喇瑞麟 returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent and ordered him to reside in Chung-so and administer its affairs as the native Ch'ien-hu. He belonged to the Mo-so tribe.

"La Chün-jung 喇君榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Lin, succeeded to his father's position in the 15th year of Ch'ien-lung (1750).

"La Yung-chung 喇用中, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 20th year of Ch'ien-lung (1755).

"La T'ing-hsiang 喇廷相, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"La Ying-han 喇英翰, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsiang, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Chia-ch'ing (1804). [He is mentioned in the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1816 as the ruling T'u-ssu of Chung-so.] In the first year of Tao-kuang (1821) he was ordered to join the punitive expedition against the Yün-nan wild tribes. He was afterwards rewarded with the fourth class official button.

"La Wen-ch'ing 喇文清, eldest son of the legal wife of Han, succeeded to his father's position in the third year of Tao-kuang (1823). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) the Yün-nan bandit chief Chang Ta-chio-pan and his followers disturbed the peace. He led his own militia, pursued the brigands and helped exterminate them all, whereupon the Emperor rewarded him with the peacock plume.

"La Pang-tso 喇邦佐, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ing, succeeded to his father's position in the first year of T'ung-chih (1862). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) the Yün-nan brigands besieged Yen-yüan, whereupon he led his own soldiers, raised defence works and helped to exterminate the bandits. The Emperor thereupon conferred on him the additional rank of Brigadier-General.

"La Shu-t'ung 喇淑統, nephew of Tso. He was appointed as the rightful heir and succeeded to his uncle's position. [No date is given of his assuming the office of Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so.]

"The present (1940) Ch'ien-hu of Chung-so is La Ch'eng-chieh 喇成傑.

"In the Chung-so territory are two stockaded villages of importance. One is called Shui-tz'u-wa-chai 水次凹寨 and the other Ch'e-ch'iu-chai 扯邱寨. Another village is called La-t'a-chai 喇踏寨.

[19] The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* p. 38a states: The Chung-so T'u-ch'ien-hu's family name is La 劄; his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He submitted to the Imperial rule and extirpating the brigands he acquired merit and received the hereditary rank of Assistant Chiliarch. In previous years he paid tribute in horses and received the Imperial command to remain at his post and lend assistance to the postal courier. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan and was repeatedly raided. The land originally under his jurisdiction was narrow and closely hemmed in. There were barely a hundred tribesmen and their position was isolated and weak, but they defended themselves energetically. The present resident (written in the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty [1573–1620]) La Shu-tsu 劄述圖 continues the clan according to the law of inheritance.

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"The census of 1834 held in the Chung-so territory revealed a population of 485 households composed of 1,283 tribespeople." 173

6. TSO-SO 左所

"The seat of the T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so 左所土千戶 is 240 li distant from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border is formed by the Mountain Sha-ta-wa-t'a-erh (Shan) 沙打回塔耳山 and adjoins the boundary of the district of Yen-yüan, a distance of 400 li. The southern border is at Pa-ch'iu 巴邱 and adjoins the border of the Yün-nan Lang-ch'ü district, a distance of 120 li. The western border adjoins the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory distant 30 li. The northern border adjoins the border of the Pacification Commissioner's territory of Kua-pieh 120 li [and also that of Mu-li]. The entire territory has a circumference of 670 li, extending from north to south 240 li and from east to west 430 li.

"He rules over 1,001 families of tribespeople [who are mostly Mo-so, or, to be correct, Hli-khin or Lü-khi, a branch of the Na-khi, also Lo-lo and Hsi-fan].

"The Tso-so chief pays taxes in kind amounting to 70 *tan* of buckwheat. This is delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. He controls also the native chief of Pi-chü-lu. The latter place is also known as Nan-yang-chai 南陽寨."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* pp. 37a–37b relates of the Tso-so territory as follows:

"The family of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch) is La 剌, his distant ancestor La-t'a 剌他 was a native of that place. In the 25th year of the period Hung-wu (1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and Chia-ha-la planned a revolt but were reduced to submission. La-t'a returned allegiance, established a great army at Yen-ching wei and repeatedly attacked the robbers; he acquired merit and pacified the people.

The second generation ancestor La-ma-fei went in audience with the Emperor and paid tribute in horses which he sent to the capital. He was thereupon promoted to hereditary Native Assistant chiliarch of Tso-so of Yen-ching wei.

In the 11th year of the period Yung-lo (1413) he was promoted by Imperial decree hereditary Cheng Ch'ien-hu, his descendants have inherited the title without interruption. His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou of Yün-nan. He had a strong force of soldiers and horses. Recently (this was written in the Wan-li period [1573–1620]) his territory was seized by the Li-chiang fu native official Mu Wang 木旺 (*see* Page 122). Yung-ning fu also encroached on its borders and appropriated it and the tribesmen agreed to leave. The present resident (Wan-li period *v.s.*) La-ma-kao 剌馬高 in his youth was an orphan and helpless to cope with the situation, but now that he has reached maturity he is rich, brave and shrewd and protects his inheritance."

The Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih (edition 1733) states that the eastern border is at the mouth of the Wo-lo Ho 臥羅河 [a branch of the Ta-ch'ung Ho],

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173 south to the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu of Yün-nan; west to the borders of the territory of Yung-ning, Yün-nan; and north to the border of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu. At the time of the publication of this topography (1733) he ruled over 1,201 households. The Topography published in 1816 states that he rules over 525 households.

The ancestor of the Tso-so T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman, by name La-t'a 喇塔 (also written 他). According to the statement of the present Tso-so chief his first ancestor was called La-ma-t'a 喇馬塔. His territory to this day is called La-t'a and the Yung-ning Lake, the eastern half of which is in his domain, is known to the Mo-so as La-t'a K̨hü (La-t'a Lake).

Under the Mongols and Mings. — Little or nothing is know as to the history of this region prior to the Ming dynasty, save that it was conquered by Kublai Khan in 1253. He left officers in Yung-ning to rule the territory, which then was subject to Yung-ning and the latter in turn subject to the rulers of Li-chiang (*see* History of Yung-ning).

The *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* ch. 74, fol. 17a, states that in the first moon of the 25th year of Hung-wu (January 25th-February 22nd, 1392) Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh 月魯帖木兒, Chia-ha-la 賈哈喇 and the native, La-t'a 喇他 submitted to the empire and obeyed. The *Ming Shih* 明史, ch. 311, fols. 14a-b, states that Chia-ha-la was a Mo-so-tung 麼些洞 native chief. [In the ancient literature of the Mo-so (Na-khi), written in pictographs, it relates of their dwelling in caves]. It was not until towards the close of the period Hung-wu of the first Ming Emperor (1368–1398) that Yün-nan and especially the south-western part of China including the territory in question was subjugated.

It remained a last stronghold of the Mongols. The Yung-ning chiefs to this day pride themselves on their Mongol origin. Female relatives of the Yung-ning chiefs were given in marriage to the aboriginal Mo-so native chiefs of Tso-so, called La-t'a.

The first Tso-so to visit the capital of the Ming empire, then Nanking, was the son of La-t'a or La-ma-t'a, called La-ma-fei 喇馬非. He made his submission and paid tribute. The Ming History relates that when the Imperial troops had captured Chien-ch'ang, Chia-ha-la was appointed a captain. Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, a Mongol military commander, resisted and with his followers tried to stop the advance of the Ming troops who had begun the subjection of the South-west. All his followers were killed, and he escaped to Po-hsing chou [the present-day Yen-yüan hsien], at that time ruled by Chia-ha-la. On the arrival of Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, Chia-ha-la also rebelled. They were pursued by the Imperial troops who had commissioned a certain Pai-hu 百戶 (Centurion) by the name of Mao-hai 毛海 to arrange for their capture. He succeeded not only in capturing Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh, but also his son P'an-po 胖伯. Their followers thereupon made their submission; Yüeh-lu-t'ieh-mu-erh and his son were taken to the capital and executed. Chia-ha-la was also captured and executed because he had also rebelled. This happened in the last (31st) year of Hung-wu (1392). It appears that the Chung-so and Tso-so chiefs also assisted in the capture of

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Chia-ha-la, although it is stated that he was actually captured by Hsü K'ai 徐凱, a military commander. 173

At that time Chung-so and Tso-so had not yet been divided and were under the rule of a T'u-ch'ien-hu whose name was La-wu 剌兀. His son, who went later to pay tribute, was then appointed Fu-ch'ien-hu and not until the 11th year of Yung-lo (1413) did he become officially T'u-ch'ien-hu. Thus the office of the Chung-tso T'u-ch'ien-hu had its beginning in that year. It was shortly afterwards that the Mu family (the chiefs) of Li-chiang encroached on the territory of the *So* and the latter lost about half of their domain.

Genealogy of the Tso-so T'u-ch'ien-hu. — "La shih-ying 喇世英 was the first T'u-ch'ien-hu of Tso-so. He was a Mo-so tribesman and submitted to the Ch'ing dynasty in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710). Thereupon the Emperor issued him letters patent and an official seal and ordered him to reside in the native village of To-she 多舍寨 in Tso-so territory as its native chieftain of one thousand (families).

"La Nan-chung 喇南仲, eldest son of the legal wife of Ying, succeeded to his father's position in the 52nd year of K'ang-hsi (1713). In the 60th year (1721) he joined the Imperial troops to attack the Fan tribes [Hsi-fan, *i.e.*, Mu-li natives of La-ju-o 腊汝窩; the Yung-pei Records write La-jou-o 腊肉窩] and succeeded in capturing the bandit chief Liao-ma-erh-ch'e 了馬兒車. On account of the meritorious service thus rendered he was rewarded with the fourth official rank and the appropriate official robes, plus 150 taels of silver.

"In the third year of Yung-cheng (1725) he again joined the Imperial troops to attack the bandits of Yung-ning in Yün-nan. [The Yung-ning people are neighbors of the Tso-so and belong to the same tribe, yet they have always hated each other and in the various chronicles they call each other bandits.] He succeeded in capturing the bandit leader and 37 of his followers. In the 10th year (1732) he was rewarded with robes and button of the third official rank, also a court dress and cap used in Imperial audience, and a pinto horse.

"La Kuang-yüan 喇光遠, eldest son of the legal wife of Chung, succeeded to his father's position in the 23rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1758).

"La Kuo-yü 喇國玉, first legal grandson of Yüan, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 53rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1788)."

One generation is here apparently missing, namely the father of Te whose name must have been La (?) tsung 喇○宗.

"La Pang-te 喇邦德, eldest son of Tsung 宗, succeeded to his father's position in the eighth year of Hsien-feng (1858). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih the Yün-nan bandits besieged the town of Yen-yüan [Mohammedan rebels are here meant; they had even gone to Mu-li and slaughtered the lamas of Wa-chin]. He raised a military contingent and defense works and assisted in exterminating the bandits. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the second rank.

"La Cheng-hsiang 喇楨祥, eldest son of the legal wife of Te, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of T'ung-chih (1870)."

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173 The present Tso-so T'u-ssu's name is La Hung-chu 喇鴻篘. He is a young man, 33 years of age.

"In Tso-so territory there are three stockaded villages of importance; one is called the Tso-so t'u-chai 左所土寨, where the chief resides, another, Tu-hsieh-chai 獨些寨, and the third is called Ku-lu t'u-chai 沽盧土寨 [this should read in all probability Lu-ku t'u-chai]." [*See also* Tso-so T'u-ssu *under* Yung-ning Territory.]

"The census of 1834 revealed a population of 1,001 families composed of 3,270 tribespeople."

7. YU-SO 右所

131 "The seat of the Yu-so T'u Ch'ien-hu 右所土千戶 is 120 li from Yen-
173 yüan hsien. The eastern border is beyond the Ta-ch'ung Ho and adjoins the boundary of the district of Hsi-ch'ang, 120 li distant. The southern border adjoins the district of Hui-li and also of Ta-yao hsien of Yün-nan. The western border is conterminous with that of A-so-la 阿所拉 and Chung-so, a distance of 290 li. The northern border extends to Hang-chou 杭州 [20] and adjoins the border of Yen-yüan hsien, a distance of 120 li. The Yen-yüan Records give the circumference of the Yu-so territory as 1,900 li.

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Yu-so chiliarch is Pa 八 and that his distant ancestor was a native of that place. He paid tribute with all the other So as in years previous.

His territory adjoined Lang-ch'ü chou in Yün-nan. It also records that his lands were oppressed and repeatedly raided, that his soldiers, etc., were inadequate and that they lived without protection.

What has been recorded in the Ming dynasty holds still good to-day, for the present T'u-ssu is at the mercy of the Lo-lo.

"The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* [edition 1816] gives the borders as follows: East 150 li to Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (Horse-saddle Mountain), adjoining the chou of P'u-chi 普濟州 [21] governed by Ning-yüan fu [Hsi-ch'ang]; south 180 li to A-ni-ta-chia 阿呢哪呷 adjoining the Ta-yao (hsien) district of Yün-nan; west 110 li to the village of Ting-chia 丁家 subject to Yen-yüan; north 130 li to the Ta-ch'ung Ho adjoining the sub-magistracy of Yen-chung [22] at the village of Ying-chia (chuang) 應家庄. The edition of 1733

[20] Hang-chou-p'u (village) is 160 li north-east of Yen-yüan.

[21] At P'u-chi chou was a Chang-kuan-ssu, by name Chi 吉, who was a native of P'ing chou 平州 in the province of Kuei-chou. His first ancestor Chi San-chia 吉三甲 was appointed T'u chih-chou 土知州 (Native sub-prefect) in the seventh year of Ming Hung-wu (1374). In the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710) Chi was appointed hereditary Chang-kuan-ssu of P'u-chi chou and ruled over four tribes, the Lo-lo, Lu-lu 鹿馬, Hsi-fan and P'u-chia 蒲家.

[22] Yen-chung was 140 li west of Yen-yüan hsien. In the T'ang dynasty it was the land of Sha-yeh. In the Yüan dynasty it was the land of Lu chou. During the reign of Ming Hung-wu there was established the Ta-ch'ung Ho Chung-so Ch'ien-hu-so, subject to Yen-ching wei. In the beginning of Yung-cheng the Wei was abolished and it became subject to Ning-yüan fu, and a sub-magistracy was established.

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gives still other boundary names, as south to San-chiang-k'ou 三江口 (Mouth of three rivers) and north to Te-ch'ang so 德昌所. It is possible that these places were later abolished and the boundary redetermined, — so it is best to adhere to the Yen-yüan Records of 1893.

"The tribespeople under the control of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu inhabit 59 villages. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 gives the number of tribespeople as 830 families, and the 1816 edition as 595 households.

"The census of 1834 gives a population of 595 families consisting of 2,821 members.

"The Yu-so Ch'ien-hu pays an annual tax in kind consisting of 20 *tan* of buckwheat; this is delivered to the army corps of Hui-yen for soldiers' rations. Dating from the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing (1813) the chiliarch pays a land improvement tax of 22.011 taels to the Yen-yüan magistrate."

Geneaiogy of the Yu-so Ch'ien-hu. — "Pa Hsi 八璽 was the first ancestor of the Yu-so Chiliarch and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor issued him an official seal and letters patent ordering him to reside in the village of Hsi-te (chai) 喜得寨 in the district of Yu-so as T'u-ch'ien-hu (Native chiliarch).

"Pa Ssu-ch'ang 八仕昌, eldest legal grandson of Hsi, succeeded the latter in the 16th year of Ch'ien-lung (1751).

"Pa Ching-pang 八靖邦, second son of Hsi, succeeded to his nephew's position in the 33rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1768).

"Pa Ssu-k'uei 八仕魁, eldest son of Pang, succeeded to his father's position in the 38th year of Ch'ien-lung (1773).

"Pa Ming-jui 八鳴瑞, eldest legal grandson of K'uei, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the seventh year of Chia-ch'ing (1802).

"Pa Ming-hsi 八鳴熙, second son of Pa Yin-ho 八音和, succeeded Jui as chiliarch in the first year of Tao-kuang (1821). In the 11th year (1831) with a heavy stick he beat to death a Chinese, whereupon he was dismissed from office; he left no heir.

"Pa Hsing-tsung 八興宗, great-grandson of Pa Ssu-ch'ang, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836). In the fourth year of Hsien-feng (1854) he joined the Imperial troops and attacked the Yün-nan bandit Chang Ta-chio-pan, showing great courage and bravery; he was killed in battle. The Emperor conferred on him the posthumous hereditary title Yün-ch'i-yü 雲騎尉 [hereditary rank of nobility of eighth degree].

"Pa Shou-ch'un 八壽椿, eldest son of the legal wife of Tsung, succeeded to his father's position in the sixth year of Hsien-feng (1856).

"Pa Pao-ch'eng 八寶成, second son of Tsung, succeeded his elder brother as chiliarch in the third year of T'ung-chih (1864).

"Pa Jen-hsiang 八仁祥, a near relative of Ch'eng, succeeded to the position of chiliarch in the fourth year of T'ung-chih (1865). In the sixth year (1867) the Yün-nan brigands [Mohammedan rebels] besieged Yen-yüan whereupon he led his tribal troops to the defense of the place and to exter-

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173 minate the rebels. He was rewarded by the Emperor with the button of the third rank."

The present (1940) T'u-ssu of Yu-so is called Pa Ch'üan-chung 八全忠.

The seat of the chiliarch of Yu-so is Hsi-te-chai 喜德寨 (elsewhere it is written 得).

8. CH'IEN-SO 前所

173 131 "The territory of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu 前所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the water-course called Ch'ang-lo-shui (kou) 長羅水溝 adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 56 li; the southern border is at Nieh (Yeh)-po-kuo 業波菓 adjoining the border of the Tso-so Chiliarch, a distance of 30 li; the western border is at the mountain spur of the village of A-ju-neng 阿汝能村山嘴 adjoining the Yün-nan border, a distance of 40 li; the northern border is at the mountain and village of Ch'u-chu 出猪村山, adjoining the Mu-li boundary, a distance of 30 li. From north to south the territory is 60 li and from east to west 96 li in diameter."

"The T'u-pai-hu rules over eight villages inhabited by Mo-so [or rather a branch of the Mo-so called Lü-khi. The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, (ed. 1816), states that he rules over 65 families.] The census of 1834 gives the inhabitants as numbering 457 tribespeople, or 65 families. The seat of the T'u-ssu is the village of Li-ta 利達寨 [The Hli-khin Hli-da].

"The Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu pays an annual tax in kind amounting to one picul, six pecks and eight pints of buckwheat; this delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations."

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i kao* of the Ming Wan-li period (1573–1620) states that the family name of the Ch'ien-so Chiliarch is A 阿 and that he submitted to the Ming; that he continued to pay tribute and assisted in the maintenance of the courier system. At the time the work was composed (no exact date is given), the ruling chief was A Yung-ch'en 阿永臣. His territory was very cramped and narrow and adjoined Li-chiang whose native chief Mu Wang occupied his lands and left only a corner for the tribesmen to live in.

A Yung-ch'en was isolated and weak and unable to restore his position.

It seems that while during the Ming dynasty he was of equal rank to the Tso-so, he was reduced to a Tu-pai-hu or Centurion during the Ch'ing. What the Ming composer recorded as to the weakness of the chief has not been improved, for very recently the territory had been absorbed by Mu-li but in 1944 was again restored to the A family or what is left of it for the last chief murdered his brother whose wife arranged to have him murdered in turn by a relative.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) gives the borders as follows: 50 li east to Lo-shui-kou on the Mu-li Pacification Commissioner's territory; north to the village of Ch'u-tu 褚都村, also adjoining Mu-li territory. The edition of 1733 gives the eastern border at Hou-shan 後山; south to Yung-

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ning fu in Yün-nan; west on the Tso-so border; and north to the Mu-li border. 173 131

Genealogy of the Ch'ien-so T'u-pai-hu. — "A Ch'eng-fu 阿成福 was the first ancestor of the Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu [T'u-pai-hu or ruler over 100 families] and belonged to the Mo-so tribe. He returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him Centurion of Ch'ien-so. 173

"A Cheng-jung 阿正榮, eldest legal grandson, succeeded to his grandfather's position in the 21st year of Ch'ien-lung (1756).

"A Te-kuei 阿德貴, eldest legal grandson of Jung, succeeded the latter in the 49th year of Ch'ien-lung (1784). He ruled for 52 years.

"A Jen-shou 阿仁壽, eldest son of the legal wife of Kuei, succeeded his father in the 16th year of Tao-kuang (1836).

"A Shih-ch'ang 阿世昌, eldest son of the legal wife of Shou, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Hsien-feng (1859). In the sixth year of T'ung-chih (1867) he raised defense-works against the Yün-nan bandits [Moslem rebels] and was therefore rewarded by the Emperor with the Blue Plume of the fourth rank and appointed to perform the function of a Tu-ssu 都司 (First Captain).

"A Kuo-hsing 阿國興, eldest son of the legal wife of Ch'ang, succeeded to his father's position in the 16th year of Kuang-hsü (1890)."

The present T'u-ssu is A Ch'ao-tung 阿朝棟. [For further information about this T'u-ssu and the Ch'ien-so territory, *see* Ch'ien-so *under* Yung-ning].

9. HOU-SO 後所

"The Territory of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu 後所土百戶 is 400 li from Yen-yüan. The eastern border is formed by the Hsiao-ch'iao Ho 小橋河 adjoining the Mu-li border, 30 li distant; the southern border is formed by the Pai-lo Mountain 白落山 adjoining the Tso-so border, 100 li distant; the western border is formed by the Ya-k'o-ya Mountain 押克雅山." [Here the records end owing to pages missing in the *Yen-yüan hsien chih*]. 173 131

The *Ssu-ch'uan t'u-i k'ao* of the Ming Wang-li period relates that the rank of the Hou-so chief was that of Chiliarch. However, like the Ch'ien-so chief he was reduced to a Centurion during the Ch'ing. It is interesting to note that the above Ming work gives the family name of the Hou-so chief as Pu 卜, this is the only record of this name as far as I am aware. It is possible that on account of the name Pu recalling too much that of a native barbarian, the family changed its name to Pai 白 during the Ch'ing.

Like the territory of his confreres the Ch'ien-so and Tso-so chiefs, his was also overrun by the troops of the powerful Li-chiang chief Mu Wang 木旺, (*q.v.*), and seized by the latter.

The Hou-so chief's name during the Ming Wan-li period was Pu-Yüan-chi 卜元吉. He was too weak and unable to regain possession of his land.

The *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (ed. 1816) states that the eastern border extends 30 li to Hsiao-ch'iao, adjoining the Mu-li border; the southern border

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173 100 li to the summit of Mt. La-pai-lo 喇白洛山頂, adjoining Tso-so territory; the western border extends to Mt. Ya-ya-k'o 雅押克山, a distance of 131 80 li, adjoining Mu-li territory; the northern border extends 15 li to the banks of the Ta Ho 大河邊 adjoining Mu-li territory. The diameter of the Hou-so territory amounts to 155 li from north to south, and 110 li from west to east.

The chief rules over 74 families and pays taxes in kind amounting to four pecks and two pints of buckwheat which are delivered to the Hui-yen army corps for soldiers' rations. In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* of 1733 it states that he rules over 27 households, the taxes being the same.

All the different *So* under Yen-yüan are inhabited by three tribes, namely, the Mo-so, Hsi-fan and Pa-i or Tai. Thus states the Ssu-ch'uan Topography. Of late, however, Lo-lo have immigrated from Ta-liang Shan 大涼山 and probably now outnumber all the other tribes.

"The village in which the Hou-so chief resides is called Mi-ya 迷雅寨. The census of 1834 gives the number of families residing in Hou-so as 74, composed of 105 tribespeople."

173 *Genealogy of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu.* — "Pai Ma-t'a 白馬塔 was the first ancestor of the Hou-so T'u-pai-hu (Centurion or chief of 100 households). He was a Mo-so tribesman and returned to allegiance in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710), whereupon the Emperor gave him an official seal and letters patent appointing him to reside in Hou-so, and administer its affairs as native centurion.

"Pai Erh-chü 白耳居, eldest son of the legal wife of T'a, succeeded to his father's position in the ninth year of Ch'ien-lung (1744).

"Pai Tsung-yao 白宗耀, eldest son of the legal wife of Chü, succeeded to his father's position in the 34th year of Ch'ien-lung (1769).

"Pai Shih-jung 白世榮, eldest son of the legal wife of Yao, succeeded to his father's position in the 54th year of Ch'ien-lung (1789).

"Pai Kuo-hsien 白國賢, eldest son of the legal wife of Jung, succeeded to his father's position in the 17th year of Chia-ch'ing (1812).

"Pai T'ing-chang 白廷璋, eldest son of the legal wife of Hsien, succeeded his father as centurion in the 21st year of Tao-kuang (1841).

"Pai T'ing-shan 白廷珊, adopted son of Hsien 賢, succeeded to the position of Centurion of Hou-so in the 27th year of Tao-kuang (1847).

"Pai Huai-hsing 白懷馨, eldest son of the legal wife of Shan, succeeded to his father's position in the 11th year of Kuang-hsü (1885).

"Pai Chung-yo 白鐘嶽 is the present centurion of Hou-so. Neither his relationship to his predecessor, nor the date of assumption of office is known.

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ADDENDUM

After I had written this book I returned in 1940 to Li-chiang in north-western Yün-nan to continue my investigations on the literature of the Na-khi tribe. While translating manuscripts and discussing with my dto-mbas (Na-khi priests) the aboriginal inhabitants, the P'u 濮 tribe of Li-chiang which had been conquered by Ye-ku-nien chief of the Mo-so-man, I learned that the P'u are identical with the Boa, the Chinese Hsi-fan of Mu-li 木裏. 173

In Na-khi manuscripts they are called ²P'u-³mi which is a transcription of P'ron-mö by which name they designate themselves in Mu-li, while Boa is a derogatory name the Na-khi have given them. Before the arrival of the Mo-so-man (Na-khi) in Li-chiang the ²P'u-³mi occupied the entire Li-chiang territory, but were conquered during the T'ang dynasty by Ye-ku-nien who lived during the period Wu-te (618–626), or rather who held office during that time. The ²P'u-³mi were driven by them to the north as well as into the mountains in the various *li* of the district of Li-chiang where they can still be found as in Nan-shan, Hsiang-ko li, etc., while the Na-khi occupied the plains and valleys.

During the Sung dynasty (*see* page 180–81) the ²P'u again gained control of their former territory till the advent of Yeh-yeh in 1101 A.D.

The Boa or ²P'u-³mi together with the Hli-khi̲n of Yung-ning once more tried to invade Li-chiang about 1521 but they were utterly defeated and most of them were decapitated at a place now known as Boa-shi or dead Boa, the Chinese Pai-sha-kai 白沙街.

In a book of the ²Dto ¹na ²k'ö ceremony called ²T'u ²lü it speaks of the ²P'u as follows: ²Ghügh ³mua̲n ¹ngyü ³nnü, ¹ndzĕr ²ssä ¹dzu; ¹Dzi ³mua̲n ¹ndsu ³nnü, ²P'u ²ssä ¹ndsu; ²P'u ¹ndsu ²haw ²muan ¹shu, ²Ghügh ²haw ¹ndzĕr ²mua̲n ¹shu.

Translated this reads: Before the birds were, the trees had been born; before the ²Dzi (Na-khi are meant) had settled, the P'u were settled; where the ²P'u had settled it was unnecessary to look for food (elsewhere), neither did the birds have to look for a roost. In another manuscript called ²Ö-¹yu-³ngv-³szi-³yi of the ²Zhi ³mä funeral ceremony it relates that the ²P'u ate raw meat and that they also ate their dead. That the ²P'u must have been a very primitive people is borne out by the present living condition of their descendants in Mu-li where they form the main population. I have observed them eating carrion honey-combed by maggots of the thickness and size of a man's finger.

Little is known of their language which is very different from the other tribal languages; they have no written language but the lamas among them have employed the Tibetan script for it.

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MAPS

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Lao-kuei-tzu 老櫃子, IV
Lao-ts'un 老村, II
Lao-to-k'ou 老渡口, IV
Law-k'a, III
Law-k'a-khi-lū (Pu-chio 卜脚), III
Law-k'ap, III
Law-k'ap (river), III
Law-shēr (Hsiao-lo-shui 小羅水), III
Lei-rong (Lei-lung 雷龍), III
Leng-shui Kou 冷水溝 (ravine), III
Leng-shui-kou 冷水溝 (Gyi-t'khi-lo), II, III
Lēr-k'o-nchu, II, III
Lha-khang-ra (La-kung-lo 拉公羅), I
Lha-mdun (Nan-tun 南墩), I
Li Chiu (Li-t'ang Ho 里塘河), III, IV
Li-chiang 麗江 (Yi-gv) (Ngu-ba), III
Li-gu-chi, IV
Li-su 栗粟 Huts, II, III
Li-t'ang Ho 里塘河 (Li Chiu) (Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河), III, IV
Li-ti-p'ing 里地坪, II
Li-tzu-kou 李子溝, IV
Liang-ch'iao-kou 涼橋溝, IV
Liang-ho-k'ou 兩河口, IV
Liang-shan-p'u, IV
Lieh-p'ing 列坪, II
Ling-chao Sou 靈招寺 (bKris-dgah-bkbyil gling), II
Ling-ping Shan 凌冰山, IV
Liu-ku 流谷, IV
Liu-te 六得, III
Liu-t'ung-chiang 流筒江, I
Lhu-lo-kwei (Lo-lo-kuan 羅羅關), III
Lō-bpu-gko, III
Lō-dū-mag, II, III
Lō-tsu-nchu, II, III
Lo-chu-ts'un 羅家村, IV
Lo-ga-ngu, I
Lo-gup Chiu, III, IV
Lo-k'o, III
Lo-kou-t'an 洛寇壩, IV
Lo-liu 落六, II
Lo-lo Camp, at Chūgh-t'o, III;
near Law-k'ap, III;
near Wu-chio 烏角, III
Lo-ma Chiang 騾馬江, III
Lo-ndo, III
Lo-ndu (Lo-ta 羅達), I, II
Lo-shui-tung 落水硐, III
Lo-su-wan 羅蘇灣, II, III
Lo-t'ien-ch'ang 雒天場, II
Lo-t'ung 羅洞, I, II
Lo-wia (Lo-wa), IV
Lō-bū, III
Lo-bung-ti 龍布底, IV
Lo-ku Hu 洛古湖(Lo-t'a Khū), III
Lo-ku-ting 洛古丁, III, IV
Lo-ma-p'u 洛馬鋪, IV
Lo-ning-ying 盧寧營, IV
Lo-tien 羅甸 (Lo-dū) (Rō-dō), II
Lo-thēr-dsu, III
'Lō 'Khū (Chung Hai 中海), III
'Lō-'khū, III
'Lō-'khū-'wia-'wia 'D'a, III
Lō-lo-thang (camp), I
Lō-nchu-nchu, III
Lō-ts'ap (Chung-to'un 中村), II, III
Lo'-dzu, III
Lo'-dzu-law-k'aw, III
Lung-dre (Lo-ndēr) (Liu-tui 六堆) (Lung-to-li 龍得里), IV
Lung-kung Sou 龍宮寺, I
Lung-pao-ch'ang 龍寶廠, II
Lung-p'u, I
Lung-ta Ho 隴打河 (Lo-nda Gyi), III
Lung-t'ang 龍塘, IV
Lung-t'ang-ho 龍塘河, IV
Lung-wang Miao 龍王廟, III
Lung-yu-li 龍魚里 (Lung-to'ung-nao 龍童腦), I
Lo-gkv-dzhi, III
Lo-na-wia (Lo-nao-wa 羅腦瓦), III
Lo-to'o-lo (Lo-nu-lou 魯子羅), III
Lo-to'o-lo (river), III
Lyu-ra-gang (Yu-lo-kang 中拉崗), I

Ma-an Shan 馬鞍山 (mt.), III
Ma-an-shan 馬鞍山 (pass), III
Ma-an-shan (village), III, IV
Ma-huang-kou 馬黃溝, IV
Ma-huang-to'un 馬黃村, III
Ma-i-p'ing 馬益坪, II
Ma-li-p'ing 麻利坪, II
Ma-nye K'ung, IV

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Ma-pa-deng (Ma-pa-ting 麻巴定) (Hu-li 呼里), I
Ma-pa-ho 馬頭河, IV
Ma-p'u-tzu 馬鋪子, IV
Ma-shui-teng 馬水登, II
Ma-t'ou-shan 馬頭山, IV
Ma-t'ou-tien 馬頭甸, IV
Mai-chia-p'ing 麥架坪, III
Mai-mai-kou, IV
Mba-yi-wüa (Ming-yin-wu 嗎吾香), III
Mbe-dü, II
Mbĕr-ō-gko-ho, III
Mbo-shi (Ggō-mbo), III
Me-ra-dam, I
Me-re-shü (Mei-li-shu 梅里樹), I
Me-tse-mo (sMad-rtse-mo) (Yung-chih Hsüeh-shan 雍支雪山), I
Mei-tzu-p'ing 梅子坪, II, III, IV
Mei-tzu-p'u 梅子堡, IV
Mei-tzu-shao 梅子哨, II, III
Mei-yü-p'u 梅雨鋪, IV
Mekong River, see Lan-ts'ang Chiang 瀾(滄)滄江, I
Men-khang (Men-kung 門工), I
Mi-ndu-wüa, III
Mi-zhuŋ, IV
Mieh-su-i, II
Mien-mien Shan 綿綿山, III
Min-yü, II
Ming-pao-ti 明皇地, III
Mo-lien, IV
Mo-so village (near Pa-che), IV
Mo-tzu-k'ou 摩子口, IV
Mo-yü-kou 摩魚溝, IV
Mountain Hut (near Ra-shü), I
Mu-ddri-di-maŋ (Mu-ddü-dü-maŋ) (Mu-ti-ching 木底箐), III
Mu-gko-ndu, III
Mu-kua-so 木瓜所, II
Mu-li 木里 (Mi-li), IV
Mu-li-ch'ang 木利場, IV
Mu-lo 木羅, II
Mu-ting 墓頂, I
Muan-dri, I
Muaŋ-fu-k'o (Chu-ko-ling 鶴鬘嶺), II
Muaŋ-gko-hsi, II, III
Muaŋ-khü-ndu (Hsia-heng-t'u 下亨土), II
Muaŋ-k'u (Chung-i-ts'un 忠義村), III
Muaŋ-lo, II, III
Muaŋ-ndĕr, III
Muaŋ-ssu-dzhu (Mu-ssu-ch'ang 木思場), II
Müeŋ-p'ä-wüa, II, III
Müeŋ-ts'ä-dzu, III
Müeŋ-tsü-dzu (Mu-ts'ao-tu 木草都), II, III
Muŋ-p'ä-gko, III

Na-dshwuä (Nv-lv-na), III
Na-kan-to 那干多, I, II
Na-ma-ch'iao 哪嗎橋, IV
Na-ngyu-wüa, III
Na-p'a 納怕, II
Na-p'a Khü, II
Na-ri (Na-li 納里 or 那里), II
Nai-wang-lung 奶汪瀧, I
Nam-la-shu-ga, I
Nan-su-mei 南蘇梅, II, III
Nange-la, I
Nao-p'u 臘堡, IV
Nda-bpu, III
Nda-gka-dü, II, III
Nda-lä (Ta-lieh 打烈), II, III
Nda-nyu-yi-t'ü (Ta-niu-ying-tui 打牛英堆), III
Nda-po, III
Nda-shi, III
Nda-shi (river), III
Nda-ssu-dzhu, II, III
Nda-za Dü (Nda-zaw dü), III
Nda-za gko, III
Nda-zaw, III
Ndo-sung (To-sung 魯松), II
Ndong (Tung 東), I
Ndu, I
Ndu-ren-chu (Tu-lun-chu 都倫理), I
Ndzi-mbü-lü, II, III
Ndzu-dü (Chung-tien 中甸) (rGyal-thang), III
Nei-ma-sha 內麻沙, I
Nga-ba, III
Nga-ba nv-lv, III
Nga-tz, III
Nga-ta-gyi-t'a, III
Ngai (yen)-wa 惠瓦, II
Ngun-ya (Kuo-nien 黑雪) (Gun-ya), I
Ngv-dsü, III
Ngv-khü Gko, III
Ni-ch'e-luang 泥身乱, I
Ni-la-lung 泥拉龍 (I-chia-p'o 一家壩), I
Ni-ssu (Ni-hsi 泥西), I
Niao-pi-kou, IV
Nin-yü, II
Ning-lang 富蘭 (Lang-ch'ü chou 蘭州), III
Niu-ch'ang 牛廠, II, IV
Niu-ch'ang Kuan 牛廠關, II
No La, I
No-uŋ, IV
No-yü, II, III
Nou-mi-kou, IV
Nu-kuan Shan 怒關山, II
Nuŋ-to K'ung, IV

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Nv-lo-k'o (Hsiao-mang-ts'un 小芒村), III
Nv-lo-p'o, III
Nya-mu Lo, III
Nyi-se, III
Nyi-thang (Ta-pa-tzu 大壩子), I
Nyien-se (Mao-niu Pa-tzu 牛壩子), III, IV
Nyin-wa-lo, I
Nyin-wa-lo (river), I
Nyingser La (Myingser La), I
Nyo-ro-p'o, III

Ô-mup (Wo-mu 倭母), III
Op'ing-tzu, IV
Or'ang 歐昂, IV
Ou 歐, IV

Pa-chi, IV
Pa-erh 巴兒 (Ba-er), IV
Pa-erh-chiao 八[角]耳村 (Pa-erh-chiao 八[角]耳村), III
Pa-k'o 巴克 (Dzi-che-ts'), III
Pa-lo 巴羅 (near Ngu [Yeu]-wo 羅窩), II; (near To-lo-wo), III
Pa-mo (Pa-mo 巴莫), I
Pa-sho-yi-ra, II
Pa-thang (Pa-tang 巴塘), I, II
Pa-yung-kuo 八[角]永郭, I
P'a-da (Pa-ta 巴答), III
Pai Shui 白水 (Gai-p'er Ing-ko), III
Pai-chi Sze 白雞寺, II
Pai-chi-ch'ih-ho 白[雞]池河, IV
Pai-feng-chang 白[鳳]嶂, II
Pai-kan-ch'ang, II
Pai-la Shan 白[臘]山, II, III
Pai-la-shao 白[臘]哨, II, III
Pai-lang-t'ung 白浪峒, II
Pai-lin Shan 白林山, IV
Pai-ngai Shan 白[崖]山, II
Pai-mo Shan, III, IV
Pai-sha-ho 白沙河, II
Pai-sha-kai 白沙[街] (Bai-sha), III
Pai-shih 白石, IV
Pai-ung 白[翁], I
Pai-tzu-kou 白[磁]窯, II
Pai-tzu-tien 白[磁]店, IV
Pai-wa-ching 白[瓦]井, IV
Pan-ch'iao 板橋, IV
Pan-pan-kai 半[邊]街, IV
Pan'o 班[鵝], I
Pang-hang-kang, I
Pao-hsing 寶[興], II
Pao-hua Shan 寶[華]山, II
Pao-to 寶[多], III
Pe-wa Shan (Pai-waug Shan 白[瓦]山), I
Pe-yi Ren, IV
Pe-shin, I
Pe-shwa (Pai-shwa), I
Pe-shi-rong K'ong, III, IV
Pei-ch'i-ts'un 北[溪]村, II
Pei-pa, II
Pe-shen 北[神], III
Pei-o-mei 峨[眉]坡 (Ts'ok'o-mup), II, III
Pei-tsao, IV
Pen-yo Miao 本[教]廟, III
P'en-hsi-wa (P'en'ao-wan 盆[凹]灣), II, III
Pho-la 坡[拉] (P'o-la), I
Pi-chi, IV
Pi-ti, III
Pieh Lieh Ho 別[列]河, III
Pieh-su Ho 別[蘇]河, IV
P'ing-hsiang-chan, IV
Po-lo (T'o-lo 駝[羅]) (Lo-ong), I, II
Po-lo-t'o 波羅[陀], III, IV
P'o-lin 坡[林] (near Ma-pa-ho 馬[巴]河), IV; (near Sung-p'ing-tzu 松[坪]子), IV
Pong-dong, I
P'ong-ts'a (Pen-ts'o-lan 盆[地]), I
Pongo La, II
Pu-mo, III
P'o-chi-chuo 坡[雞]卓, IV
P'o-chi Sze 坡[雞]寺 (Thir-pa-ben-bdzin ging), III
P'o-lo-mo 坡[羅]莫 (Bo-glang-mbo), II
P'o-o 坡[惡], I, II
P'o-ts'o-wa (P'o-ch'i-wa 坡[七]瓦), III
P'u-wa, III
P'u-wa Gyi, III
P'u-wa Lo, III
Pun-tra, I

Ra-po K'ong, IV
Ra-shi (Ma-long-shu 馬[龍]樹), I
Ri-dong (Li-tung 里[東]), I
Ri-sha-thang (Ri-ya-thang), I, II
Rin-poo Gompa (Wa-chin Sze 瓦[金]寺), III
Rong-sha (La-sha 拉[沙][卡]), II
Ru-ra, I

Sa Ring, IV
Sa-ba, III
Sa-ba-lo-gan, III
Sa-ba-so-lo, III
Sa-pin (Sheng-k'eng-ting 生[坑]丁), II
Sa-shi, I
Sa-shen K'ong, IV
Sa Dji (Sa Gyi), III
Sa-hsi Kha (Hsi-pi Kai 西[皮]街) (Sheng-pi Kai 生[皮]街), III

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Sā-bpi-lo-mā, III
Sā-dji-ma, III
Salween River (Gyamongā Chhu) (Nu Chiang 怒江) (Lu Chiang 潞江), I
San-chia-ts'un 三家村 (Zhēr-har-ndz(ēr)-dru), III
San-chia-ts'un 三家村, near Bpe-lo, III;
near Dshi-chi-ti, III, IV;
near Ngai (Yen)-wa 君乙, II,
near Pi-chi, IV;
near Shui-t'ang-tzu 永塘子, IV
San-ko-chuang 三各莊, IV
Sang-tha (Sung-t'a 松塔), I
Se-li-p'o-t'ung 色里福塘, II
Se-ma-li-ti 色遇里底, II
Se-ni-dan, I
Se-ra-thang (Se-le-t'ung 色勒迪), I
Se-ru (She-le 舍勒), I
Seng-ge-ga-mu (Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山), III
Ser-wa Lung-pa (Ser-wua-lo), I
Sga-tse, III, IV
Sha-dung (Sha-tung 沙東), I
Sha-lon (Sha-lung 沙龍), II
Sha-pa 沙壩, IV
Sha-shao 沙哨, II
Sha-ma-kom, I
Sha-ya, IV
Sha-yi (Shen-i-ts'un 設夷村), I
Shan-men-k'ou 山門口, IV
Shan-op, III
Shan-shen Miao 山神廟, III
Shan-shen-miao 山神廟 (Gyi-p'ēr mbu), III
Shan-tzu-tsu 扁子渡, III
Shang T'a-ch'eng 上塔城 (T'a-dza), II
Shang-leng-k'o 上傅河 (San-chiang-k'ou 三江口), III
Shang-pa-k'o 上巴哨, III, IV
Shang-ni-i 上阿莫, II
Shang-ta-kou, IV
Shang-p'ing 喀拜, III
She-k'ua 蛇鼓 (Shaq-kwua), III
She-k'ua Ho 蛇鼓河, III
She-lā-lā-t'o, III
She-pi Ho, IV
Shen-kou 渾溝, IV
Shen-lā, IV
Shen-wan, III, IV
Shēr-ge-shēr Lo (Sun-ta-wan 三大灣), III
Shi Dji, IV
Shi-ching K'ung, IV
Shi-ching Rap, IV
Shi-dao-ru, I
Shi-lo-ne-k'o, III
Shi-wua-lo-'a-bu, III
Shih-erh-lan-kan Shan 十二關竹山, II
Shih-ku 石鼓 (La-ba) (La-ba wùa-gkv) (Do-nga-rong), II, III
Shih-k'uai-teng 石塊登, II
Shih-lung Shan 石龍山, II, III
Shih-men-kuan 石門關, II, III
Shih-ngai-t'ang 石岩塘, II
Shih-teng 石登, II
Shih-tzu Shan 獅子山, III
Shih-wan-ho 石灣河, IV
Shio-ndo (Hsiang-to 香多), II
Shio-ndo (river), II
Shō-dzo (Shang-ko-tzu 上格子), II, III
Sho-ko dü, III
Shou-kou Ssu 壽國寺 (bKra-shis Dar-rgyas gling), II
Shu-La (Shug La), I
Shu-ch'e 樹平, I
Shu-ho 東河 (Shwua-wùa), III
Shu-lo-k'o, III, IV
Shu-miao 樹苗, II
Shu-pa 樹巴, II
Shu-pa-p'u 樹把鋪, IV
Shui-chia 水家, III
Shui-chien-ch'ao 水桐巢, III
Shui-t'ang-tzu 水塘子, IV
Shwua-gu, III
Shwuà-wua-gku, III
Shyon-gung, II
Si La 夕拉, IV
Si La (Hsi La 錫拉), I
Si-go-dum (Sri-mgo-rdum), I
Si-li, III, IV
Si-li (Tso-na), III, IV
Sinter terraces, III
So-lo-dzu, III
So-mei Ho 雲美河, I
So-shih-p'o 梭石坡, I
So-lā, II, III
Ssaw-gkaw-ndso Gyi, III
S-aw-ssaw-gku (Shan-hsien-ku 山仙姑), II, III
Ssi-li (Tzu-li 子里), II
Ssu-chi-t'ung 思記通 (Si-ki-t'ong), I
Ssu-mang Ta-hsüeh Shan 四蟒大雪山, see Kha-wa-kar-po Range
Ssu-pa-lo, II
Ssu-ts'ēr-ngu, II, III
Ssu-ts'un 司村, I
Sung-p'ing-tzu 松坪子, IV
Sung-po 松坡, II, III

Ta-chi 大英, II
Ta-ch'iang-pa 打槍坝[壩], II
Ta-ch'iao 大橋, II
Ta-ch'iao Ho 大橋河, II

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Ta-chio-kou 大脚溝, IV
Ta-ch'ung Ho 大冲河, see Wo-lo Ho
Ta-ch'ung-ho 打冲河, IV
Ta-dzui (Dta-dzu) (Ta-tse 大賊) (Tao-tse 盜賊), III
Ta-ho-ta, III
Ta-hua-shu 大花樹, III
Ta-huo Shan 大火山, II, III
Ta-ku (Nda-gv), III
Ta-li 達里, I
Ta-liu, IV
Ta-lo-ho-pa 打鍋河壩, IV
Ta-lo-shui 大囉水 (Lo-shu), III
Ta-mo Ssu 達磨寺 (hsTan-hphel-gling), II
Ta-mo-yum, I
Ta-niu-ch'ang 大牛廠, II
Ta-p'ing-tzu 大坪子, IV
Ta-p'u, IV
Ta-p'u-tzu 大鋪子, IV
Ta-ra (Ta-la 達拉), II
Ta-rà Peak, III
Ta-rà Shan, III
Ta-shan 大山, III
Ta-shen-kou 大深溝, III
Ta-shih-pa 大石壩, II
Ta-shih-t'ou 大石頭, I, II
Ta-shui-kou 大水溝 (near Do-lung), I; (near T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘), II; (river), I
Ta-t'ang 大塘, II, III
Ta-tu-k'ou 大渡口, IV
Ta-wan 大灣, III
Ta-yao Shan 大藥[藥]山 (Wua-ha Shan), III
Ta-yeh-fang, IV
Ta-ying 大營, III
T'a-dza (Hsia or Wai-t'a-ch'eng 下外塔城), II
T'ai-i Shan 太乙山 (T'ien-i Shan 天乙山), II
T'ai-p'ing-t'ang 太平塘, II
T'ai-p'ing-ts'un 太平村, III
T'ai-tzu Kuan 太子關, III
T'ai-tzu-tung 太子洞, III
T'ang-shu-tu 塘樹渡, I
Te-ch'in 德欽 (A-tun-tzu 阿墩子) (Jül), I
Te-ch'in Ssu 德欽寺 (De-chhen-gling), I
Te-li-p'u 得力堡, IV
Te-sheng-kou 得勝溝, I
T'e-na-to 特那多, II
Ti-ma 地馬, II
Ti-tsang Ssu 地藏寺, II, III
Tiao-chung-yen 吊鐘岩, IV
T'ieh-chia Shan 鐵架山, II, III
T'ieh-ch'iao 鐵橋 Ancient, II
Tien-goṇ, IV
Tien-wei 甸尾, II
T'ien-sheng-ch'iao 天生橋, II
Tiger-leap Rapid (Hu-t'iao-t'an 虎跳灘), III
Ting-po Ho 定波河, I
T'khi-dtü (Chi-chür), III
T'khi-t'khi 'a-lv-k'o, III
To-gu-ti (T'o-ko-ti 拖格底), II
To-ka-bo, III
To-kwa, III
To-na-ko 桑那各, II
To-pe-gā, IV
To-shi (Ta-ch'ung 大冲), III
T'o-chih 拖支 (T'o-dtü), II
T'o-chih Ta-ch'iao 拖支大橋, II
T'o-djri, III
T'o-k'ö-shêr (Ch'ang-sung-p'ing 長松坪), III
T'o-lä-gki, IV
T'o-lä-tsu, III
T'o-mu-lang 拖木郎 [朗] (T'o-mu-na), II
T'o-ting 拖頂, II
Ton-du La, I
Ton-ri (Tan-lien 鎮蓮), II
T'ou-tao-ho 頭道河, IV
Tra-shi-khang-ser, IV
Tsa-na Shan 咱那山, IV
Tsa-sher, III
Tsa-sso-thang, I
Tsaiṇ-t'ong, IV
Tsaṇ-t'o K'ong, IV
Ts'ao-hai 草海 (Nda-bpa Khü) (Na-pa Tsho), II
Ts'ao-ku-tien 草古甸, IV
Tse-bu, III
Tse-li 嘖里, II
Tse-ma La (Ch'i-ma La 齊馬拉), I
Tse-mi (P'a-lo), III
Tse-mi-lo 擇米洛, II
Tse-mu-shou 箐木堡, II
Tse-ri-teng, IV
Tse-yi-p'o (Chieh-i-p'o 節義坡), I, II
Tsen-pa, I
Tsha-le (Ts'a-li 擦里), I
Tsha-le La (Ch'a-li Hsüeh-shan 茶里雪山), I
Tsha-rong, I
Tsho-dru (Tz'u-chung 茨中), I, II
Tso-so Shan 左所山, III
Tso-so Ya-men 左所衙門, III
Ts'o-lo-wu, III
Tsong-en (Tsung-en 宗恩), I
Tsu-b'a, II, III
Tsu-kuei, I
Tsu-t'ou-p'o, III
Tsui-yi (Ts'wue-yi), III
Tu-keng-la hsüeh-shan 獨更拉雪山, I
T'u-bhu, III
T'u-kuan-ts'un 土官村, II, III

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T'u-kung-p'u, IV
T'u-lu, IV
Tung Shan 東山, III
T'ung-en 通恩, II
T'ung-tiao-wan, III
T'ung-tien 通甸, II
Tzu-li-chiang-ts'un 梓里江村 ('A-gkv-dzhi), III
Tz'u-ku 茨姑 (Chu-ku 篤姑), I, II
Tz'u-wu 茨烏, I

Ui Chhu (O-i Ho 鄂宜河), I

Vu-dchü, III
Vu-dzhu (Wu-chu 梧竹), II, III

Wa-'a Mbu, III
Wa-bo, I
Wa-erh Lo 挖(搥)耳羅, III
Wa-erh-lo 挖(搥)耳羅, III
Wa-k'a 凹卡, I
Wa-li 溪裏, IV
Wa-shwua, III
Wan-da-nong (Wan-ta-lung 篤大龍), I
Wan-sung Shan 篤松山 (Sä-bpi a-na Ngyu), III
Wang-chiang Shan 望江山, II
Wei-hsi 維西 (Ba-lung) (Nyi-na), II
Wei-teng 維登, II
Wen-feng Ssu 文峯寺 (Müaŋ bbu-nä), III
Wen-hua-ts'un 文華村 (Ssu-v-ssu-k'a), III
Wen-pi Shan 文筆山 (Sä-bpi zhêr nv-lv), III
Weng-tu 翁渡, I
Wo-lo Ho 卧羅河 (Ta-ch'ung Ho 打冲河) (Hli Gyi) (K'ai-chi Ho 開基河) (Lo-chi Ho 勒波河), III, IV
Wo-lo-ho 卧羅河 (village), IV
Wo-yü-pa-k'a-ko, III
Wu-chio 烏角, III
Wu-dzu-lo, III
Wu-hou-p'o 武侯坡, II
Wu-lang Ho 五浪河 (Wu-liang Ho 無量河), III
Wu-li 五里, I
Wu-lu-wan 務魯灣, II
Wu-shu-wüa, III
Wu-tou-chung 五斗種, IV
Wua-bpa-dtu, III
Wua-dtv-k'o-dü (Wa-tun-k'o-tui 瓦墩課堆), III
Wua-gkaŋ-ts'aŋ (Pai-ma-li 白馬里), III
Wua-ha Shan, III
Wua-ko, IV
Wua-la-pi, III
Wua-lo-k'o, III
Wua-lu, III
Wüa-shi (Wa-shih 瓦石), II
Wua-ssu-to, III
Wua-zhu Gom-pa, III
Wua-zhu law-k'aw, III
Wua-zhu-pu-nà, III

Ya-lung Chiang 鴨蠟江 (Lu Shui 瀘水) (Chin Chiang 金江) (Jo Shui 若水), IV
Ya-ma-dà, III, IV
Ya-men (village near Ba-chü), III
Ya-men, III
Ya-pe-ti 亞倍地, IV
Ya-ra-no (Liao-la 了拉), I
Ya-t'ang 鴨塘, II
Ya-tsi K'ong, IV
Ya-tsi Raŋ, IV
Yang-liu-p'ing 楊柳坪, III
Yang-pa-ching Ssu 楊八寺 (Yangs-pa-chen), I
Yang-tsa 羊咱 (La-tsa 拉咱), I
Yangtse River, see Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江
Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江 (Dri Chhu) (Chin-sha Chiang 金沙江) (Gi-dji) (Ha-yi-bi) (La-lêr Ha-yi-bi) (Yi-bi), I, II, III
Yao Shan 藥山 (Gkaw-ngaw gkü-p'êr Ngyu), III
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Yao(Yo)-ts'ao-p'ing 藥草坪, III, IV
Yar-kha-lo (Ya-k'a-lo 雅卡洛), I
Yeh-chih 葉枝 (Yu-dtü), II
Yeh-tsi (Yen-tzu 燕子), I
Yen-ching 鹽井 (Tsha-kha-lo), I
Yen-ching Ho 鹽井河, IV
Yen-kou-pa 鹽溝壩, III
Yen-lu Shan 鹽路山 (Hsüeh-p'an Shan 雪盤山), II
Yen-t'ang 鹽塘 (Hei-yen-t'ang 黑鹽塘), IV
Yen-yüan 鹽源, IV
Yi-be Gom-pa, IV
Yi-bi (river), see Yang-tzu Chiang 揚子江
Yi-bi (village), III
Yi-dö, III
Yi-gö-ru, I
Yi-gv, III
Ying-chia-shan, III
Ying-p'an-kai 營盤街, II
Yo-nyi (Yo-i 刻宜), I
Yo-wa-bu, III
Yon-chu (Yung-chih 廣茨), I
Yon-dron-wan (Yin-to-wan 固多灣), II
Yon-dzr-kha (Chu-pa-lung 竹巴龍) (Cho-pa-rong), II
Yu-di-min, IV
Yu-k'o, III
Yu-k'o-lo, III
Yu-lo (Ying-p'an-ts'un 營盤村), II, III
Yu-mi, III

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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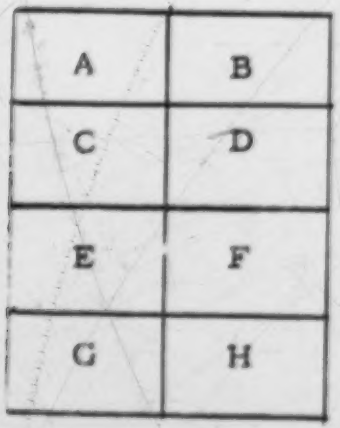
Yu-so 玉所, IV
Yun-gou (Lang-kuo 朗果), II
Yung-ch'un Ho 永春河, II
Yung-ning 永寧, III
Yung-sheng 永勝 (Yung-pei 永北), III
Yü-leng Seu 玉冷寺 (bKra-shis-chhos-hphel gling), III
Yü-hoa-t'ai (Ho-t'ao-yüan 禾桃園), III
Yü-lung Kuan 玉龍關, III
Yü-lung Shan 玉龍山, III
Yü-lv-t'o, III

Za-ba, III
Za-kha-ya (San-k'o-ya 三克拉), IV
Zam-pa-dru-kha (San-pa-te-k'a 三巴得卡), I
Zaw-muag, III
Zhe-dsu (Bo-wu-tsu), III
Zhi-dsom La (Long-bi La), I
Zhi-roŋ K'ong, IV
Zho Chhu (Shu Dȳ [Gyi]), III
Zhü-chin, IV
Zi-ga, IV
Zi-shêr-dto, II, III

2; Rock
487, 491, 133, 101, 361

AF 16 Southwest China AF 16

[Chart of Pagination on End Maps I, II, III, IV.]



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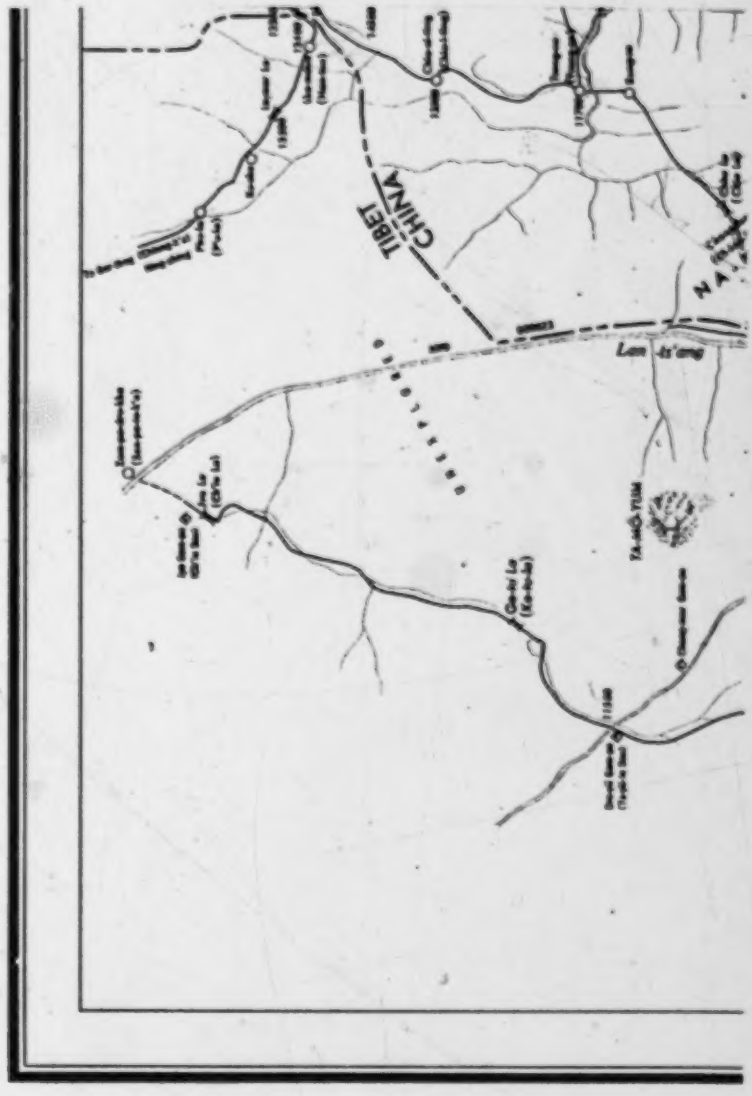
491

TE-CH'IN



CHINA 1:500,000

[End map I A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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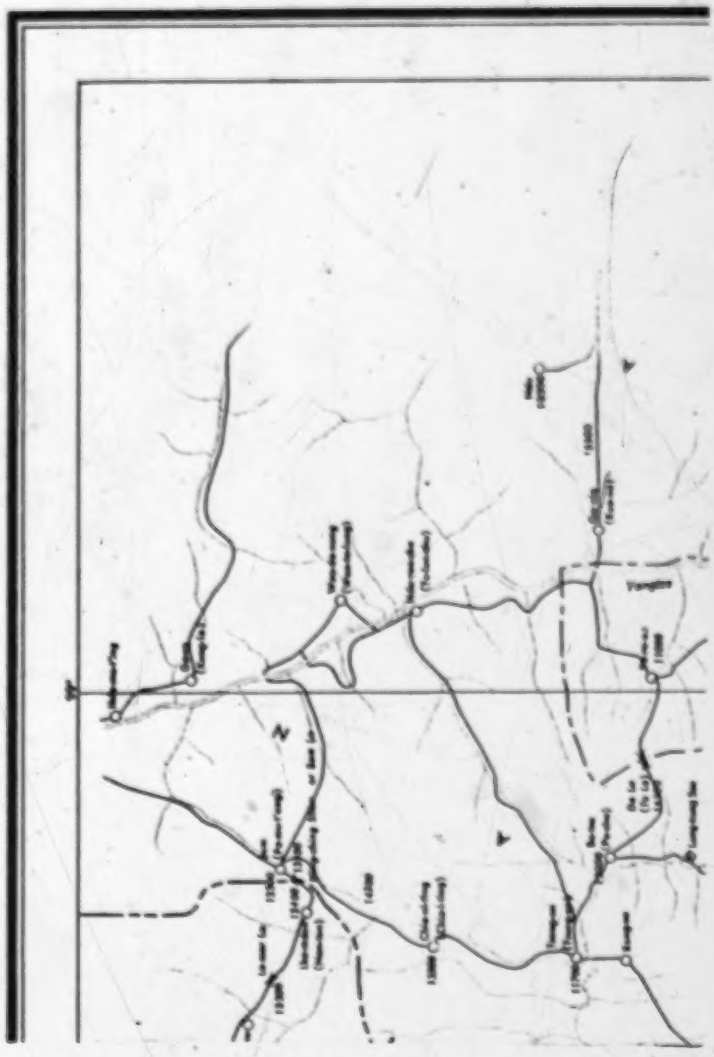
SHEET I OF IV

A.M.S. L406

FIRST EDITION—AMS I



-CH'IN

[End map I B]

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[End map I C]

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[End map ID]

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[End map I E]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map I F]

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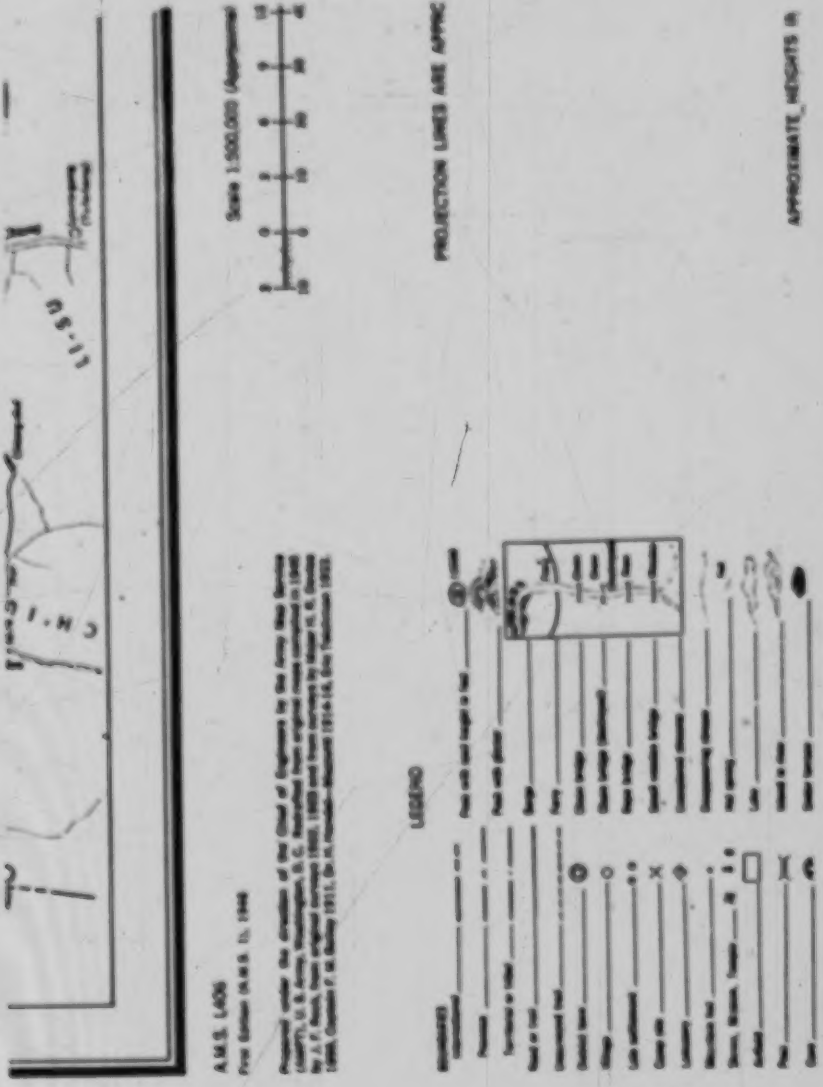

[End-map I G]

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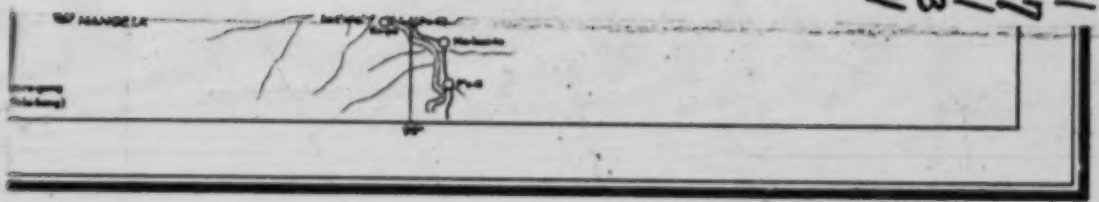

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 6 9 12 15 Miles
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CTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

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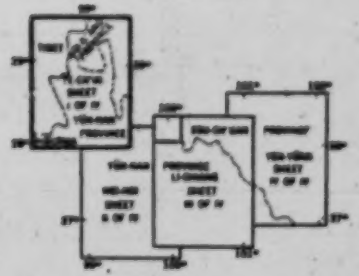

PROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

TE-CH'IN (A-TUN-TZU), CHINA
N2750-E9800/150x130

[End map H]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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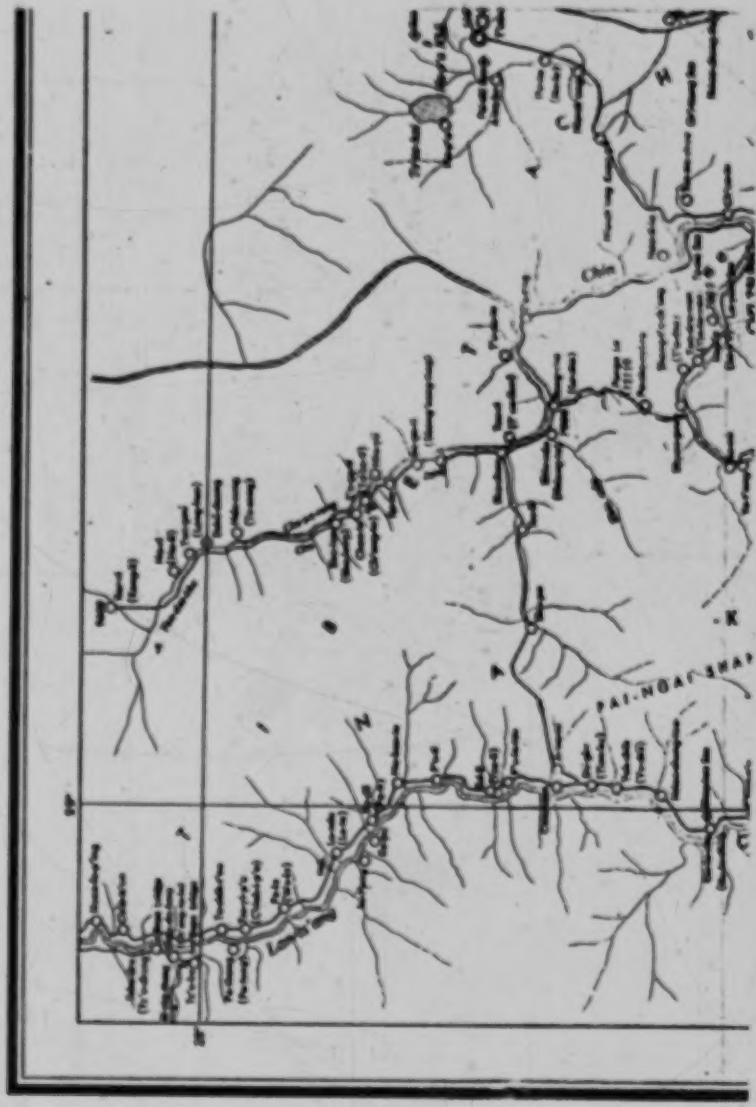
133
491



[End map II A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map II 6]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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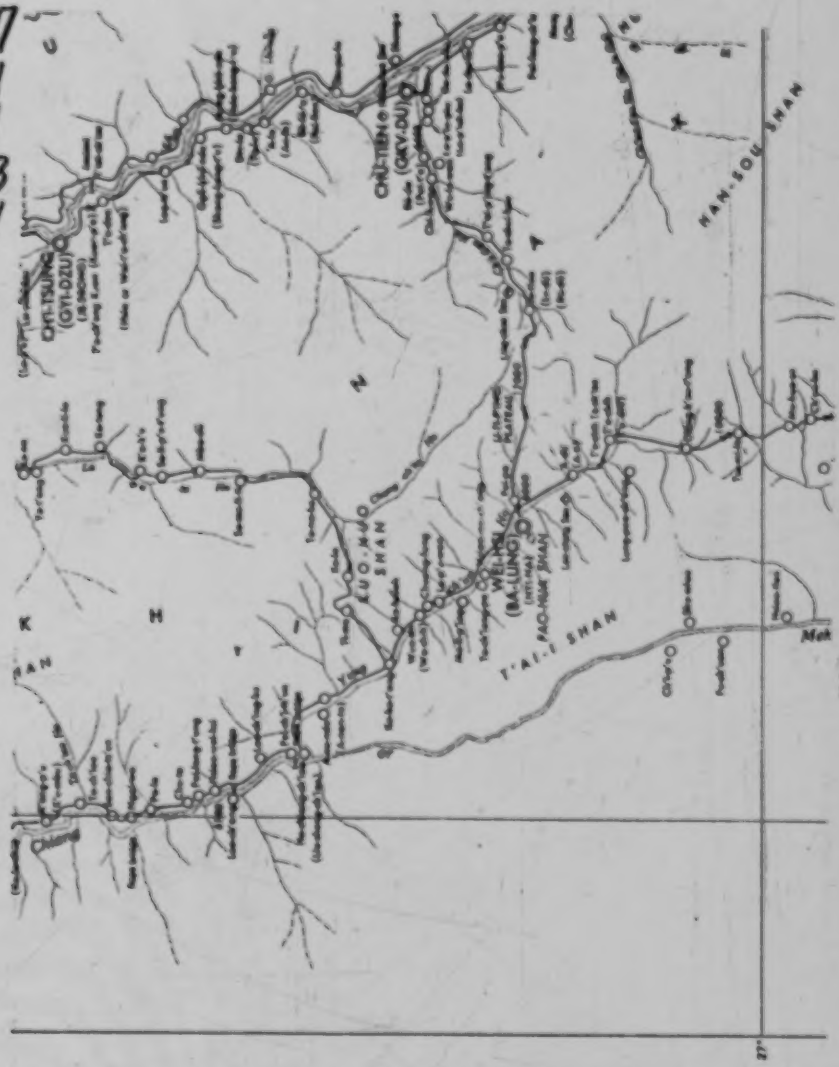

[End map II C]

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[End map II D]

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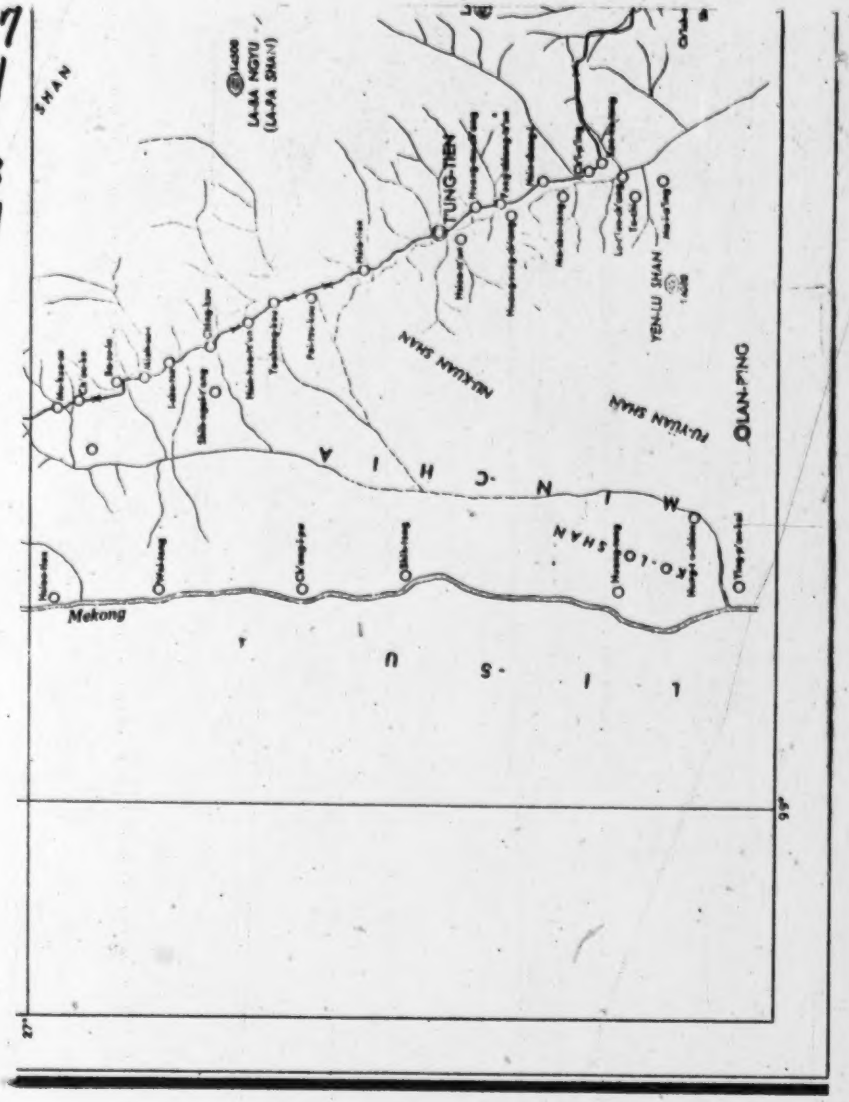
133
491



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2: Rock , K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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133
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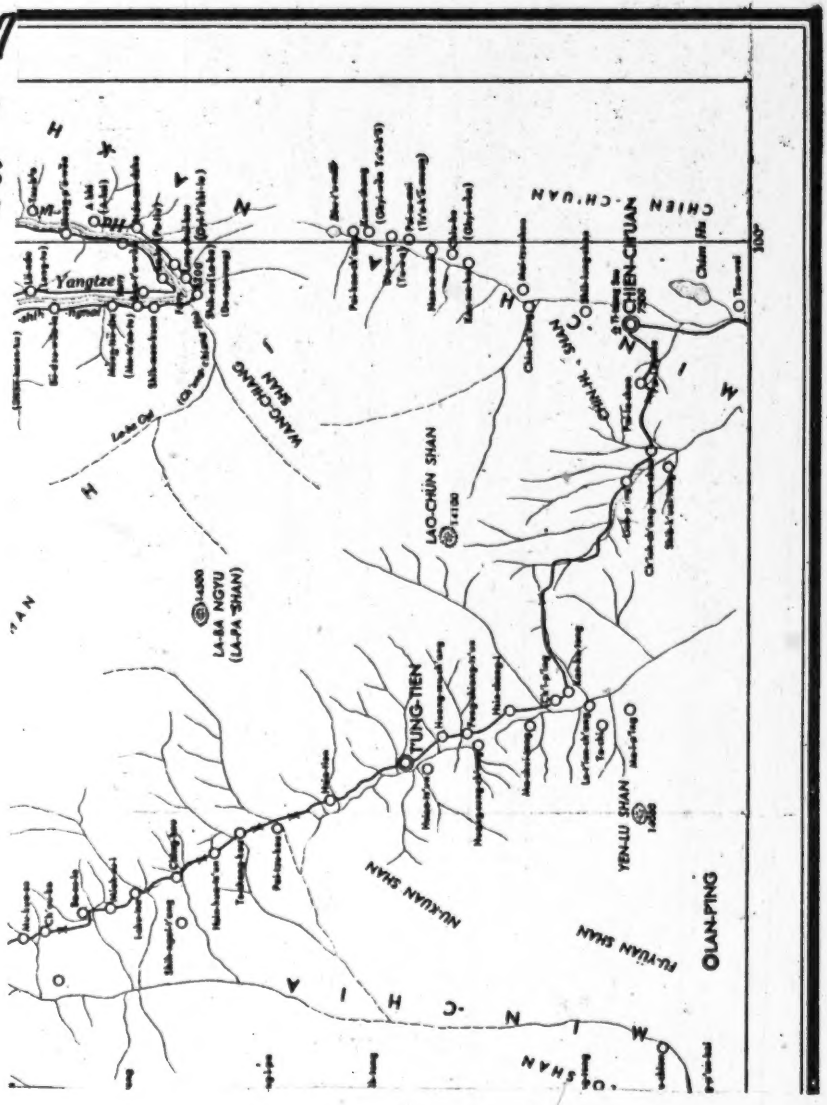

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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133
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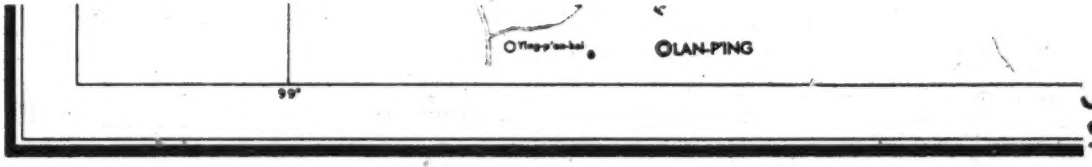
101
361



A.M.S. L406
First Edition (A.M.S. 1), 1946

Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1923, 1928, 1930 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 L

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
International
Province
Territorial or tribal
Road or trail
Unsurveyed trail
District town
Village
Lolo settlement
Camp site
Lamasery
Mountain hut
Shrine, Mission, Temple
Airfield
Pass
Cave

Peak with spot height in feet — 15300
Peak with glacier
Gorge
Ferry
Chain bridge
Chain bridge (destroyed)
Rope bridge
Small wooden bridge
Unexplored streams
Disappearing stream
Hot spring
Lake
Island in river
Sinter terrace

Ferry
Chain
Chain (Destroyed)
Rope
Wooden

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map II G]

2; Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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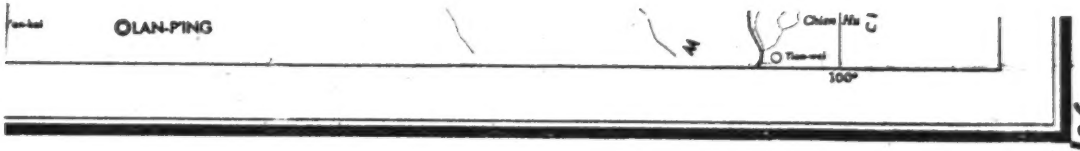

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

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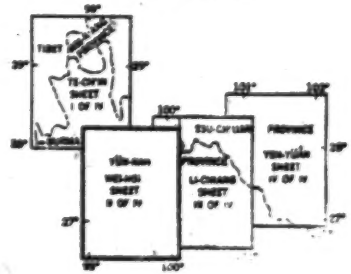

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

WEI-HSI, CHINA
N2625-E9850/145x120

[End map II H]

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133
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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

CHINA 1:500,000

LI-CHIANG

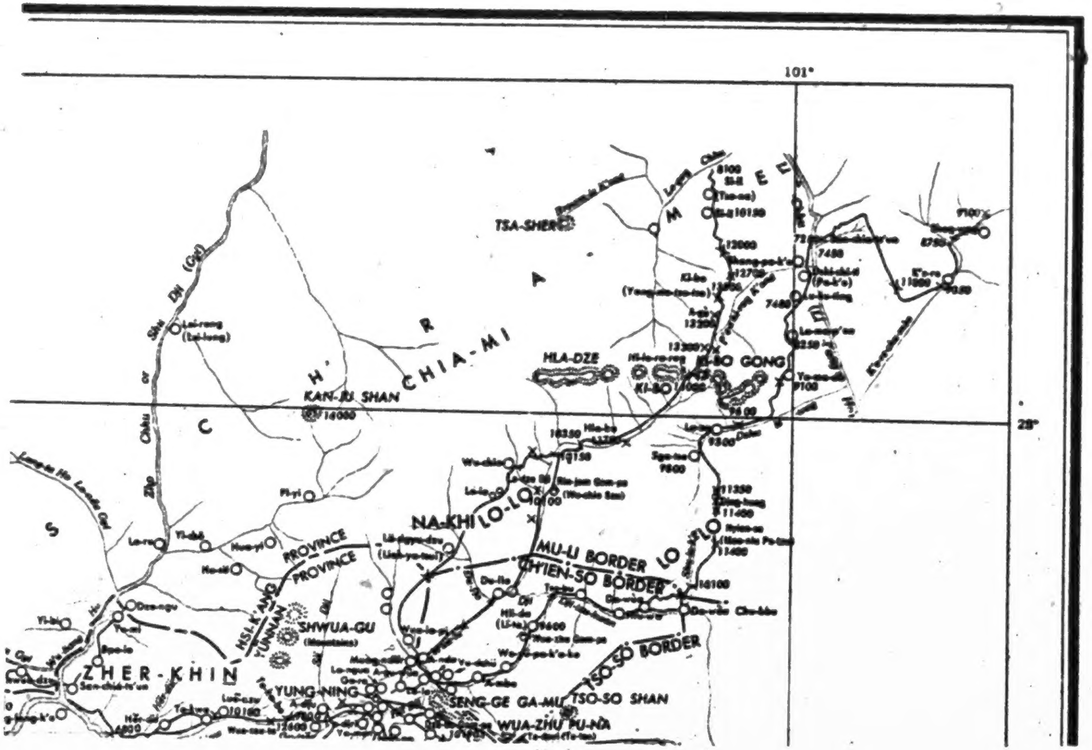
[End map III A]

LI-CHIANG

FIRST EDITION—AMS 1

SHEET III OF IV

A.M.S. L406



[End map III B]

2: Rock K-5 (1934)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

2: Rock . K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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[End map III C]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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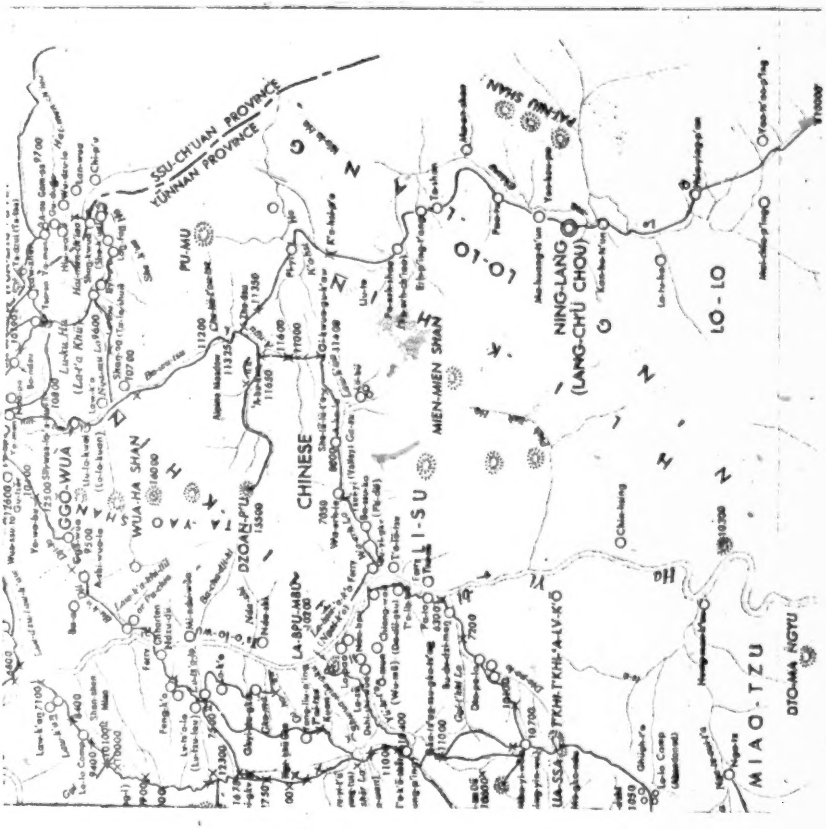
487
101
361



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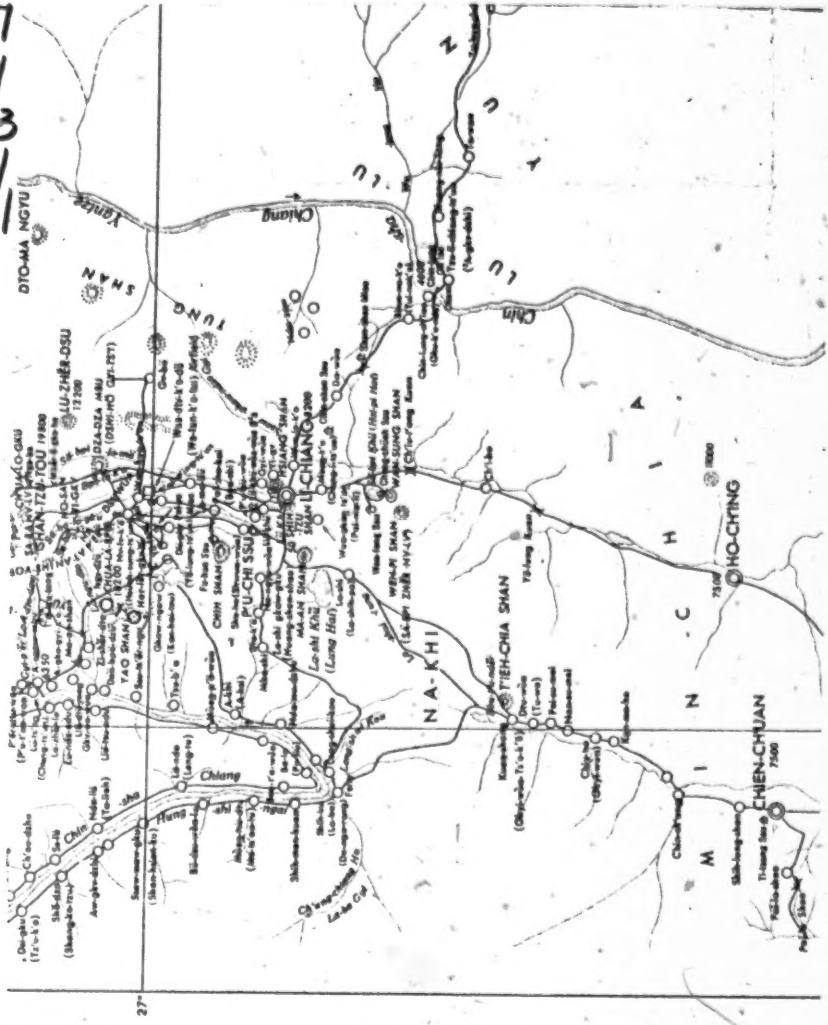

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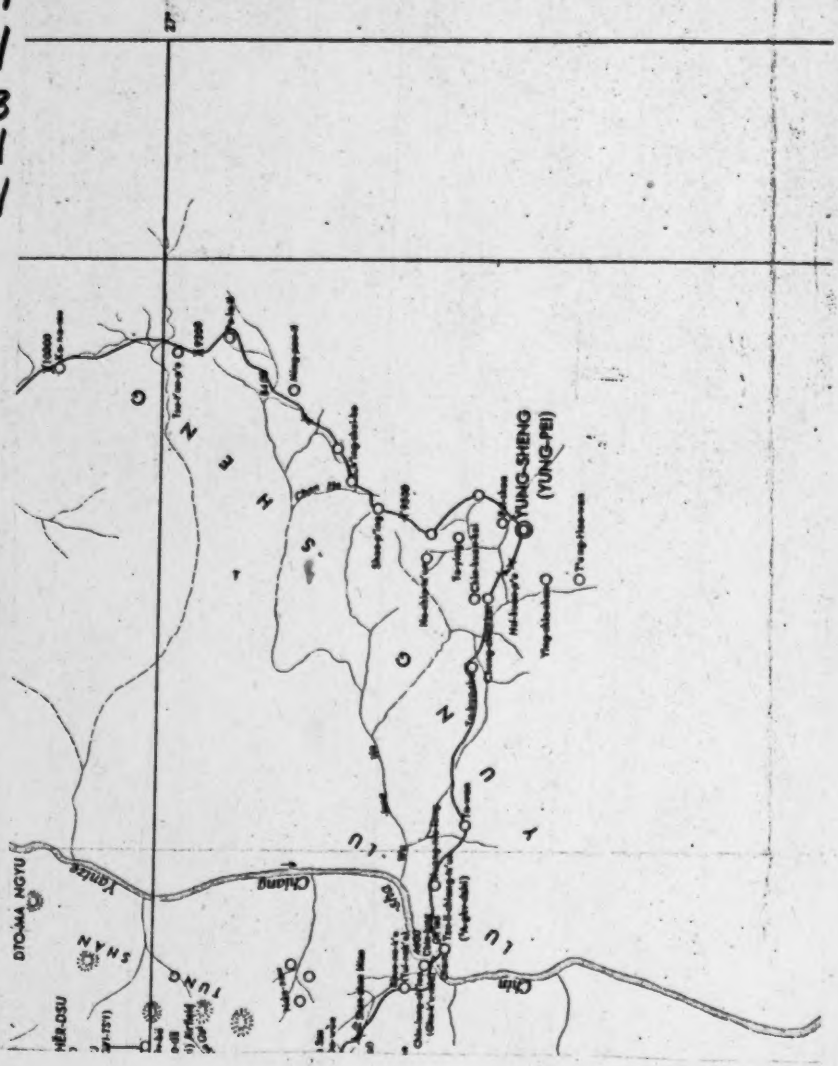

[End map III F]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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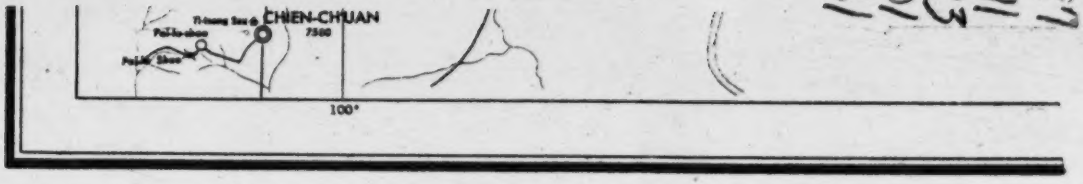

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Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15

10 0 10 20 30 40 50

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

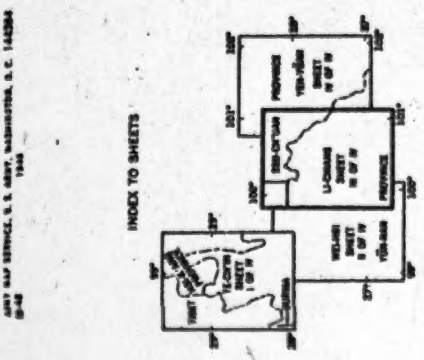
LEGEND

BOUNDARIES
- International
- Province
- Territorial or tribal
- Road or trail
- Unsurveyed trail
- District town
- Village
- Lake settlement
- Camp site
- Lamasery
- Mountain hut
- Shrine, Mission, Temple
- Airfield
- Pass
- Cave
- Peak with spot height in feet
- Peak with glacier
- Gorge
- Ferry
- Chain bridge
- Chain bridge (destroyed)
- Rope bridge
- Small wooden bridge
- Unexplored streams
- Disappearing stream
- Hot spring
- Lake
- Island in river
- Sinter terrace

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III G]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16



LI-CHIANG, CHINA
N2630-E9950/145x110

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

[End map III H]

2. Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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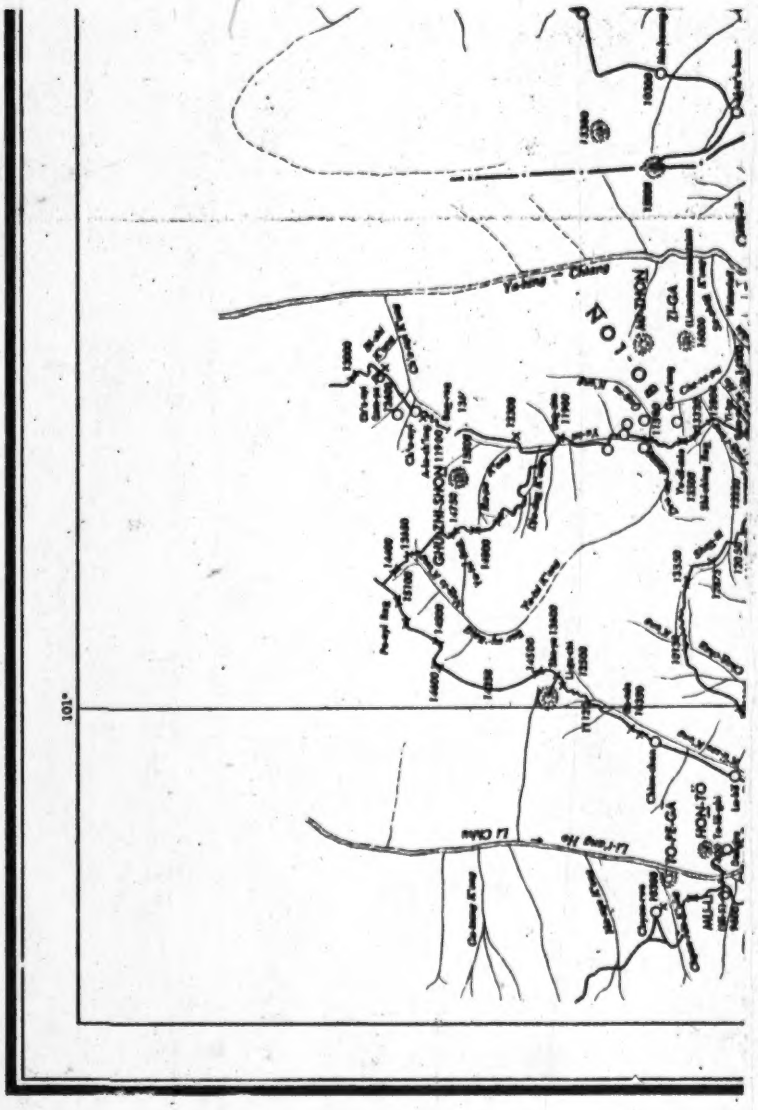

[End map IV A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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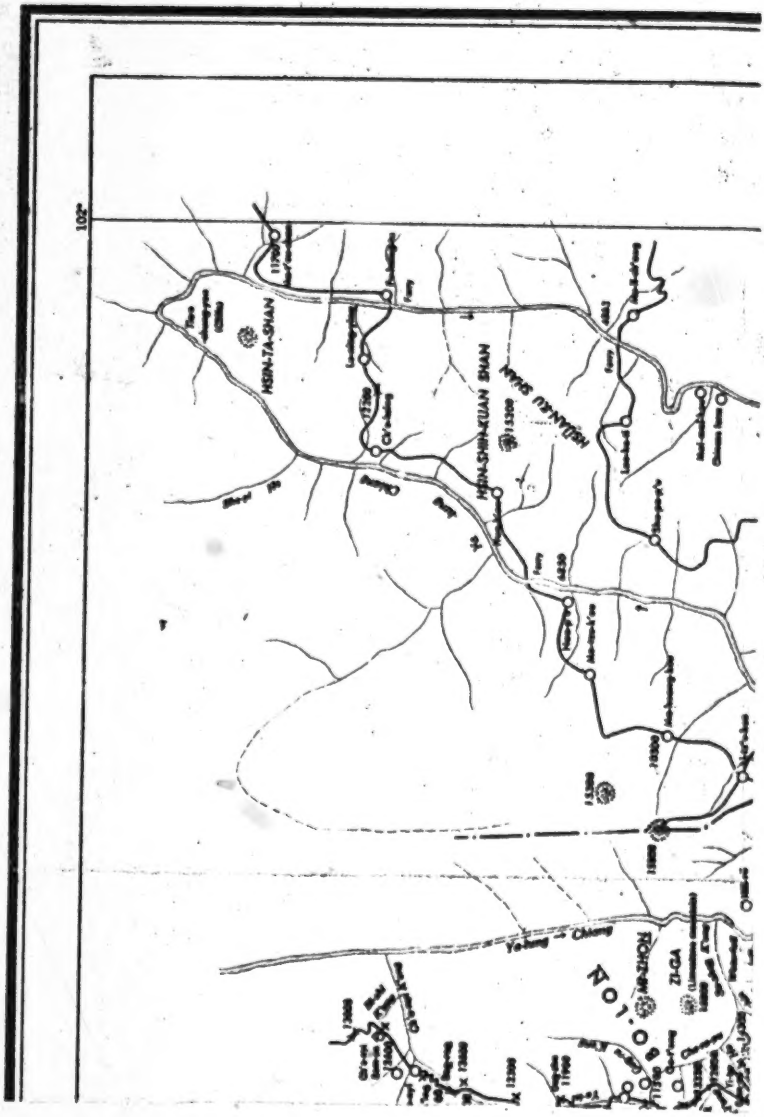

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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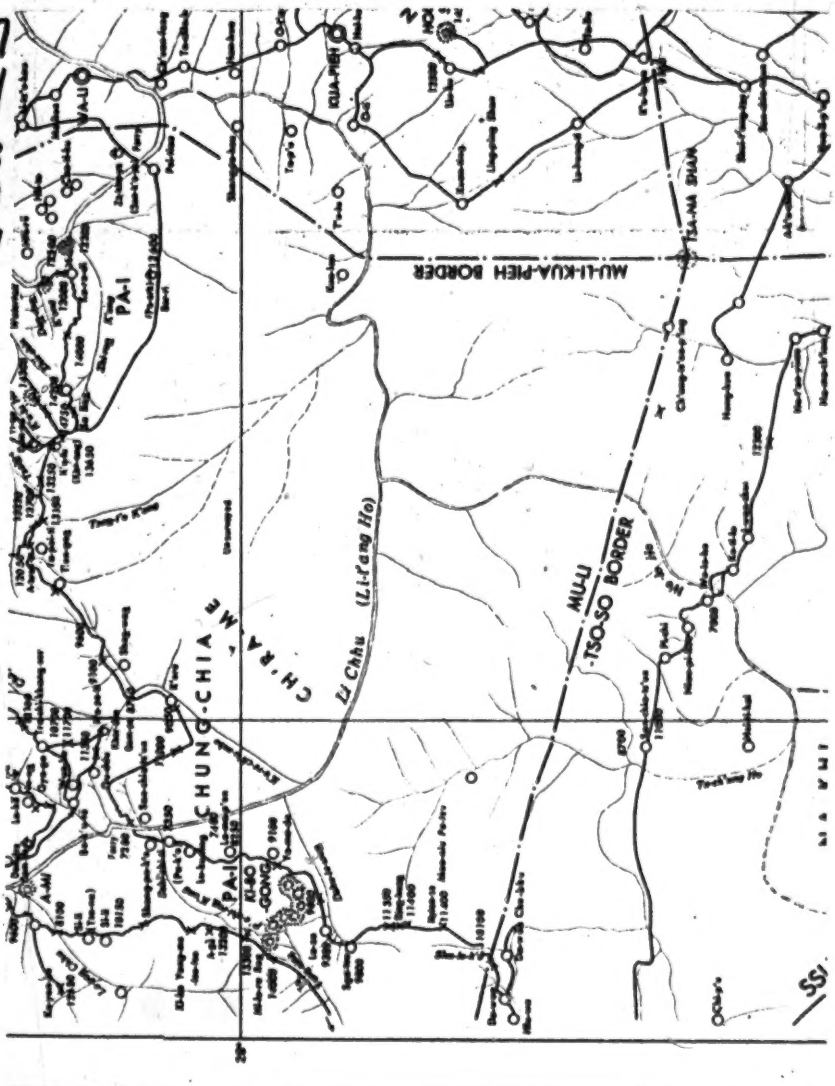

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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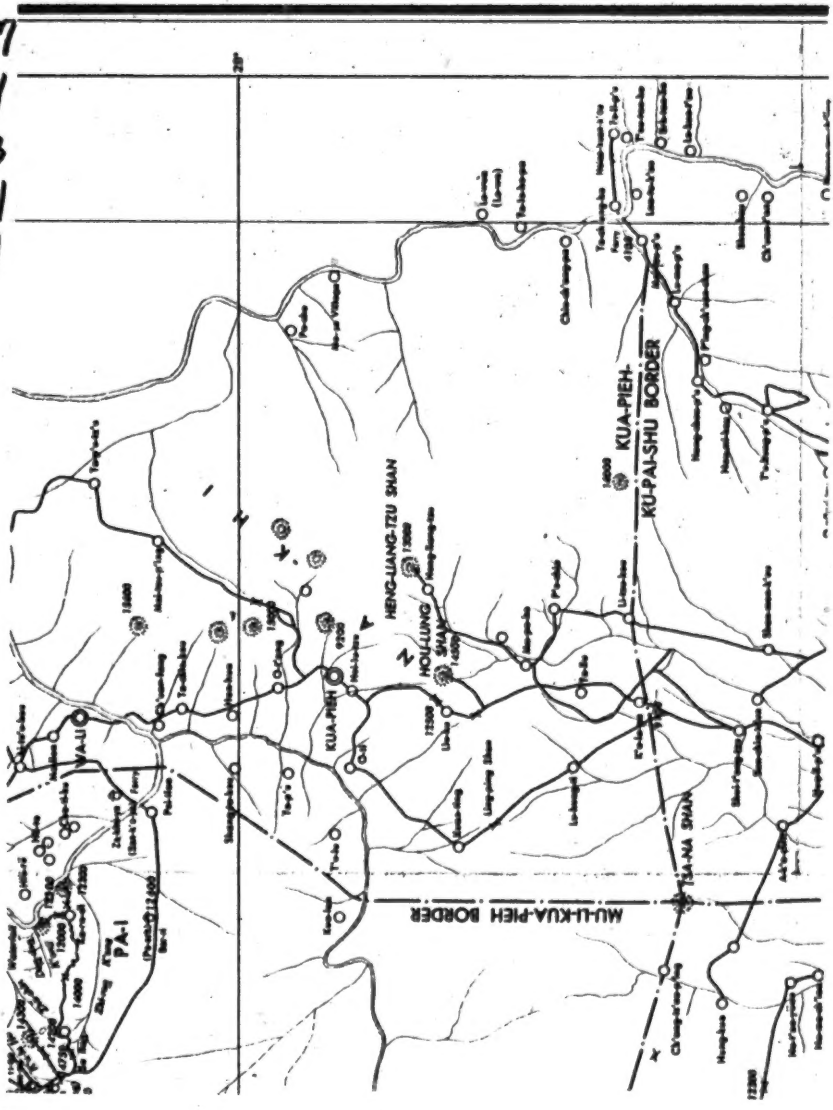

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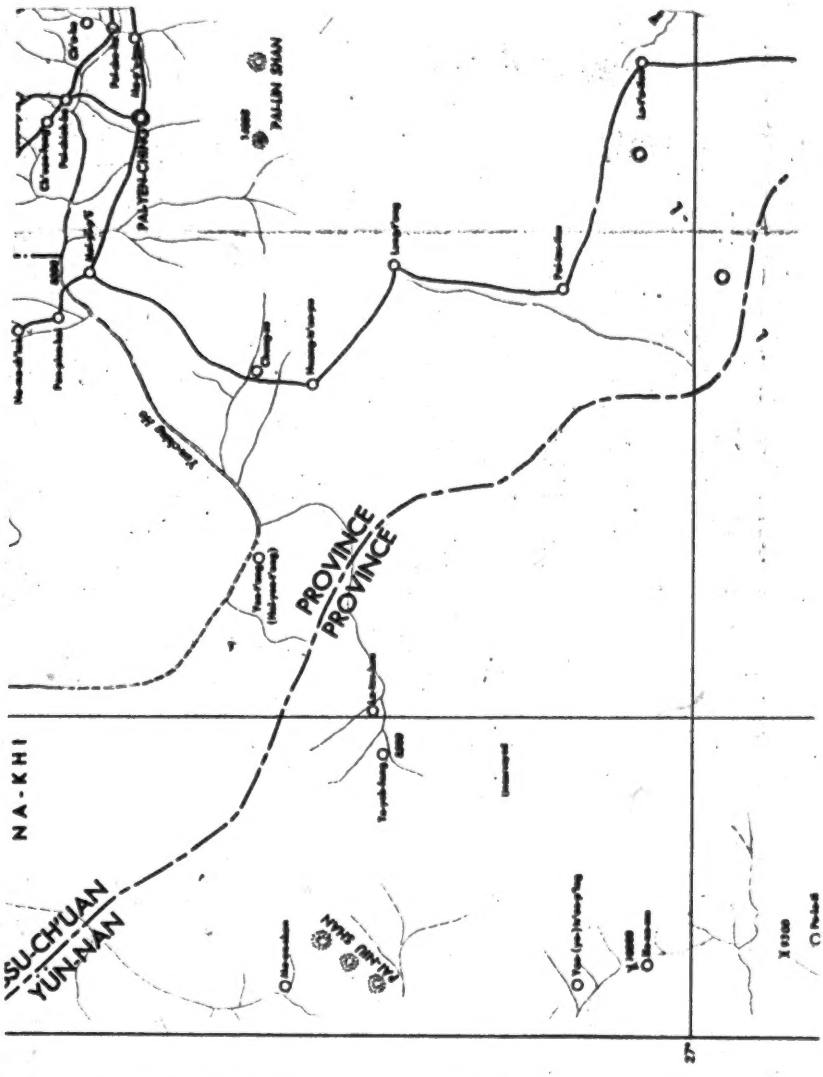

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2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

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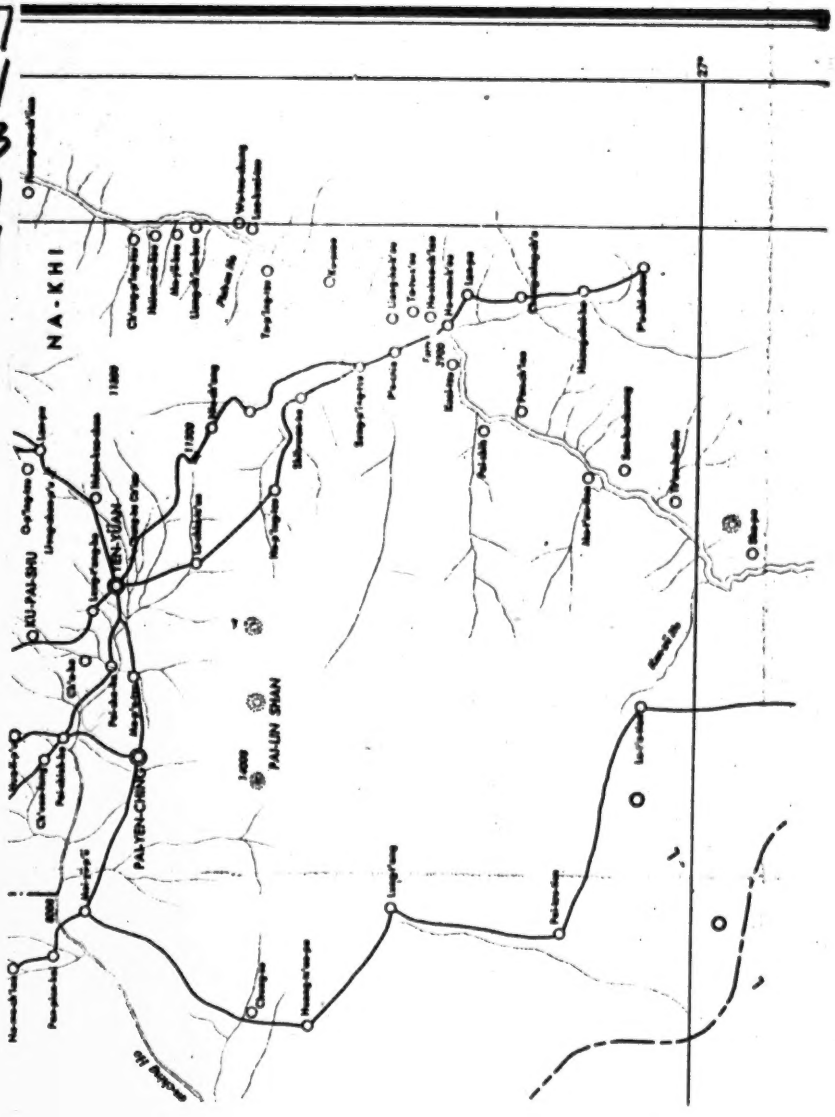

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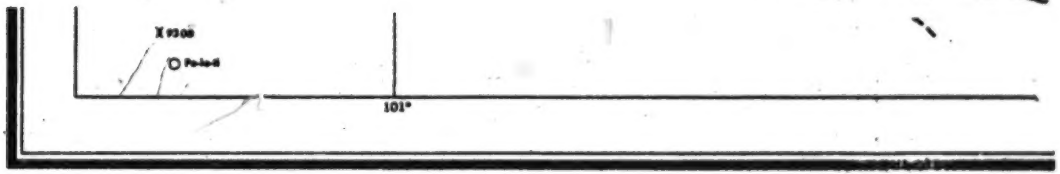
133.
101
361



AMS L406

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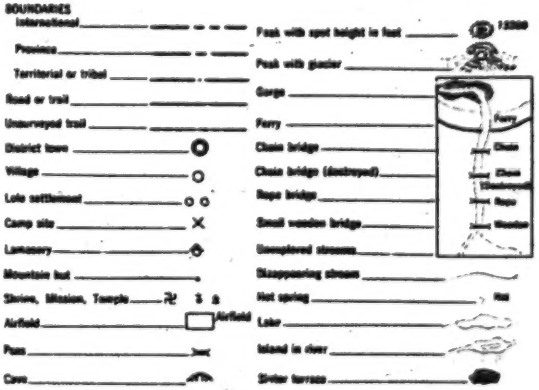
Prepared under the direction of the Chief of Engineers by the Army Map Service (AMPT), U. S. Army, Washington, D. C. Redrafted from original maps compiled in 1945 by J. F. Rock, from original surveys 1928-31 and from surveys by Major H. R. Davies 1895, Dr. H. Handel—Mazzetti 1914-16, Comte CH. de Polignac 1910.

Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

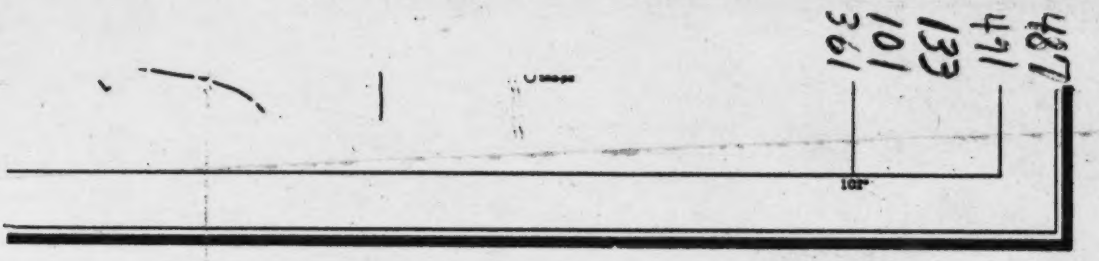
APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET

LEGEND



[G II map Pu3]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

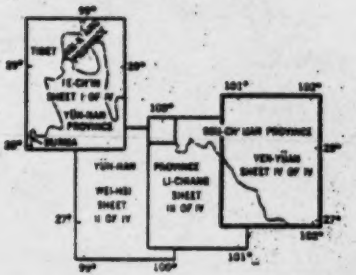


Scale 1:500,000 (Approximate)

3 0 3 6 9 12 15 Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Li

PROJECTION LINES ARE APPROXIMATE

APPROXIMATE HEIGHTS IN FEET



YEN-YUAN, CHINA
N2655-E10045/145x150

2: Rock K-5 (1934-)1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16

[End map IX H]

2: Rock
133, 137, 487

AF 16 Southwest China AF16

[For data on Topography, Flora and Routes, see Category 116, pp. 217-354, 388-428.]